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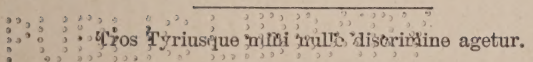

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No. CCCCXL.

JULY , 1893.

THE FUTURE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE REV. CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.

PRESBYTERIANISM in the United States of America derived its life and its principles from the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain. England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales each contributed important factors. The home of Presbyterianism is Scotland, where the national church has been Presbyterian, with the exception of a few decades, since the Protestant Reformation. Presbyterianism in Ulster was of Scottish origin, but it soon assumed a provincial type which it has retained with great tenacity and which the Ulster contingent in America has maintained as if it were the genuine original Presbyterianism. English Presbyterianism had an independent origin through Cartwright, Travers and their associates in the Puritan struggle within the Church of England. The English type of Presbyterianism influenced Wales, Dublin and the south of Ireland.

Presbyterianism derived its name from the ecclesiastical polity and discipline which it advocated over against Prelacy on the one hand and Independency on the other. In the sixteenth century doctrinal differences did not emerge, for the Presbyterians were no more rigid Calvinists than were the Prelatists and the Independents. In the seventeenth century a considerable portion of the Prelatical party became Arminian, but Calvinism always remained a potent factor in the Church of England, entrenched in the Thirty-nine Articles. The Independents in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were more rigid Calvinists than the Presbyterians. The conflicts of Presbyterianism with its foes and the internal conflicts of Presbyterianism itself in Scotland have

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been chiefly ecclesiastical. Few doctrinal conflicts have taken place in Scotland, and these have never wrought division. All of the divisions in Scottish Presbyterianism have resulted from differences in opinion on ecclesiastical questions. Presbyterianism in England gradually wasted away. Under the policy of comprehension, which was maintained by many of the English bishops in the last half of the seventeenth century and in the early part of the eighteenth century, large numbers of Presbyterians returned to the Church of England. The subscription controversy still further weakened them. They maintained Puritan liberty and refused subscription. But this gave the more radical type of Presbyterianism such an advantage that in the course of time the whole English Presbyterian body became Unitarian, so that in England Presbyterianism and Unitarianism are synonymous terms. In Ireland the Anglo-Irish and the Scoto-Irish types came into conflict in the subscription controversy and Presbyterianism was divided. As a resultant of the subscription controversy English Presbyterianism became too broad and Scoto-Irish Presbyterianism too narrow.

Presbyterianism in America resulted from a mingling of all the British types, with the addition of elements from the Reformed churches of France and Switzerland, and a numerous body of New England Congregationalists who, on migrating to the Middle colonies, became Presbyterians in accordance with a policy of non-intrusion, agreed upon by Congregationalists and Presbyterians at that time. Presbyterianism was organized in Philadelphia in the spring of 1706 by Francis Makemie, John Hampton and Samuel Davis, Irishmen ; George McNish, a Scotchman, and Jedediah Andrew, John Wilson, and Nathaniel Taylor, New England Puritans. In ten years they increased to eight Scotchmen, seven Irishmen, three Welshmen, and seven New Englanders.

The two great types of Presbyterianism came into conflict upon the question of subscription in 1728. John Thomson, an Ulsterman, introduced an overture in favor of strict subscription to the Westminster standards. This was opposed by New Englanders. But a compromise was effected by the genius of Jonathan Dickinson, who devised a plan of subscription to "all the essential and necessary articles" of the Westminster standards ; end to the Presbyterian government and discipline as "agreeable

in substance to the Word of God," to be observed "as near as circumstances will allow and Christian prudence direct."

This fundamental agreement in the act of adoption of the Westminster system lies at the basis of the constitution of the American Presbyterian Church and is the pivot of its history. The strict subscriptionists were not satisfied. They agitated in several of the presbyteries for a narrow interpretation of the Adopting Act. At last they accomplished their purpose in 1741, by taking advantage of an accidental majority, which they obtained by the absence of an unusual number of ministers, especially from the large Presbytery of New York. A synod of forty-seven ministers was broken up by a majority of two in a total vote of twenty-two, and twelve ministers succeeded in casting out eleven. After several years of earnest effort for harmony the Presbytery of New York united with those who had been cast out and organized the Synod of New York, which became known as the New Side over against the Synod of Philadelphia, which was called the Old Side. On the New Side were liberal subscription, considerate discipline, vital piety and aggressive evangelization; on the Old Side were strict discipline, ecclesiastical domination, conformity to rigid types of doctrine and traditional methods of work. The Presbyterian Church at that time was about to unite with the Reformed churches from Holland and Germany, in accordance with the advice of the mother synod. But John Thomson and his eleven associates frustrated a union which might have been of immense advantage to American Christianity, and wrought an unhappy division which disorganized for some years the work of evangelization on the frontiers and among the American Indians.

During the period of separation the Old Side did not prosper; they gained only four ministers, while the New Side grew from 20 to 72 ministers. The reunion in 1758 was accomplished by falling back on the Adopting Act of 1729. It was agreed that the synod should determine only such things as were "indispensable in doctrine and Presbyterian government;" and subscription was limited to the "system of Christian doctrine" of the Westminster standards. The Presbyterian Church thrived from 1758 until 1788 when the General Assembly was organized, the Westminster symbols revised, and the constitution adopted. Terms of subscription were framed which, in accordance with

the Adopting Act of 1729 and the Terms of Union of 1758, limited subscription to the "system of doctrine."

Besides this main stock of Presbyterians, the several nonconforming Presbyterian bodies of Scotland and Ireland established colonies in the United States which, after many subdivisions and reconstructions, resulted in several branches of Reformed Presbyterians and United Presbyterians.

In 1810, by an act of intolerance and wrong to a little body of pious evangelists, the Presbyterian Church provoked a schism of several ministers who organized the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which has grown during the century, in the valley of the Mississippi, into a great Presbyterian organization with a General Assembly and many subordinate synods and presbyteries.

Doctrinal controversies sprang up early in the century in the Presbyterian Church, respecting the extent of the Atonement and the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness; and a New School party was formed over against an Old School party. These parties were simply the renewal of the Old and New sides of the previous century, and indeed of the English and Ulster types of Presbyterianism, under new circumstances and with regard to new questions. Albert Barnes and Lyman Beecher were tried for heresy, and although ultimately acquitted by the General Assembly, yet the Old School was dissatisfied with the verdicts and in 1837 "finding themselves for a second time only within seven years in the majority, took advantage of the occasion to exscind simply by an act of power, irrespective of constitutional limitation," four synods with all their churches and ministers. The aggrieved New School held a convention at Auburn in August, 1837, and at the Assembly of 1838 demanded the enrollment of the representatives of the four exscinded synods. When this was refused two Assemblies were organized, the Old School and the New School. These continued apart until 1870. During the War of the Rebellion each school threw off the Southern synods. These organized the Southern Presbyterian Church, which still continues its independent life. The Old School and New School Assemblies united in 1870 on the basis of the Constitution of 1788 with an understanding of mutual respect and toleration to both sides on all matters which had been in contention. This reunion did not remove differences in spirit, in doctrine, or in ecclesiastical principles. The two parties were united

in one comprehensive church instead of remaining apart in different organizations.

There was an era of peace and good will which lasted about a decade, when strife again broke out between the same old parties. The aggressive minority again strove to impose their provincial theology and their ecclesiastical domination upon the whole Church. Several trials for heresy and for irregularity were held in different parts of the Church, which were not regarded as sufficiently important to rally the parties in battle array. The Swing case in Chicago, the McCune case in Cincinnati, and other lesser cases in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, were regarded by the New School as breaches of faith on the part of the Old School; but they were patiently endured in the hope that better feelings and actions would ultimately prevail. A greater peril came when the united Review, after the death of Henry B. Smith, passed into the hands of those who were not sensitive to the delicacy of the situation, but the misunderstanding was removed by the establishment of the *Presbyterian Review* in which all the theological seminaries were proportionately represented. It was evident that the reactionary party were becoming more and more aggressive, and it needed only the emergence of some great questions to rally them to a new act of ecclesiastical domination. In the meanwhile the liberal party became more and more discouraged, and large numbers of ministers and laymen sought refuge especially in Congregational and Episcopal churches, and the conservative party became constantly more ambitious as it captured one after another of the strong pulpits of the New School party, and secured the control of all the Presbyterian newspapers, with the single exception of the *New York Evangelist*.

The Revision movement, which burst forth from the people without any ecclesiastical leadership, took the Presbyterian Church by surprise and threw the conservative party into a panic. It was the last straw which broke the back of the combination of interests in the *Presbyterian Review* and brought about its dissolution. The conservatives rallied about a new Review, and then by shrewd management at Saratoga in 1890 gained control of the committee appointed to revise the Confession. They then recommended such minor and trivial revisions as failed to satisfy the demands of the revisionists. Ac-

cordingly liberals and conservatives united in defeating the proposed revisions, and the Revision movement came to a halt in the last General Assembly at Washington. The revisionists were divided into two bands; the one seeking relief by amendment of the Confession, the other by a new and simple creed. The latter were called by the reactionaries radical revisionists. The two bands of revisionists worked together until the Assembly at Saratoga. There the conservatives succeeded in dividing them with the aim of destroying them in detail. The dissatisfaction with the revision offered by the compromisers greatly increased the numbers of those who desire a new creed; so that the Revision movement has now passed over into a movement for a new creed. But this movement was not strong enough to gain recognition from the ultra-conservatives, who held the General Assembly at Washington entirely in their power. It is evident, however, that the movement for a new creed will increase in impetus until in 1894 or 1895 the ultra-conservatives will be forced to yield to it, and there will be another effort made by ecclesiastical politicians to stoop to conquer. They will probably go so far in the movement as to gain the control of it; and then so direct it as to render it inoperative and unsuccessful. They will probably succeed in these tactics, as they have just succeeded in destroying the Revision movement. Then will come a movement which the ecclesiastics will be unable to control—a strong, irresistible demand of a deceived and oft-betrayed ministry and people, for such a revision of the terms of subscription as will make it evident to all the world that a man of the most scrupulous conscience may adhere to the Westminster symbols as the historic monuments of the Presbyterian Church without risking his manhood under the ecclesiastical domination of an ultra-conservative faction which may think that it can dominate the faith of the Church, or force from the Church of their fathers by accidental and worked up majorities ministers more truly orthodox than themselves.

The attention of the ministry and people of the Presbyterian Church has been withdrawn from the movement in behalf of a new creed by a band of ecclesiastics who have thrown them into a panic about the Bible because of the Inaugural Address of Professor Briggs on the Authority of Holy Scripture, delivered January 20, 1891. That address, as is well known, did not

promulgate new and strange doctrines. The doctrines stated in that address are but the summary statements of the doctrines which Professor Briggs had been teaching for many years, and which had been before the public for several years in his several printed books, such as *Biblical Study*, *American Presbyterianism*, *Messianic Prophecy*, *Whither;* and in numerous articles in the *Presbyterian Review*, which were condoned by the Presbyterian Church, even if they were regarded as erroneous, during all that time in which Professor Briggs was joint editor of that *Review* with Dr. A. A. Hodge and Dr. F. L. Patton. There was nothing in the Inaugural Address as such which could have excited such a panic, if it had not been so misinterpreted and misquoted by partisan Presbyterian newspapers, and by reactionary ecclesiastics to mislead and deceive the Presbyterian ministry and people, especially in the outlying districts and in the more remote regions of the country.

It is quite true that the Inaugural Address and the other writings mentioned raise many important theological questions which seem new, startling and dangerous to those who have been trained in the traditional theology, and who have not kept in touch with the modern scientific study of the Bible and of Church History. But to those who know the currents of theological thought in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, it seems surprising that the great Presbyterian Church should have been thrown into a panic by such an address. The panic has accomplished the purpose of those who excited it, and Professor Briggs has been suspended from the Presbyterian ministry for teaching doctrines which "strike at the vitals of religion." These doctrines are the following: (1) The Bible, the Church and the Reason are historically three great fountains of divine authority; (2) There may have been errors in the original autographs of Holy Scripture; (3) Moses did not write the Pentateuch, and Isaiah did not write half the book which bears his name; (4) There is progressive sanctification in the middle state between death and the resurrection. These doctrines are beyond the range of those defined in the Westminster Confession, are extra-confessional, and within the area of the liberty guaranteed by the constitution of the Church. And yet the General Assembly at Washington by a great majority declared them to be errors which "strike at the vitals of religion," and for holding and teaching

them Professor Briggs was suspended from the Presbyterian ministry.

If the General Assembly had the power to determine the faith of the Presbyterian Church by such a decision it would put all liberal Presbyterians in a serious situation, in which they would either be obliged to submit to these decisions or else to retire from the Presbyterian ministry. But a General Assembly has no such power. It cannot determine the faith of the Church either by deliverance of opinion or by judicial condemnation of a minister. The constitution prescribes the way in which the faith of the Church may be determined, namely, by the agreement of two-thirds of the presbyteries to a statement of doctrine submitted to them by the General Assembly. Therefore the only effect of the suspension of Professor Briggs, for the reasons assigned, is that his doctrines are declared to be hurtful errors by the majority of the last Assembly. But the minority of that Assembly, who have declared that his doctrines are not hurtful errors, have a legal right to hold those opinions, and to contend for them until they are declared to be hurtful errors by amendments of the Confession of Faith.

Furthermore, the minority contend that the Assembly at Washington was guilty of usurpation of power and of ecclesiastical domination of the same general character as the act of John Thomson and his eleven associates in 1741, and of the General Assembly of 1837. For the General Assembly violated the constitution of the Church and all the precedents of Presbyterian practice in these three respects: (1) It recognized the right of a public prosecutor to appeal against a verdict of acquittal; (2.) It recognized that a committee appointed by the Presbytery of New York was independent of the Presbytery which appointed it; (3.) It usurped the jurisdiction of the Synod of New York by assuming jurisdiction of a case which was under the jurisdiction of the Synod of New York and not yet determined by that synod. These unconstitutional acts of the Assembly at Washington have not yet been recognized by the Synod of New York, and until the synod has yielded its jurisdiction and officially given its consent to these actions of the General Assembly, the minority of the Assembly are legally justified in declining to submit to them.

A General Assembly is not a permanent body. It has no con-

tinuous life. It is com posed of representatives of the presbyteries who meet together for a few days and then dissolve forever. One, two or three General Assemblies in succession may usurp power, may do grave injustice, may make breaches in the constitution of the Church. But all these wrongs may be righted by a fourth or a fifth, or any subsequent Assembly. There are numerous examples of such things in the history of Presbyterianism. The minority of the last Assembly and those who agree with them throughout the Presbyterian Church are therefore justified in the continuation of the struggle for liberty, for truth, and for right.

The majority of votes in favor of the suspension was very great. But if the votes are weighed as well as counted the disparity will not be regarded as serious. The basis of representation in the General Assembly gives the small presbyteries in the country districts and on the frontiers a vastly greater power than they are entitled to by their numbers or influence, while the strong presbyteries in our large cities and in the great communities are put at a serious disadvantage. The General Assemblies as they are now constituted represent the least intelligent portion of the Church, and not infrequently a majority in the Assembly really represents a minority of the ministers and people in the denomination. A majority of a General Assembly is not taken seriously by intelligent Presbyterians.

The only danger of another disruption in the Presbyterian Church at present is in such an assumption of power on the part of another Assembly as would by an act of violence exclude at a blow large numbers of ministers and people from the Presbyterian Church. Such action is improbable. It is probable that there will be a series of heresy trials for several years until the ultra-conservatives exhaust themselves and tire the patience of the Church, when there will be a reaction so strong, so sweeping, so irresistible in its demands for breadth of thought, liberty of scholarship, intelligent appropriation of the wealth of modern science and the efficiency of modern methods of work, that the reactionaries will be swept all at once and forever into insignificance. The onset of modern scholarship and of scientific methods of study and of work is as steady and sweeping as the march of a glacier. It grinds to powder everything that obstructs its path. The Presbyterian Church will probably not be seriously

injured by it; but the ultra-conservative party in the Presbyterian Church will be crushed by it in due time.

All American churches are in the stream of that tendency which is rushing on towards the unity of Christ's Church. The hedges which separate the denominations are traditional theories and practices; but they are no longer realities to thinking and working men and women. The liberals of every denomination of Christians are more in accord with one another than they are with the conservatives in their own denominations. The problem in the near future is this: Can the liberals remain in comfort in their several denominations and so become the bridges of Church Unity; or will they be forced to unite in a comprehensive frame of Church Unity outside the existing denominations; or will they rally around the more liberal communions? There seems to be little doubt that the liberals at the present time are quite comfortable as Episcopalians and as Congregationalists, and not altogether uncomfortable as Baptists and as Methodists, and that there is no other denomination in which they are so uncomfortable as in the Presbyterian Church. It is possible that they may, after a year or more of battle for liberty, be compelled to retire from the existing Presbyterian Church and abandon it to a traditional, unscholarly and fossilized majority; and then organize a liberal Presbyterian Church as has been done twice before in this country. But this is not probable at the present time. The liberals will still continue to make themselves as comfortable as possible during the brief period of theological war, until a final struggle may determine their destiny. They will go on in theological investigation; they will continue the study of the higher criticism of Holy Scripture; they will seek more light upon the dark problems of the future of the earth and man; they will continue to seek God through the Church and the Reason as well as through the Bible; they will remain the great constitutional party; they will be patient, brave, painstaking and heroic, until the Presbyterian Church becomes as broad, catholic and progressive as her Congregational and Episcopal sisters; and then Church Unity will be nigh, at the doors, and a happy end of controversy will be seen in a united Protestantism, which will be then encouraged to seek a higher and grander unity, in which the Roman and Greek communions will likewise share.

C. A. BRIGGS.

DIVORCE MADE EASY.

BY PROF. SAMUEL J. BRUN.

In The North American Review for December, 1892, M. Naquet, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies and father of the French divorce law of 1884, has an article on divorce in which he not only defends the bill of 1884 but regrets that his countrymen are not ripe enough for more liberal legislation on that subject. His words leave no room for doubt in the mind of the reader as to the breadth of the writer's view on that particular topic. "My convictions on this subject," he says, "are so well established that, if I did not fear the reaction to which popular ignorance might give birth, I would not hesitate, if in my power to do so, to remove every obstacle in the way of divorce." And with M. Bertillon he takes the ground—to use the very words of Colonel Wright, of the Bureau of Labor—"that legislation of a kind which extends the causes for or facilitates the procedure in divorce cases has no marked influence upon the increase of the number of decrees granted." If, for instance, the only ground for seeking divorce was the breaking on the part of one of the contracting parties of the seventh commandment, the number of decrees granted would average the same as if divorce could be sought and obtained on the grounds of desertion, failure to provide, cruel treatment, habitual drunkenness, or for any of the grounds on which the courts may deem it sufficient to render their decrees severing the bonds of matrimony. Mr. Wright, in his chapter on the influence of legislation, in his report on marriages and divorce, expresses no definite belief on the subject, although his studies along this line are extensive.

Surprised, however, at the sudden increase of divorces in France since the bill of 1884 became a law, M. Naquet hints that there will soon be a decrease in the numbers of applications for divorce. Switzerland is named by him as an instance of a country where, after the first few years, there was a marked decrease in the number of applications and decrees granted. The fact is, however, that Switzerland has a rather loose law of divorce—certainly more liberal than the French law—its courts being empow-

ered to grant their decrees if the marriage relation seems to be greatly strained. In Switzerland the ratio of divorced couples to the thousand marriages was, for the period of 1877–81, 48.06 per cent., and for the period of 1882–86, 45.09 per cent., which is certainly not such a falling off as to warrant the assumption that decrees will decrease in France.

I think history proves that applications for divorce increase as the law becomes more and more liberal; and in this connection it may be interesting to go back to French legislation on that subject in 1792. In that year France made the experiment of changing the conception of marriage by substituting a covenant practically at will for a covenant for life. By that law, as then enacted, divorces were granted in France for nine causes, and one of the grounds was allegation of incompatibility of temper or character by either of the spouses. This ground on which divorce proceedings could be based worked like a charm; so that, according to M. Glasson, during the twenty-seven months following the promulgation of the law of 1792, 6,000 divorces in Paris alone were granted, and for the year 1797 the divorces actually outnumbered the marriages.

The historian Duval, in his *Souvenirs Thermidoriens*, has a passage which graphically depicts the state of society with respect to marriage and divorce. It is found on pages 60–61 of Volume I., which I condense. He says:

"Couples divorced for a 'yes,' for a 'no;' they divorced under the least provocation; they divorced without provocation, without any more ado than they would have made to go and gather lilacs in the meadows of Saint Gervais or to eat cherries at Montmorency. . . . There was an especial article in the law which opened wide the door to libertine husbands and debauched wives. I refer to the one which allowed divorce for incompatibility of temper. The husband might have a mistress and be tired of his wife. The wife might have a lover and would like nothing better than to get rid of her husband. They mutually informed each other of their respective affairs, left together for the city hall, informed the mayor they could no longer bear each other, and on that day or the following day the divorce was granted for incompatibility as to temper. And the children, what became of them? What did it matter? The spouses were freed the one from the other; the most important thing was done.

"And it was not a rare thing, on account of the ease with which divorces could be obtained, to find couples who had been divorced five or six times in as many months. Sometimes very ludicrous things happened. Once two couples were acting like La Fontaine's *Troqueurs*, which means that they were making an exchange amongst themselves—trading husbands and wives—and the quartette were so well agreed that the double wedding repast was had at common expense at L'Arc-en-ciel Boulevard de l'Hôpital.

"A saddler living in Paris after divorcing his wife had become a municipal officer. One day while on duty for the performance of marriage ceremonies at the city hall, his former wife entered to be married again. That seemed to be somewhat strange to him. But what was his surprise when he recognized in the person of the groom L'Abbe Hervier, a priest of Saint Eustache, who had formerly given them the nuptial blessing. He, however, made them husband and wife without departing in any way from his municipal seriousness."

French legislators became alarmed at the steady increase in the number of divorces, and in 1798 an amendatory act was passed restricting somewhat the provisions of the law of 1792, and enacting that every ten years all teachers of public and private schools were to take their pupils to the public square and then and there to make proclamation of the divorced couples during the previous decade, thereby trying to check the evil by giving it the stigma of public disgrace. M. Naquet, and those who think as he does on this subject, may contend that these were abnormal times. Let us then study the same question in the United States through a period covering the years 1866-86, in time of peace, in a country where temples are not erected by the State to the Goddess Reason, where schools and churches abound, and amongst a people which claims to be religious.

The laws of the different States of the Union do not countenance such a clause on which to pin a divorce as "incompatibility of temper;" but with the exception of South Carolina, which has no divorce law, and New York, which has only one ground for the granting of divorce, all the States of the Union grant divorces on the ground of cruel and inhuman treatment, in addition to the usual statutory grounds. Now, during that period, while the population has increased about 60 per cent. divorces have increased 157 per cent. In 1867 the total reach was 9,937 divorces, and in the year 1886 it had risen to 25,535, which is an increase of nearly 157 per cent. in twenty years, and the grand total of divorces granted is 328,716.

To be sure, divorces were not granted for a "yes" or a "no," or for incompatibility of temper, but they were granted under that much abused clause of "inhuman and cruel treatment." And it is quite interesting to see what constitutes inhuman and cruel treatment. I take examples at random from the Report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1889. In one case a court grants a divorce to the wife because the defendant, the husband, does not

wash himself. In another case, the defendant, the husband, has accused the plaintiff's sister of stealing. In one case a divorce is granted to plaintiff, the wife, because her old husband, to whom she had been married twenty-seven years, says to her : "You are old and worn-out; I do not want you any more." In another case, whilst the plaintiff, the wife, was sick in bed, the defendant said to her that he meant to commit suicide and then and there drank a bottle of paregoric, which was a means of great mental worriment and anxiety to the plaintiff, and the court severed the bonds of matrimony.

A very unique case is that where plaintiff, who is subject to sick headaches which grow worse when she smells tobacco, is granted a divorce because her husband smokes. In another case the plaintiff is granted a divorce from her husband because he insists on quoting to her passages of the Scriptures, and reminding her in the language of the Apostle Paul that she is to be obedient to her husband. But perhaps the oddest is the case where defendant writes to plaintiff as follows : "There is a woman here whom I think I could love. If you love me, Mary, or if you have ever loved me, you will do me the kindness to sue for a divorce as soon as possible." And Mary, who loves him, or may have loved him, asks and of course obtains a divorce. In one case defendant writes to plaintiff that he is dead. She orders a mourning garb, but soon finds out that he is alive. Instead of rejoicing over her lost treasure, she asks and obtains a divorce.

Forty-five thousand seven hundred and thirty-one divorces were granted to wives against their husbands in twenty years for what is termed "extreme cruelty," and some samples have just been given. Husbands, however, are not so lucky, for they got only 6,122 decrees in the same period, which is certainly an outrage, judging from the treatment they must receive at the hands of their spouses, if the following cases are fair samples : A poor husband appears in court and complains that the wife refuses to keep his clothing in repair and to sew on his buttons. He is corroborated by the testimony of one witness who says that he has seen plaintiff with only one button on his vest. The court grants the divorce. In another case the plaintiff receives a violent blow from his wife administered to him with her bustle; and in still another case the wife pulls plaintiff out of bed by his whiskers.

Here is a case which came under the writer's observation. A

few months ago a Christian minister was called upon to unite in the holy bonds of matrimony a couple who were yet young in years but old veterans in hymeneal unions. A few years before they had been married, but the young husband, pinched for means, committed a forgery, was arrested, tried and sentenced to the penitentiary. His better half, who had married him for "better or for worse," hastened, of course, to get a divorce and to marry again. He served his time, discarded his prison garb, and being a free man contracted a new marriage. But the second spouse did not meet his expectations; he found his yoke unbearable; he asked for and obtained a divorce. Meanwhile his first wife was not idle. Her ideal was not realized in her second spouse, and she set the machinery of the law in motion and a few days made her free again, cured forever, as we might suppose, from "entangling alliances." Not so, however. Her first husband, knowing her free, came back, wooed and won her again, and they were married, receiving the congratulations of their friends.

That life is short is no longer true; for here is a couple yet under forty with two divorces apiece, and three marriages on the credit side of their lives. If they live to the allotted time of which the Psalmist speaks, they have ample time to contract half a dozen more experimental marriages. If this is not a travesty on holy wedlock, what is?

So we see that both in the stormy days of France, a hundred years ago and more, and in the halcyon days of American prosperity in the last half of the nineteenth century, loose divorce laws accelerate divorces instead of, as M. Naquet hopes, diminishing them.

It is also contended—and that is the great argument—that divorces encourage morality. If that be the case to-day in the United States, which have the loosest divorce laws, most loosely interpreted by the courts, of any nation in the world—where parties can marry and remarry at will, and exchange partners at pleasure—there ought to be a great falling off in the birth of illegitimate children. As a matter of fact, if we compare England with her strict divorce law, and France before the law of 1884 with the United States, we find that in England only 54 illegitimate children are born per thousand; in France 74 per thousand, and in the United States 70 per thousand, which is certainly not a very great showing in favor of the last named country, taking

everything into consideration—the ease with which marriages can be contracted and divorces obtained.

Now, I contend that legislation is responsible for the state of affairs as they now exist in the United States. For what is legislation?—the will of the majority? Yes and no. In some particular cases it is not. We know that many a law is enacted by the representatives of the people without their constituents ever clamoring for such a law, and France is no exception to that rule. Who does not know, for instance, that the bill of 1884 did not become a law until M. Naquet had urged its passage before two or three parliaments, and that it required all his persistence, his great skill, his persuasive eloquence, to bring the majority of the members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate to his view before the bill became a law? Who does not know, for instance, that many a law is passed in the different legislatures of the Union simply because one or two members are directly interested in it? It is an old story; a member is directly interested in legislation. He has had occasion to give what may be termed a complimentary vote to some of his fellow legislators. In their turn they are ready to pay back the compliment. The bill is harmless. It touches not the pocket of the taxpayer. They vote for it. It becomes a law. So long as it works no sudden or crying mischief it is suffered to remain on the statute books. And so with the different divorce laws; they are not at the start a result of popular clamor for their passage but of the accommodations legislators give to the parties interested in them.

It is said, for example, that in New York State, where the guilty party in a divorce proceeding could not under a former law remarry, a law was passed at the very instance of a member of the legislature—a divorcee directly interested—permitting the guilty party to remarry.

Once divorce laws are enacted, married couples take advantage of them who would never have thought or dreamed of separating and would have patched up their quarrels and differences if there had not been such an easy way out of the matrimonial bond. No man would have ever thought, unless the law favored a loose way out of wedlock, to write: "Mary, if you love me, or ever did love me, you will apply for a divorce, as there is another woman whom I could love."

As the scope of the law is little by little enlarged, an increas-

ing number seek and obtain divorces, and after a while it becomes a perfectly respectable thing to contract what might be termed experimental marriages. In the West, especially, society receives back *divorcees.* The palaces of the well-to-do are open to them. Churches do not cast them out, and ministers welcome them at their communion tables. They may occupy positions of trust and honor, two or three divorces to their credit side notwithstanding.

And we are told that such sights have no influence on the growing generation of boys and girls. This is not true. Teach the rising generation by object-lessons at an age when impressions are deep and lasting, that men and women may, without losing caste, divorce at pleasure, and the notion of the sanctity of the family life is undermined. Let the newspapers dish up to the public, as they invariably do, all the details of divorce proceedings and joke about them, and the sanctity and morality of the family must necessarily be sapped.

It is not a hundred years since the guillotine numbered its victims on the Place de la Révolution in Paris. Lavallée, the historian, in his *Histoire de Paris,* speaking of the crimes committed in Liberty's name, says:

"The old régime by the number and facility of its criminal executions had given but too much to the people a taste for blood, for torture; and the sight of the gibbet, of the wheel, of the scaffold daily given to the Parisians under the monarchy was not without its influence on the bloody scenes of the Revolution."

If blood called for more blood, why should not the daily sight and daily perusal of scandalous divorce proceedings change and demoralize our conception of marriage?

The total number of children involved in twenty years of these divorce proceedings reaches 267,739, and in 141,810 cases the records do not show whether there was any issue of the couples before the courts. Over a quarter of a million children had their homes broken, and went to fill the ranks of those who believe in divorce as a remedy.

We are told that crimes are on the increase. The student of Sociology may, perhaps, find in the study of the relations of divorce to crime both the cause and the effect.

SAMUEL J. BRUN.

IRELAND AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN.

It is a wonderful creation, that city of white palaces amongst the gleaming waters and waving verdure, at which the people of the New World are calling the nations of the earth to assemble, and where we may wander for long hours amidst the marvels of art and industry and science and nature, gathered from every land. And it is but fitting that this great Exposition, which seeks to represent every phase of life on the earth, should not only invite to her halls the wise, the great, the eloquent, the learned and the leaders of the peoples together in order to demonstrate the common brotherhood of all mankind, but that, hard by her palaces, we should find a place set apart where the common, every-day life of all sorts and conditions of men of various nations of the world may be witnessed by the most stay-at-home of Americans.

And, if we mistake not, many of the visitors to the World's Fair, who are also lovers of human nature, will own to themselves that they have carried away more vivid remembrances of the doings and ways of men and nations as illustrated on the Midway Plaisance, than even of their most wonderful handiwork as seen in the show-cases of the great buildings.

In this common camping-ground we may betake ourselves to one of the temples of ancient Egypt, hundreds of years before Christ; we may become explorers of Central Africa and the huts of the Soudanese, enlivened by the tom-toms of the comely black musicians, or we may watch the jesters and the jugglers of the East, still puzzling, with their tricks, the magicians of the West. Or we can turn from all the brilliant coloring and gay wares shown us by the Chinese and Japanese, to find ourselves amongst the quaint little Esquimaux and Laplanders, who, perhaps, seem most out of place amidst all this sun and radiance. Or, again, we may wander amongst the savage tribes of the South Sea Islands; or, if we will, we may spend our summer afternoons doz-

ing under a tree listening to martial music amidst surroundings which must make us wake with a start to wonder if we are, indeed, subjects of the Kaiser Wilhelm.

And to what end have all these shows and sights been brought here at such vast trouble and expense? Many nations have doubtless combined to bring about this panorama. Not only have the promoters of the World's Fair desired to see it as complete in every detail as possible, but no nation was willing to be unrepresented here, or to lose a chance of participating in the spoils to be expected as the result of this peaceful contest of competition.

But it is of the why and wherefore of one little settlement at the very head of the Midway Plaisance that I would speak, and of the reasons that make those who are responsible for its erection believe that its bare, grey old tower and its little, whitewashed, thatched cottages will appeal even more powerfully to thousands of American citizens than the brilliant hues and gorgeous displays of more ostentatious spectacles. Yes; for it is here that "the distressful country" lifts high her green flag from the battlements of Blarney and calls on the sons and daughters of Erin to show proof that a surpassing love for the old country and for all that reminds them of her is a part of their inheritance which they have not yet lost; and we shall be greatly mistaken if any who boast of Irish blood in their veins do not resort thither with their children in order to call to mind the stories told by parents of the scenes of their childhood, or muse over bygone days which they themselves can recall in the dear old home, surrounded by a mother's love and a father's blessing, and all those recollections, whether of joy or sorrow, which tend to forge lasting ties between those of the same kindred and the same country. The architects who designed and carried out the plan have striven to give a faithful and truthful representation of the scenes they seek to depict.

Blarney Castle is an exact reproduction (on a scale of two-thirds) of the stronghold of the old McCarthys. The entrance, copied from Cormac chapel at the Rock of Cashel, and the Cloisters of Muckross, are from drawings taken on the spot, and each cottage is the copy of an actual cottage now existing in some part of Ireland. The scant, but durable furniture; the old dressers and settles and stools are copied from special designs; the

iron pots, the old delft ornaments, all hail from home, and the bog-turf !—inhale its fragrance ! If you know it not, your feet have never pressed the Irish sod. And many another small trace of Irish life will be recognized by the initiated, not to speak of the sounds of the harp, the national instrument, wafting forth national airs in response to the touch of an Irish patriot's daughter ; the pipes calling forth the dance and the jig, and Irish voices making the air melodious with the wild and pathetic strains of Irish song.

But it is in the actual dwellers and workers in the village that the interest will chiefly concentrate, for whatever may be the defects in the imitations we have made of inanimate things these newly imported lads and lasses show their origin plainly enough, with their rosy cheeks—the tint of which some doubting American visitors have been rash enough to hint must be artificial—and their deft hands plying needle or loom or wheel or carving-tools with equal dexterity. If it is impossible absolutely to represent a quiet and peaceful cottage life in the wilds of Ireland in a place where thousands of visitors pass daily, yet this comes as near the original as circumstances will permit, and we believe that the remembrances of the past which the sight will recall, with the aspirations which it will renew of being a credit and an honor to the old people, the old home, the old country in this new world, in whose history and life the Irish element counts for so much —these remembrances and aspirations must be full of wholesomeness and help.

But was it merely the purpose of inspiring such sentiments, noble as they may be, that induced the "Irish Industries Association" to set down this little industrial colony in the World's Fair, at the cost of considerable trouble and at the risk of many thousands of dollars advanced for the purpose by kind friends both in the old country and in America? No. The mission intrusted to us by the people of Ireland, represented as they are in our councils by persons of all classes, all denominations of religion, and all sections of politics, is one of wide and practical importance to the poor of Ireland, and not only has it been taken heartily in hand by our Committee but it has been enthusiastically indorsed by many public meetings in different parts of Ireland. We not only desire to represent the life of some of Ireland's peasantry, but we desire to appeal

through their skill and quickness and dexterity to Ireland's friends and to show that through these qualities a great work can be done for Ireland.

What has been the reason for the great decrease in the population of Ireland? What has been her curse, apart from (although in great measure owing to) England's misgovernment? Is it not that her people have mainly relied on the land for their sustenance, and that any bad season or other mischance has found them with no other means of living to resort to? And so they have had to face one of two alternatives: practical starvation at home or emigration. And this amongst a people who not only have an intense love of home, but who appear naturally to possess industrial aptitude, calculated to make their country prosperous! Need these things be? Although the new countries of the West are goodly lands of hope for the emigrant, yet need Ireland be depopulated yearly of the flower of her young men and maidens who cling to home and parents despite all hardships and scanty fare, and who part from their country with a sore wrench never wholly forgotten throughout life? And all the while there is running to waste not only the manual dexterity referred to, but a whole treasury of water-power, and seas teeming with fish.

Both political parties have seemed to recognize these facts of late, and we gratefully acknowledge the good likely to be done by Mr. Balfour's light railways in opening up the country and the action of the Congested District's Board, and the development of the dairy industry. Those of us who are Home-Rulers are inclined, however, to believe that Ireland's full industrial development can only come under a complete system of self government, and under that self government we look forward to a golden future, though it may be attained but slowly and through many difficulties. But be that as it may, we who believe in that golden future are bound to strain every nerve to prepare the people for it, and so it will be seen that in this work of promoting the industries of the country persons of the most widely differing opinions (so long as they be lovers of their country) can meet together and strive together for a common end, however diverse may be their expectations and desires regarding the future. It is thus that during the past seven years the Irish Industries Association has been seeking to promote and develop the very beginnings of all industries likely to become permanent, and so to

train the workers that they may be able by and by to meet the demands of the trade so soon as regular trade connections can be made for them.

We believe that although machinery has transformed the whole face of the country, yet there is still a place for the manufactures of the hand which machinery can never displace, and that the proper organization and development of these is full of moral as well as material good to the country that possesses them.

In the north of Ireland the shirt-making and underclothing industries are fully developed in connection with the trade, agents being distributed throughout the country who give out and receive back the work, untold comforts to hundreds and hundreds of families being the result. The knitting industry is in many places organized on the same lines, and though the wages seem to us horribly low, the people walk for miles to obtain the work. We now desire to foster other home industries in other parts of Ireland, hopeful of like consequences. The lace and crochet industries set on foot mostly during famine years are already well known and appreciated, and offer a hopeful field for further development, and we appeal to lovers of lace and embroideries in America to examine our productions in this direction both in the village and in the Woman's Building, where finished specimens of our work are on view. The Roman Catholic prelates of America have been most generous in giving us orders for vestments and allowing us to exhibit them along with some of our ecclesiastical laces. We are earnestly desirous that their example may be followed by others of the clergy, and by those who propose to make offerings of such articles, as well as by ladies who desire laces for personal adornment, and who may have been misled as to the character of Irish laces by the quality of those wretched specimens offered for sale by the hawkers who come on board the Atlantic liners at Queenstown. Irish lace has often suffered by the poorness of its design, and by the want of knowledge of both art and fashion by those under whose guidance it has been made.

Much has been done to remedy these deficiencies by various efforts during recent years. Innumerable touching stories can be told of heroic and far-seeing work being accomplished for the poor in these country districts by one kind-hearted lady or another, in many cases working single-handed, and in others in connection with some religious order. During the last few years the prosecu-

tion and teaching of such industries in convent schools have received much impetus from the wise action of Sir Patrick Keenan and the Board of National Education, who have invited the teachers to instruct their higher classes in industrial work instead of adhering to the purely literary curriculum, and who give them fees for so doing. Good results are already springing from this policy, notably so in the case of the woollen weaving established at Foxford, and the linen weaving at Skibbereen and Queenstown.

But the difficulty which has confronted all such local industrial work has been its isolation, its distance from the market, its want of knowledge of the coming needs of the world of fashion in London and Paris and New York. And yet these difficulties have to be overcome; the newest shapes, the best designs, the most modern colors must all be studied and carried out by these peasants in the wilds of Ireland if our modern hand-workers are to secure and maintain their hold on the market. Here comes in the need of outside help, such as our Association aims to give to industries in their early days, and in the diversified form in which we find them, whether under the charge of one person or a committee; whether the outcome of private enterprise, or in the hands of an industrial or convent school as the centre. We aim at backing up all such efforts and at supplying teaching and designs to the workers, and also at providing a market for their goods. We have already made some advance in our objects—we have familiarized the public of Great Britain with Irish work, its variety, and its beauty; we have established shops and held sales which have been the means of disposing of a large quantity of work annually; we have been able to obtain trade orders which have kept many and many poor persons from want during hard seasons. But our work is only beginning—we need teachers, designers, commercial travelers, organizers and training-schools; we want capital wherewith to make grants of money and material to young industries; we want to start others, such as poultry-raising and the raising of early flowers and vegetables. Money is wanted for all these things and, therefore, we are endeavoring to obtain a regular income by enrolling a large number of new members in our Association, both at home and in America, who will show their full sympathy with our work by regularly subscribing $1 or $2 a year to it; and who will promote the use of

such Irish manufactures as they may deem worthy of encouragement.

Need our objects in planting the Irish village at Chicago be further inquired into? We seek to remind not only the Irish-Americans but the American public generally of the work of the Irish peasantry; we desire to secure not only their custom, but their hearty support of the movement in its development; and we are sanguine that we shall not appeal in vain for what we confidently believe will largely tend to the uplifting of a whole country.

ISHBEL ABERDEEN.

HOW DISTRUST STOPS TRADE.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

THE population of this country is now approaching 68,000,000. That will be our number before the end of the year. The product of the people of this country is not less than what an average of $200 worth would come to per head; probably more now. It came to that sum about ten years since. This product consists of food, fuel, clothing, and shelter. All work, whether manual, mechanical or ornamental; all capital, whether material or mental; all effort of every name and nature, is expended directly or through the use of capital in the process of bringing out or producing the substances which are derived from the field, the forest or the mine, and converting them into food, fuel, shelter, and clothing. The final cost of the support of each member of the community is his own proportion of the consumption of these products; no more, no less. All that each one gets, rich or poor, is his board and clothing. Consumption is the end of the whole effort, whether it takes the form of what is called fixed capital—in which form it is consumed slowly—or something else for immediate use which is consumed quickly.

Manufacturing and trade consist in converting crude products into their final forms—ready for consumption. In these processes a small part of what is produced is consumed by those who are directly occupied in primary production on farms. The rest —by far the greater part—is converted, re-converted, and sold or exchanged once, twice, thrice, or even more times.

If sixty-eight million persons produce at the rate of $200 worth per head, which comes to $600 to each worker upon whom two others depend, then the average product of each workingman or woman upon whom two others depend, at $600 worth of product per year of three hundred working days, comes to $2 worth per day; from which two dollars' worth all profits, taxes, and earnings or wages are alike derived or recovered. The aggregate amount, at two dollars' worth each per day, would be meas-

ured in money at the sum of $13,600,000,000, and that would be the value of our total annual product.

If we take a maximum estimate of that which is consumed where it is produced without purchase or sale, and call it $1,600,000,000—which is too much—there remains $12,000,000,000 worth of product which is converted, re-converted, sold or exchanged from one to many times in its progress from the producer to the consumer. The subjects of trade come to at least $12,000,000,000 a year, probably to a much larger sum.

The lowest average of exchanges may be put at three conversions, each of which carries with it a purchase and a sale. The sum of all transactions comes, therefore, to not less in each year than $36,000,000,000. Omit holidays and Sundays, and the bargains and sales of each day amount, at least, to $100,000,000. Divide this by sixty-eight million people, and we find that the purchases and sales which are conducted in terms of money every day for each person, man, woman or child of our population, come to $1.50, probably to a greater sum.

That is to say, every average man, woman and child must have on the average—some more and some less—what fifty or sixty cents a day will buy. Before this food, fuel and clothing get to the place where each one can buy it, it has been sold once, twice, thrice and sometimes four or five times over, and the sales and purchases come to one dollar and fifty cents a day at these estimates.

Trade consists in making these purchases and sales. Bad money stops trade; then the poorest suffer the most.

In order that food, fuel, clothing and shelter shall reach the person who needs it on the day when he needs it, the product of the farm, the field and the mine must have been moved to the mill, to the workshop, to the factory, to the dwelling; a large part must have been converted into fabrics; these again into clothing, implements and food ready for consumption; lastly, all must be distributrd in small parcels in order to reach the person who is to be served. Many would starve if the food were stopped for a week; all would be speedily reduced to want if fuel, clothing and shelter were not supplied at the time of need. These exchanges are "Trade." In trade men serve each other's wants. Commerce exists only by mutual service. Let us reverse the terms of this problem.

Many who cannot think in millions can think in dollars. Let every one think of what quantities of food, fuel and clothing he can buy with fifty cents. The working group numbers three persons ; one works for the other two. Let any one think how much food, fuel and clothing for three persons he can pay for out of a dollar and a half per day. Let him then think where the food, the fibres and the fabrics were first produced—where they were manufactured and how they reached the shop where he buys them. Will he not be very certain that before he bought these goods at retail they had already been bought and sold in one form or another, once, twice, three times or more ?

Suppose we say three times, then the purchases and sales for each person come to a dollar and a half a day, or to four dollars and a half for each group of three.

Then ask one of the children to do the sum :

50 cts. worth a day × 365 days = $182.50.

$182.50 × 3 = $547.50 × 68,000,000 people = $37,230,000,000 a year.

Thirty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty million dollars' worth of trade each year in order that each man, woman and child may get what half a dollar a day will buy ! That is what it comes to.

In making these purchases and sales, weights, scales and measures are used. The man who tampers with his scale is a knave ; the man who uses a light weight is a thief ; the man who gives false measure is a criminal.

What word shall we use to designate the man who makes a bad dollar or the legislator who passes an act to force people to take it ?

The only use for which money is required is to serve as an instrument of exchange in making all these purchases and sales. No one wants any money except to spend. Every one wants as much money as he can earn of the best kind, in order to buy a sufficient supply of food, fuel, clothing and shelter to meet each day's wants. The quality of the money is therefore the matter of utmost importance. The quantity of money even now in circulation would not suffice for a single month's transactions, hardly for a single week, if money were required in every purchase and sale. The work of trade is done mainly on credit because men trust each other as they have a right to. "The trust reposed in

and deserved by the many makes the opportunity for the fraud of the few." The credit which each man can extend to his neighbor depends not only upon the quality of the man, but also upon the quality of the money which is to be paid and which is to be received. When a doubt exists about the quality of the money trade stops. Credit cannot be given even to those who are entitled to it when the credit of the money itself is doubtful. That is what affects trade now. The quality of the money which is lawful in the United States is doubted. Why? Money that is doubted is bad money. It is not fit to be used.

The country is full of the elements of wealth and prosperity; the materials for food, fuel, shelter and clothing are in excessive abundance, but they must be kept moving. They are kept moving by the use of a small amount of good money and a great amount of credit. Credit depends upon the quality of the money. The quality of the money is doubted. Any one can measure the evil if he can once conceive of the check or stop to trade which comes to $100,000,000 every day. Stop this traffic a week, and those who have small capital begin to fail. Stop it two weeks, and banks begin to fail. Stop it a month and a universal panic ensues. Stop it in part by doubtful credit, and trade is depressed everywhere. It is so now. Why?

This doubt of the quality of the money has been caused by the attempt to put a dollar made of silver into circulation under an act of legal tender, which dollar is not worth as much after it is melted as it purports to be worth in the coin. Bad money which is a legal tender drives good money out of circulation. Bad legal tender money is now driving good money made of gold out of circulation. Trade is checked. Men are beginning to fail. Banks are subject to ruin. Distrust prevails everywhere.

The only definition of good money is that it consists of coin which is worth as much after it is melted into bullion as it purported to be worth in the coin. Gold dollars are good money because they are worth as much in bullion as they are in coin. Silver dollars are bad money because they are not. They serve the purpose of good money only so long as the Government redeems them in gold or its equivalent. How long can the Government continue to do so? These are facts. Let any one contest them who can.

The present administration is making use of all the lawful

power that exists to put a stop to this distrust,—to maintain the credit of the country and to prevent a panic. It must be supported by banks, bankers and people alike, else the disaster will come. That disaster will be due to the temporary success of the advocates of the free coinage of silver dollars which are not worth as much after they are melted as they purport to be worth in the coin. There is hardly a man in this country who cannot to-day name important undertakings which have been and will be stopped until this cause of distrust is removed. This distrust stops trade: it stops enterprise: it promotes bankruptcy. The stupid or malignant enemies of the credit of the country must be held responsible. They are the advocates of the free coinage of silver dollars of full legal tender, which are now bad money.

These men are not bi-metallists. The bi-metallists scout them. They are either ignorant persons who do not know what bi-metallism is, or else they are special advocates of the so-called silver interests, who are ready to defraud the working-people of this country for their own personal profit. It is time to stop being tolerant on this question.

The proposal to coin silver dollars without limit and to force people to take them by an act of legal tender is an intolerable fraud. The purposes of its advocates can only be justified by commending their sincerity at the expense of their intelligence.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

THE ANTI-TRUST CAMPAIGN.

BY ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

HISTORY is the story of an endless conflict between the strong and the weak—the strong grasping always for more, the weak striving ever for enough. Sometimes the struggle is for dominion; sometimes for possession. It matters not; in the last analysis both mean the same—control. Sometimes the strong win by physical prowess, sometimes by intellectual acumen. At first, their weapon is the sword; anon it is the law. Sometimes they compel through fear, sometimes through want. The weak battle sometimes for life, sometimes for liberty; sometimes for parity of right, sometimes for equal opportunity. Sometimes they strive for security; sometimes for sufficiency; sometimes with the hope of superfluity. At first they ask only a chance to live; anon they desire comfort and security; after a time they demand parity of privilege and equal opportunity. To-day they appeal to law; rest secure in its shelter; observe its behests. To-morrow they begin to chafe under its restrictions, seek to break through its meshes, and either yield to its force and sink into dependency or break through and begin again the curious struggle. The loaf they beg to-day, they spurn as a stone to-morrow.

The strong are not always bad nor the weak always good. Indeed the average of the strong is often, perhaps always, better than the average of the weak, because their opportunity is greater. The strong are often unconscious of the wrongs they perpetrate. This is because the law, which is the creature of power, is silent as to evils which spring from its exercise; while it denounces all that tends to disturb the harmony which power has established. Crime springs out of weakness, oppression out of strength. The law sanctions the act of the strong in taking bread out of the mouths of the weak; but if the weak take but a loaf from the store of the strong, even to save himself from perishing, it punishes his act as a crime.

Dominion and wealth are mere complements of control. Do-

minion is control exercised through force or favor; wealth is control exercised through inclination or necessity. Both are products of social life. Alone upon the earth a man would have neither power nor property; for none can rule where there is none to obey, or possess aught unless another is forbidden to enjoy.

The laws of human impulse regulating the acquisition, establishment, and restriction of these two forms of control which one man may exercise over his fellows are substantially the same. Considered together they constitute the science of relation between the strong and the weak. This science rests on one immutable principle: Given more power than is needful to enable a man to repel the aggressions of his fellows, and he becomes himself an aggressor. Or, taking the other aspect of control: Given more wealth than is needful to defend him and his natural dependents against the rapacity of others, and a man begins at once to despoil his fellows. In both cases the act may be without any purpose to do harm or even with a sincere desire to do good. The ruler believes his right to rule divine, and counts it divinely ordained for the good of his subjects. He who has the control of values believes the right to do as he chooses with his own to be equally divine. All forms of government and all laws regulating possession are the result of this tendency. Because of this the anarchist would abolish government and destroy property, in the foolish hope thereby to avoid oppression and prevent want. He forgets that the principle he would exterminate is the very root of liberty and the only safeguard against poverty.

The impulse to acquire power is altogether healthful up to the limit of individual strength needful for self-defence. The greater the proportion among any people of those who have reached that point of self-reliance, the less is the danger of tyranny and oppression. So too, the impulse to possess, up to the limit of such acquisition as may be needful to provide against rapacity, is altogether healthful. The more there are who have enough, the fewer there will be who have too much. The power of the rich depends on the weakness of the poor, and the evils of poverty disappear precisely in proportion as strength and self-dependence increase. Undue power is always the result of special privilege; undue accumulation, of special opportunity.

The only effective remedy for the evils of power in the hands of the few is the extension of privilege so as to enhance the power

of the many. The remedy for the evils of undue accumulation by the few is the enhancement of opportunity for the many. In other words, healthful progress demands both the stimulation of this impulse up to a certain point and its restriction after it reaches that point. One-half the problem has already been solved —and that the most difficult phase. What remains is only a corollary. The world has learned how to restrict power won by the sword and symbolized by the sceptre. Divine right to rule, as the prerogative of a few, is dead; but it is risen again as the immortal heritage of all; the crown upon the freeman's brow; the symbol of equal and universal right to rule our fellows as we submit to be ruled by them; the holy law of equal right and equal privilege for all.

In every age and every land the story of prerogative has been, in its essentials, the same. A thousand years ago one Strongarm slew a robber who was despoiling his fellows. Thereupon they praised him greatly and begged him to keep on killing robbers. He agreed, and they furnished him food and arms, a house and, by and by, retainers. Then he quit killing robbers and took to robbing, himself. After a while one Longhead undertook to relieve them of oppression. He overcame Strongarm and stepped into his shoes, took his castle and possessions, and, naturally, assumed his privileges. He flattered the people, despoiled their neighbors, scattered the plunder, brought back many slaves and made his people so drunk with luxury and the pretence of power that they contracted with him that he and his heirs should rule over them forever. It was such a very solemn affair that it was decreed that whoever should deny his right or that of his children should have his head cut off. So he established his favorites, nobles, and dependents throughout the land, and, when some murmured at his exactions, he cut their heads off as the law provided. That made people cautious about questioning his right.

After a time many of the weak grew to be strong and they proposed to one of his successors that he yield some items of his claim, but he refused—whereupon they tied his hands and took what they cared to have. One of his successors, however, with the aid of his nobles and their followings recouped what his ancestor had surrendered, and made laws still more stringent. Nevertheless, the people at length grew restive again; and when he did refuse to have his hands tied and to content himself with the shadow

of rulership, they cut off his head, and abolished the offices of his favorites and the privileges of his nobles. When they had thus broken up the "combine," they found it not so hard to govern themselves, because each one was afraid to take more than his share of power lest the others should subject him to the same treatment. Now and then one tried it, but found that when privilege was once expunged from the law of the land it was a very hard task to set it on its feet again among the people. The truth is, every one likes so well the honor of being even an aliquot part of a sovereign that, though he may use his power very ill or hardly be able to see that he has any, he has no notion of allowing another to take it away.

The Strongarms of the past ruled by brute force; but the Longheads added to force the control of opportunity and material resources. The process is well illustrated in the story of Joseph. He took, during the seven years of plenty, one-fifth of the produce of the land. This was the tribute which the people paid their Strongarm, Pharaoh, for protecting them from robbers; then, during the years of famine, Joseph, who was only a hired Longhead, sold the corn back to those who had raised it and took in exchange their lands. "For the Egyptians sold every man his field because the famine prevailed over them; so the land became Pharaoh's." "Skin for skin; all that a man hath will he give for his life." Pharaoh made an excellent trade; but how about the people? If government is "for the people," can it permit the impoverishment of the many for the enrichment and exaltation of the few? But the corn was his, and a man has a right to do what he chooses with his own, says the objector. Is the right of property a thing so divine that all other rights disappear before it? If he had a right to refuse to sell except at his own price, he had a right also to leave the people to starve. He might have kept the corn and had the land, too.

Let us give the story a modern application. Suppose a thousand capitalists, having certain knowledge that there will be a famine in our land some years hence, should procure a charter—that is the equivalent of Pharaoh's ring on Joseph's hand—to buy, store, and sell wheat. They buy, build granaries, hire guards, mount cannon. Then the famine comes. They refuse to sell except for land: "Your land or your life!" is their demand. They are invincible to any force that may be brought against

them. They have the power of government behind them, for it is bound by its contract, the charter; and as "every man has a right to do what he chooses with his own," the company who have "cornered" the world's cereals have a right to fix their own price or not sell their wheat at all. Why should not such a "combine" play again the game which Joseph played for Pharaoh? It has not been done, and is not likely to be attempted in its completeness, because of the uncertainty of modern meteorological predictions; but in its elements it is attempted every time a "grain pool" "corners the market;" only, instead of an actual scarcity, the price is inflated by an artificial one.

The protest against the power of unrestricted accumulation comes late in the world's history, for many reasons. First among them is the fact that not until very recent times has it been clearly recognized that the power of wealth is separable from the power of privilege, of which it was in the past most frequently an incident. Indeed, while privilege was dominant, mere untitled wealth was subordinate, and so very often cast its strength with the weak, who fought against prerogative. Every hereditary nobility was also a hereditary plutocracy, and dread of the power of wealth was merged in the more intense dread of privilege. It was thought, too, that mere parity of right to acquire would so stimulate competition as to prevent harmful accumulation; but it was overlooked that a mere right to do is fruitless unless linked with opportunity. He who is born only to poverty and an appetite cannot compete in acquisition on even terms with one whose inheritance needs not his strength to make it grow. He may do it, and sometimes may even overcome the disadvantage, but for every one who is able to do so there will always be a thousand who will be overwhelmed by such disparity of opportunity.

Especially was it not realized that the almost universal application of intelligence to the work of material acquisition, the opening of unexpected vistas of controllable values, and the material progress which science and invention have made possible would enable the almost incredible accumulations of to-day to be applied with inconceivable rapidity and ease to the accomplishment of the most remote and unrelated purposes; that the power of wealth would be multiplied by unheard-of legal devices and the opportunities for combination and coöperation in the appli-

cation of capital would be so enhanced that whole peoples may be subjected to the will of a "combine" of to-day as easily as a single purchaser or tenant to his creditor's demand a hundred years ago. The truth is only of late becoming clearly apparent that the danger resulting from prerogative is greatly enhanced by, if not strictly dependent upon, the facility with which many great holdings may be united under one control and applied to a single purpose. As combination was the strength of privilege, so it has now become the right hand of plutocratic power.

"The Western crusade against trusts," as the sentiment which for some years has been showing especial strength there is sometimes termed, is merely the most pronounced form of the protest against the most evidently dangerous feature of plutocratic control. It is not a crusade against "wealth" any more than democracy is a crusade against power. It is only a demand for the restriction of power exercised by combined accumulation, as democracy was a crusade against the power of combined privilege.

The term "trust," in its general acceptance, includes all combinations of capital intended to take advantage of the necessities of the many for the benefit of the few. "What do you mean by a 'trust'?" was asked of a wage-earner of exceptional intelligence, who had stoutly declared his antagonism thereto. "A 'trust,'" was his reply, "is a combination of capitalists to run things in their own way for their own profit, and without regard to the interests or needs of others."

The specific forms of combination are as various almost as their purposes. A, B, C, and D furnish each a certain sum of money to form a "blind pool" to "bull" or "bear" a specific stock or "corner" some staple. It is simply a voluntary agreement to use the values they control to create a fictitious scarcity or a false demand, whereby other persons are to be deprived of values they now hold or may acquire for the benefit of the men who constitute the "pool." It is just as much business, and of precisely the same character, as wrecking by the display of false lights. The "lambs" are "plucked," which means that the dead are plundered and the weak are stripped of the means of self-support. F and G, having control of the only means by which one of the prime necessities of life can be carried to those using it, agree with H that they will carry it for him at a certain rate, but will charge others two or three times as much. I, J, K, and

L, owning the greater part of the stock on hand and the majority of plants by which a certain article is manufactured, combine to share production and sale among them in specific proportions, agreeing not to compete with each other and to join with each other in underselling all other competitors. The purpose of each combination is to limit the supply, destroy competition, and so regulate price and monopolize profits. The mechanism by which it is effected is sometimes a secret agreement; sometimes a deed of trust giving certain parties control of their plants, stock, and good will, and sometimes a corporation which issues stock, fully paid up and non-assessable, in specific proportions for the various businesses it absorbs. Sometimes it is an assignment of all the specific interests to a managing body bound to divide the profits of manufacture and sale in a specific proportion between the combining parties. In all cases the effect, if the "combine" is strong enough, is to drive competing parties out of business and leave them to advance prices as they may see fit. The number of "trusts" substantially of this character is very great, and embraces an infinite variety of manufactured products.

By such means the power of the individual capitalist is many times increased, and not only the consumer, but the rival manufacturer, suffers by the suppression of competition. Such agreements are so manifestly iniquitous that no party to one has ever yet asked a court to enforce its conditions against another member.

It is often alleged that the effect of "trusts" is to lessen to the consumer the cost of the products they affect. The statement is so incongruous with the known and avowed purpose of the "trust" that only a people fond of "fine distinctions" would give it a respectful hearing. The number of Americans who desire to be thought "smarter" than others is, however, so great that such a paradox finds many to give it harbor and reiteration until they themselves, no doubt, come to believe it. The sole object of a "trust" is to prevent competition, and thereby enhance the profits of the parties interested in it. That these parties, having taken the pains and been at the expense of destroying their competitors, should voluntarily reduce their own profits, is a theory at war with the very principle upon which the "trust" is based—the principle of "get all you can and hold all you get."

Such a display of organized charity is not only paradoxical, but inconceivable.

But, aside from the question of the cost of an article of prime necessity to the consumer, the public has a very material interest in the distribution of the profits of production. The ultimate objective of government is the quality and character of those subject to it, and the purpose of all political economy should be to improve the general conditions in order that the quality of the citizenship may be enhanced. To attain this end the highest possible average of intelligence and self-dependence is necessary. This does not always result from the highest average wealth. One man worth $10,000,000 and 1,000 men worth only one dollar each would give a remarkably high aggregate and average of wealth. Yet only one of them would have a shred of manhood or independence. A nation constituted in that proportion would be at once the richest and the poorest in the world. It would be a paradise of wealth and a hell of infamy and degradation. Only a very general distribution of wealth can give a high average quality of citizenship and self-dependence ; and this is directly prevented when the profits of production are centred in few hands.

The more men there are who are self-employing and self-directing and the fewer there are who are dependent on the will of others for the employment that means life and comfort to them and their families the better. Ten thousand men worth a hundredth of a million dollars a piece are worth a thousand times as much to a nation and the world as one man worth a hundred millions. Every man who runs his own business offers opportunity for a higher grade of workers, and the stimulus of this opportunity is felt by the very lowest. A hundred such will give employment, perhaps, to an equal number of superintendents, overseers, bookkeepers and junior partners—all winning their own way to independency. Unite these businesses, and instead of an aggregate of three or four hundred assistants we have perhaps a score hardly better paid and with much less prospect of independence before them. The others are driven to some other avenue of self-support, adding just so many families to the army of dependent laborers. Thus the over-enrichment of one means the impoverishment of many and adds to the competition impelled by necessity, which is the means by which the many are deprived of opportunity. "Skin for skin ; all that a man hath will he give for his life," and

the greater the number of those who are shut up to wage-earning for a livelihood the greater the competition which drives the lower ranks into want and desperation. It is always the lower stratum that feels first and most keenly the force of harsh conditions, because upon it rests the weight of the entire superstructure. Whenever the number of the employers of labor is reduced, the number of the employed is increased; and when the numbers of the higher grades of employees is reduced the ranks of the lower grades are swollen to that extent. With this cumulative pressure the numbers of the unemployed are necessarily enhanced, and the weakest of the weak feel first the pangs of absolute dependence. It is from them that the cry for amendment always comes the first. Their methods of amendment may be wrong, usually are in fact, but their prescience of evil is unerring. They know where the shoe pinches, though they seldom know how to remedy the defect.

We often meet the claim that the evils of this sort should be tolerated because of the benefits derived from the benevolence of those who profit by them. The strong have always pleaded their good works in extenuation of the wrongs they did. The Roman emperors pointed to the games they established, the free baths they constructed and the temples they erected, as potent reasons why the people should uphold their power. Similar claims have been put forward by every class who have absorbed an undue share of power, both before and since that time. Let us not depreciate the benevolence of those who, in whatever manner, have come into control of vast accumulations, but it is well to remember that charity does not change the complexion of evil. The fact that Dick Turpin scattered money among the poor did not make his crime in robbing the rich less heinous; nor would Captain Kidd have been counted a benefactor of mankind even if he had used his treasures to found colleges and theological seminaries, instead of hiding them "on strands forlorn as he sailed." The difference between the moral quality of robbery committed by false signals under a black flag and robbery committed by false reports or a fictitious scarcity on a black Friday is not easy to state, though it is easy to see that in motive they may be very far apart. The law takes cognizance of the one as a crime and not of the other. Because of this the man engaging in the one is duly advertised in advance of the true character

of his act; while in the other case one might well say: "This cannot be very wrong, since the law does not forbid it."

Even an unintended wrong cannot have its moral expunged, however, by the mere dedication of a percentage of its results to a good use. There is, in fact, something too farcical about a man giving what he has wrongfully taken from another to benevolenee as a palliation of the wrong to permit its serious consideration.

There is, however, an aspect of this plea for toleration because of resulting public benefits that ought not to be lightly passed over. There are four methods by which the public derives benefit from the individual control of values, or individual wealth: (1.) The owner is enabled thereby to support himself and family, and prevent them from becoming a charge upon the public. (2.) By the payment of taxes for the support of government. (3.) By voluntary benevolence in promotion of charity, education and religion. (4.) By the undertaking and achievement of enterprises requiring large initial investments.

The first of these is much greater in amount, and of vastly more importance, than any if not all the others. This, of course, is best subserved by many small accumulations than by a few great ones. It is far better that one hundred families should have independent self-support, on a capital of $10,000 each, than that one family should enjoy the income of a capital of $1,000,000. In like manner, the support of government by taxation is much more sure and certain in the case of small than of large holdings. The man of moderate means has little opportunity to avoid taxation, the man of very large means very generally finds some way to shirk a part of the burden which seems all the heavier because the aggregate is swelled by his accumulations. A million dollars having a hundred owners will, as a rule, bear a much larger part of the public burden represented by taxation than the same sum under the control of one owner. So far as private voluntary benevolences are concerned, the same rule prevails. If we add together the great fortunes of any land and set over against them an equal aggregate of moderate ones, we shall find that the same amount of wealth yields more voluntary benevolence when in the hands of the many than when held by a few. It is not the great fortunes of the country that have built and supported its churches, schools, and colleges, but men of moderate and often straitened means who have done

the major part. When a man gives $50,000, $100,000, or $1,000,000 to such a purpose, it is always heralded to the world as a wonder. It takes a thousand subscriptions of $1,000 each to balance it. But it always is balanced and much more. Counting the aggregate of social and religious benevolences which are supported by those of moderate means, it is not too much to say that every million dollars owned by many gives to private charity and benevolence many-fold greater tribute than the average $1,000,000 controlled by a single individual.

There remains only the consideration of great enterprises requiring large investments for their initiation. In this respect it is perhaps true that the public advantage is subserved by immense accumulations. In the financial history of the last half-century or so, however, this is not altogether apparent. Nearly all the great enterprises of that time have been inaugurated and carried well towards success by the subscriptions of men of small means, while the great capitalist has gained control and added to his over-accumulation by "freezing out" the original investors and absorbing the values created by the enterprise of lesser men. The difficulty seems to be not to inaugurate great enterprises by the coöperation of small investors, but to protect the small investors against the rapacity of larger ones.

It is natural that the sentiment against this form of control should take a more definite form and find more general expression in the West than in the East. A much larger proportion of the population of the West than of the East are self-employers and naturally dislike the process of reduction to the ranks of the dependent employee which threatens them. Besides that, the West has drawn from the East, by a process of natural selection peculiar to our past, the most independent and vigorous of its elements — not necessarily the best, but the strongest. The young man who preferred hardship and independence to the conditions which faced him at the East went West. The man who failed in business in New England, whose pride would not permit him to serve where he had once directed, went West. The volunteer soldier who found the avenues of business closed against him on his return from the war, packed his kit and camped on the frontier. The immigrant who sought the West from abroad, also, as a rule, was of a more self-reliant character than those who stopped in the East : they sought homes, and were largely

agricultural in their character; those who tarried in the East were largely servants and employees who sought only a better service, not individual adventure and self-supporting homesteads. This process has been going on for half a century — perhaps to a large extent from the very date of settlement. Such a population is naturally more restive under conditions which they believe are both dangerous and remediable than one which has inherited the idea that, however harsh they may be, they are quite incurable; that the only way to avoid being crushed on the lower levels is to lie down and try to worm one's way to the upper ones. The demand for remedy and restriction is therefore louder, more emphatic, and more general in the West, for which reason some have identified the crusade against trusts with the West. The feeling of apprehension is perhaps quite as general in the East, but different conditions incline the Eastern man to greater caution and oft-repeated inquiry as to how any amendment may be secured; while the Westerner, perhaps, too readily responds: "Anyhow."

The relation of this sentiment to the Populist party is not easy to define. That only a small portion of it is represented by that party is evident to any careful observer. While antagonism to trusts is one of the tenets of that organization, it has so many others, and they are of so heterogeneous a nature, that they seem to have driven from its support many of the more conservative of those with whom this antagonism is deepest. The strength of the movement does not consist of men who are either socialists or revolutionists. They do not expect the world to be made over in a moment, nor believe in any untested cure-all for economic ills. They simply believe that a great and growing evil exists and must be remedied.

There is no occasion at this time to consider the remedies that might avail or the means by which they may be applied. There is no doubt that the same conviction which has made the principle of the Granger cases an integral part of our law and has forced all parties to admit the right of State and Nation to regulate corporate control of transportation will find a way to restrict the power of capitalistic "combines" of every sort and character, and relieve our civilization of the peril of a feudalism based on wealth.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

SILVER LEGISLATION AND ITS RESULTS.

BY THE HON. EDWARD O. LEECH, LATE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

FROM the formation of the Government our coinage legislation has been out of touch with the rest of the world. The first Coinage Act (1792) authorized the unrestricted mintage of gold and silver, at the proportion of 1 of gold to 15 of silver—a ratio not in accordance with the commercial value of the two metals. Gold being undervalued in our coinage system gold coins did not circulate, but were exported in exchange for commodities at the commercial value of the pure gold in such coins. To remedy this, in 1834 (and supplemental Act of 1837), the quantity of gold in the dollar was reduced and the ratio in coinage was fixed at 1 to 15.988,—practically, 1 to 16. This change did not correspond to the commercial value of the two metals,—silver being undervalued,—and, as a consequence, silver was shipped abroad, so that from 1834 to 1878 gold constituted our only metallic currency.

In 1873 Congress abolished the silver dollar—a practically obsolete coin—and gold was made the sole standard of value. At that period this country had exclusively a paper circulation, the depreciation of which was measured by gold. The law of Feb. 12, 1873, was the logical sequence of the legislation of 1834–37, confirmed and strengthened by the legislation of 1853 (making fractional silver coins subsidiary), which laws practically made gold the standard of this country. In discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollar in 1873 Congress, therefore, simply recognized an existing fact by dropping a coin which had formed no appreciable portion of our circulating medium for nearly half a century. The entire coinage of silver dollars from 1792 to 1873 had aggregated only 8,031,238 pieces, none of which were in circulation. Had not the demonetization of the silver dollar taken place in 1873, it must necessarily have taken place a few years later, when the European countries, one after another, abolished silver coinage,

or else this country would have resumed specie payments in 1879 on a silver instead of a gold basis.

The silver legislation of this country commencing in 1878 has been a series of compromise measures with the advocates of free silver coinage. A brief review of the monetary situation at the commencement of silver legislation in 1878, and of what has been done in the way of silver accumulation since, will be instructive.

During the War of the Rebellion we had issued, as a war measure, legal tender notes amounting, at the highest point—June 30, 1864—to $447,300,203. In January, 1875, Congress passed an act for the resumption of specie payments which required that:

"On and after the first day of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption."

The amount of legal-tender notes outstanding at that time was $382,000,000. Before the beneficial effects of specie resumption could be realized, however, Congress passed (May 31, 1878) an Act which provided that no more legal-tender notes should be retired, but when received into the Treasury *from any source,* should be paid out again and *kept in circulation.* The amount outstanding at this time was $346,681,016—at which it has since remained. Notwithstanding that this baneful Act prevented the retirement of the notes of the government, issued during the period of civil war, as the Specie Resumption Act contemplated, which retirement would have been speedily replaced by bank-notes issued under the provisions of the National-Banking Act, nevertheless, at this period, the entire currency of our country consisted of gold coin, legal-tender notes amply secured, and bank-notes redeemable in lawful money.

STOCK OF MONEY JANUARY 1, 1878.

Gold	$229,000,000
Legal-Tender Notes	346,681,016
National Bank Notes	321,672,505
Total	$897,353,521

Our currency was entirely a gold currency,— a currency based on gold. No silver coins (except change-money), nor silver notes, embarrassed us. Our stock of gold was increasing rapidly and enormously. The gold coinage of our mints aggregated in the six fiscal years commencing in 1873 and ending in 1878 $254,302,134. Ample facility was provided for the issue of addi-

tional currency by the provisions of the National-Banking Law, the only limitation to the amount of bank-notes which the banks could issue being the bonded debt of the United States necessary to secure circulation, at that time $1,832,259,310.

Such was the monetary situation at home when we entered upon the era of silver legislation. Abroad the situation was not propitious for silver. Commencing with the demonetization of silver in Germany in 1873, and the melting down and sale by that Empire of 1,081,724,800 marks ($257,454,000) in silver coins, followed by the suspension of silver coinage by the States of the Latin Union, one after another the European States had closed their mints to silver coinage, until in 1878,—when this country commenced the purchase and coinage of silver,—not a single mint in Europe was open for the coinage of silver for individuals.

In 1878 the House of Representatives passed a bill for the free coinage of silver dollars. This was amended in the Senate, concurred in by the House, and finally enacted into a law over a Presidential veto, by which the coinage of the silver dollar, with full debt-paying power, was restored,—not for individuals, as prior to 1873,—but on government account; the law requiring the mandatory purchase and coinage, monthly, of not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion, with a further provision authorizing the issue of paper certificates in sums of ten dollars and multiples, in lieu of the actual dollars. Although the minimum amount only was purchased and coined the purchases of silver under this Act aggregated 291,292,019 ounces, costing $308,190,262, from which there was coined and issued, either in actual dollars or paper certificates, 378,166,795 silver dollars.

The government paid the cost of transporting these dollars from the Mint or Treasury offices to any point where wanted. But the great bulk of them returned to the Treasury. Various devices were tried to promote their circulation, notably by reducing, and finally discontinuing, the issue of legal-tender notes of denominations less than five dollars; by receiving deposits of gold coin and legal tender notes from individuals and banks at the Assistant Treasury in New York, and furnishing silver certificates at distant points, thus *saving* the cost of transportation; and, finally, by the Act of August 4, 1886, authorizing the issue of silver certificates in denominations of one, two and five dollars,

under the operations of which the large certificates rejected by the banks and general public were replaced by small ones, until over ninety per cent. of all the silver certificates outstanding were in denominations of ten dollars and less.

Owing to the unparalleled increase of population and business in the United States, and especially to the fact that these dollars, issued in the form of small certificates, largely supplied the demand for small currency and filled the vacuum created by the retirement of national bank notes, the exchange value of the silver dollar, possessing a commercial value very much less than the gold dollar, had preserved its equality in domestic circulation with the gold dollar, by law the unit of value. Since February 1, 1878, when we had no silver currency, to July 1, 1890, a period of twelve years, there had been injected into the circulation of this country by mandatory force of law some 354,000,000 of silver dollars and their paper representatives.

In the meantime, notwithstanding this enormous absorption of silver by our government for currency purposes, the market price of that metal had fallen from $1.20½ an ounce on February 28, 1878, to $0.92 an ounce on May 29, 1889, and the value of the silver in the dollar from $0.93 to $0.71 cents. But the advocates of silver money were not satisfied with so slow a change from a gold to a silver currency. On June 17, 1890, the Senate of the United States by a vote of 42 yeas to 25 nays, passed a bill for the unrestricted coinage of silver for individuals into legal dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1, and the issue of paper certificates against such dollars. There was imminent danger that the Senate Bill would pass the House of Representatives, where there was a small majority for free-silver coinage. As a compromise measure the Act of July 14, 1890, the present silver law (improperly called the "Sherman" Act), was passed, which required the purchase by the Treasury Department, monthly, of four and a half million ounces of silver (instead of two million dollars' worth as under the act of 1878), payment to be made at the market price, in new legal-tender notes.

The Act required the coinage into silver dollars, monthly, until July 1, 1891, of two million ounces of the silver so purchased, and after that date the coinage of silver dollars was left discretionary with the Secretary of the Treasury. The law further required that the silver bars purchased and the dollars coined

therefrom should be held in the Treasury as a reserve against the legal-tender notes issued. The one saving clause of this law is the declaration, inserted by Senator Sherman, that it is the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

Under the operations of this law the Treasury has purchased, from August 13, 1890, when the law went into effect, to June 1, 1893, 152,413,792 ounces of silver, at a cost of $143,591,569—worth, at the present price of silver ($0.83 per ounce), $126,503,447—an actual loss of over $17,000,000. Of this there has been coined into silver dollars, to June 1, 1893, $30,087,040—making the total coinage of silver dollars (including 5,078,472, from trade-dollar bullion), from February 28, 1878, to June 1, 1893, $419,332,305, leaving in the Treasury uncoined 123,911,185 ounces of fine silver, costing $114,299,757, which could be bought to-day for $102,846,284.

The stock of silver bars, stored in the vaults of the Treasury, represents the product of all the silver mines of this country for a period of more than two years. As an available asset of the Government it is of no practical value. This immense stock of uncoined silver is a standing menace to the market for silver. If Congress should direct that it be sold, the very fact that this huge pile of silver was for sale would break the market and cause a serious fall in the price of the white metal. If it should be coined under any authority of law to issue it as additional currency, it would still further unsettle confidence in the ability of our government to maintain the gold standard, and hasten our steps towards a silver basis for our currency. Notwithstanding the large purchases of silver by our Treasury under the Act of 1890 the price of that metal has fallen from 96 cents an ounce on April 1, 1890, to 82 cents an ounce on March 22, 1893, and the commercial value of the silver dollars from 74½ cents to 63½ cents. The total purchases of silver bullion since February 28, 1878, to June 1, 1893, have aggregated 443,705,811 ounces, equivalent to 15,212 *tons*, costing $451,790,831.

Such, then, has been the history of silver legislation in this country for the past fifteen years. At a time when the mints of all Europe were closed to the coinage of silver money, when the most strenuous efforts were being made by those countries to

place themselves on the gold standard and to obtain the gold needed for that purpose, this country, acting in monetary isolation, with absolutely no silver currency in 1878, has gone on and on forcing silver currency into the channels of trade and piling up silver bars in its Treasury. If we had not entered upon this silver-purchase scheme the bulk of the silver purchased by our treasury would have been shipped abroad and paid for in gold, or gold exchange, and added in some form of currency just that amount of gold circulation to the country.

The people of Europe have looked on in amazement to see when this remarkable policy would end—a policy which in a very much shorter time would have seriously embarrassed any other country in the world. The note of alarm has been sounded over and over again. The principle of the "Gresham" law that inferior money would surely drive out good money—a law as certain and immutable as the law of gravitation—has been ridiculed, and the cry has gone up from the West and the South that we needed more money.

Because of our greatness, our wonderful natural and accumulated wealth, our magnificent industries and unparalleled production both of the soil and workshop, we have vainly imagined that we could pursue this policy *ad infinitum* in the face of the rest of the civilized world. We have arrived at a point where no man, whose eyes are not absolutely blinded to the facts, can fail to see that the limit of silver absorption has been reached unless we are prepared to place our currency on a silver basis. Gold is leaving our shores in such alarming quantities and with such steady persistence as to startle the most unconcerned.

Commencing in May, 1888, the gold shipments have aggregated, to June, 1893, over $328,000,000, as follows:

EXPORTS OF GOLD COIN AND GOLD BULLION, CALENDAR YEARS 1888-1893.

Calendar years.	Gold exported.
1888	$34,526,447
1889	50,933,460
1890	24,063,074
1891	79,086,581
1892	76,532 056
1893 (5 months)	63,106,266
Total	$328,247 884

During the same period the imports of gold have amounted to $114,683,035, as follows:

IMPORTS OF GOLD COIN AND GOLD BULLION, CALENDAR YEARS 1888-1893.

Calendar Years.	Port of New York.	Port of San Francisco.	All other Ports.	Total.
1888	$6,005,756	$3,950,351	$1,004,666	$10,960,773
1889	6,304,267	4,617,871	1,082,494	12,004,632
1890	13,212,739	5,806,220	1,211,131	20,230,090
1891	31,968,398	10,011,453	2,990,259	44,970,110
1892	8,504,513	6,045,917	2,900,516	17,450,946
1893.				
January	86,893	36,585	247,365	370,843
February	879,605	9,423	368,511	1,257,539
March	4,194,134	22,666	2,391,637	6,608,437
April	644,071	13,384	146,530	803,985
May	25,680	.....	.....	25,680
Total	$71,826,056	$30,513,870	$12,343,109	$114,683,035

There was a *net* loss to the United States by gold exports of $213,564,849. It will be noticed, however, that the return gold from Europe (all of which comes in at the port of New York) aggregated only $71,826,056, so that the actual loss by reason of export to Europe was $256,421,828. At the present time (June 1) the shipments of gold to Europe continue in increased amounts.

The stock of free gold in the Treasury, that is all the gold not held by law for the redemption of gold certificates, has fallen in the same period from $218,818,253 (March 31, 1888) to $95,048,640 (June 1, 1893).

In addition to $380,169,081 silver dollars and silver certificates in circulation on June 1, 1893, sustained at par by our gold standard, there were outstanding at the same date $335,977,323 in U. S. notes, and $132,505,183 in redeemable-on-demand-in-gold Treasury notes with an available gold reserve of $95,000,000. Moreover, the old stock argument in favor of silver purchases, that it increased the currency, is being disproved. The amount of money of all kinds in circulation June 1, 1892, was $1,613,572,244, while on June 1, 1893, it was reduced to $1,596,151,901, a reduction of over $17,420,000 in the last year.

When we examine the kind of money in circulation the substitution of silver for gold currency becomes more apparent. Gold coin and gold certificates in circulation decreased in the last year $56,790,953, while silver dollars, silver certificates and Treasury notes based on silver increased in the same period $41,218,502, showing how rapidly and surely our currency is changing from gold to silver. The gold receipts of the government, which, in July, 1890, the date of the passage of the present silver

law, amounted to over 95 per cent. of the total receipts from customs, have fallen to less than one per cent.—practically to nothing.

The change from a gold to a silver currency in this country, which was very generally predicted in Europe, has been carefully watched by European investors. They have not failed to note the fact that, while our gold reserves were rapidly and seriously diminishing, our gold obligations, through the issue of Treasury notes in the mandatory purchases of silver bullion to the extent of about $4,000,000 monthly, redeemable on demand in gold, were as rapidly increasing. The result has been to produce a thorough distrust in our ability to maintain gold payments. This impression has become so general abroad that an enormous amount of American securities, the most profitable form of investment for the European, have been sent back here for sale during the past two years, causing the balance of account to be almost continuously against us, notwithstanding the large exports of breadstuffs and other material from the United States in the fall and winter of 1891.

This is shown conclusively by the fact that, although the balance of merchandise trade was in favor of the United States for the two fiscal years—1891 and 1892—over 242,000,000, the *net* gold shipments for the same years was over $68,000,000. That is to say, instead of paying us for our cereals in money, Europe paid us back our own debts and made us redeem $68,000,000 of our debts besides.

At home the same apprehension has become almost universal among bankers and business men in the Eastern and Middle States, creating a feeling of distrust, resulting in a contraction of credits, or, at least, a more careful placing of credits and discouraging new business enterprises.

The remedy naturally suggests itself—the absolute repeal of the present silver law. Unfortunately, this is difficult to secure and can at best only be done when Congress meets. Another measure has been suggested which, as a temporary expedient, would undoubtedly have produced beneficial results if promptly acted upon, viz., the strengthening of the gold reserve by the sale of bonds.

That the legal right exists to sell bonds under the provisions of the act of January 14, 1875 (when gold alone was our standard and silver demonetized), to secure the gold necessary to

maintain specie payments, is so generally admitted by recognized authorities on financial matters that it is hardly worthy of discussion here.

If the provision in the Act of July 14, 1890, declaring it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity," has any signification, it contemplates the exercise of the means, provided by existing law, to carry it into effect. That declaration was intended as an assurance to all people that our currency would be maintained on a gold basis, and that if at any time there was danger that the two dollars would be of unequal value, it would be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to prevent it with the lawful means at his disposal.

That serious danger has existed for some time, that the two metals would have unequal values in our currency system, must be apparent to every one. The only method available to prevent such a catastrophe under existing law was to use the credit of the government to secure the necessary gold to insure the maintenance of the parity. That the placing of bonds to any reasonable amount—say fifty to one hundred million dollars—for gold coin, either at home or abroad, was perfectly practicable, no one doubts. That it would have restored confidence not only by securing the means to readily maintain gold payments, but as a substantial declaration to the world that the matchless credit of this great government would be used for that purpose whenever necessary, seems reasonable and highly probable. Moreover, it would have served as notice by the executive branch of the government to the legislative that the danger-line of silver currency had been reached and demanded prompt and decisive action by our law-makers, unless the people of this country were to be taxed to support silver purchases.

Since August 31, 1865, the bonded debt of the United States has been reduced from $2,381,530,294 to $585,034,810, a reduction of $1,796,495,484, and during the last eight years, under the administrations of Presidents Cleveland and Harrison, the principal of the debt was reduced by the enormous sum of $597,-168,500 (not mentioning premiums and interest), an average of over $74,500,000 annually. The result of this unusually large reduction of the debt in recent years has been to cripple the Treasury, not leaving a sufficient working balance for convenient business purposes, and the strengthening of this balance by the

proceeds of a bond sale would not only have restored confidence in the intent and ability of the Government to maintain all our money on a parity, but would have enormously assisted the Treasury in utilizing its available funds to the best advantage.

The root of the evil, however, lies in the present silver law, and unless this is removed it seems inevitable that our currency must reach a silver basis. What does a silver basis mean? It means, in the first instance, a violent and enormous contraction of our currency by the withdrawal of gold coins and gold certificates from circulation. After the first shock, when values have adjusted themselves to existing conditions, it means that the paying power of our money in foreign exchanges will be depreciated to the commercial value of our silver dollar, whatever that may be. We have an excellent illustration in our near neighbor—Mexico—of a country which is on a settled silver basis. The Mexican silver dollar, although it contains more silver than our dollar, has a purchasing power in foreign exchanges equal only to its value as silver bullion.

The relations between European countries and our own are as intimate to-day as the relations between the States of the Union prior to the Civil War. All Europe to-day has the gold standard, and all international exchanges are settled on a gold basis. Probably three-fourths of the foreign commerce of the United States is with European countries. Between countries which use the same metal as money there is a par of exchange which varies only within well-defined limits regulated by the balance of trade. Between countries which use different metals as a measure of values there is at present no natural par, because of the fluctuations in the commercial value of silver. Stability in the rates of exchange is the very essence of commercial transactions, especially commercial transactions based on credit. Without this there is necessarily an uncertainty, which it is impossible to eliminate and which complicates and deters business transactions. In this lies the permanent evil of a silver basis for our currency: *the uncertainty in the value of our money as measured by the money of commerce—gold.*

What the purchasing power of our currency in domestic transactions would be depends upon conditions which it is not possible to accurately forecast.

EDWARD O. LEECH.

SHOULD THE CHINESE BE EXCLUDED?

BY COL. R. G. INGERSOLL AND REPRESENTATIVE GEARY OF CALIFORNIA.

COLONEL INGERSOLL:

THE average American, like the average man of any country, has but little imagination. People who speak a different language, or worship some other god, or wear clothing unlike his own, are beyond the horizon of his sympathy. He cares but little or nothing for the sufferings or misfortunes of those who are of a different complexion or of another race. His imagination is not powerful enough to recognize the human being, in spite of peculiarities. Instead of this he looks upon every difference as an evidence of inferiority, and for the inferior he has but little if any feeling. If these "inferior people" claim equal rights he feels insulted, and for the purpose of establishing his own superiority tramples on the rights of the so-called inferior.

In our own country the native has always considered himself as much better than the immigrant, and as far superior to all people of a different complexion. At one time our people hated the Irish, then the Germans, then the Italians, and now the Chinese. The Irish and Germans, however, became numerous. They became citizens, and, most important of all, they had votes. They combined, became powerful, and the political parties sought their aid. They had something to give in exchange for protection—in exchange for political rights. In consequence of this they were flattered by candidates, praised by the political press, and became powerful enough not only to protect themselves but at last to govern the principal cities in the United States. As a matter of fact the Irish and Germans drove the native Americans out of the trades and from the lower forms of labor. They built the railways and canals. They became servants. Afterwards the Irish and the Germans were driven from the canals and railways by the Italians.

The Irish and Germans improved their condition. They went into other businesses, into the higher and more lucrative trades. They entered the professions, turned their attention to politics, became merchants, brokers, and professors in colleges. They are not now building railroads or digging on public works. They are contractors, legislators, holders of office, and the Italians and Chinese are doing the old work.

If matters had been allowed to work in the natural way, without the interference of mobs or legislators, the Chinese would have driven the Italians to better employments, and all menial labor would, in time, be done by the Mongolians.

In olden times each nation hated all others. This was considered natural and patriotic. Spain, after many centuries of war expelled the Moors, then the Moriscoes, and then the Jews. And Spain, in the name of religion and patriotism, succeeded in driving from its territory its industry, its taste and its intelligence, and by these mistakes became poor, ignorant and weak. France started on the same path when the Huguenots were expelled, and even England at one time deported the Jews. In those days a difference of race or religion was sufficient to justify any absurdity and any cruelty.

In our country, as a matter of fact, there is but little prejudice against emigrants coming from Europe, except among naturalized citizens; but nearly all foreign-born citizens are united in their prejudice against the Chinese. The truth is that the Chinese came to this country by invitation. Under the Burlingame Treaty China and the United States recognized:

"The inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

And it was provided

"That the citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China and Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States should reciprocally enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as shall be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, in the country in which they shall respectively be visiting or residing."

So, by the treaty of 1880, providing for the limitation or suspension of emigration of Chinese labor, it was declared:

"That the limitation or suspension should apply only to Chinese who emigrated to the United States as laborers; but that Chinese laborers who were then in the United States should be allowed to go and come of their own free will and should be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions, which were accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nations."

It will thus be seen that all Chinese laborers who came to this country prior to the treaty of 1880 were to be treated the same as the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation; that is to say, they were to be protected by our laws the same as we protect our own citizens.

These Chinese laborers are inoffensive, peaceable and law-abiding. They are honest, keeping their contracts, doing as they agree. They are exceedingly industrious, always ready to work and always giving satisfaction to their employers. They do not interfere with other people. They cannot become citizens. They have no voice in the making or in the execution of the laws. They attend to their own business. They have their own ideas, customs, religion and ceremonies—about as foolish as our own; but they do not try to make converts nor to force their dogmas on others. They are patient, uncomplaining, stoical and philosophical. They earn what they can, giving reasonable value for the money they receive, and as a rule, when they have amassed a few thousand dollars, they go back to their own country. They do not interfere with our ideas, our ways or customs. They are silent workers, toiling without any object, except to do their work and get their pay. They do not establish saloons and run for Congress. Neither do they combine for the purpose of governing others. Of all the people on our soil they are the least meddlesome. Some of them smoke opium, but the opium-smoker does not beat his wife. Some of them play games of chance, but they are not members of the Stock Exchange. They eat the bread that they earn; they neither beg nor steal, but they are of no use to parties or politicians except as they become fuel to supply the flame of prejudice. They are not citizens and they cannot vote. Their employers are about the only friends they have.

In the Pacific States the lowest became their enemies and asked for their expulsion. They denounced the Chinese and those who gave them work. The patient followers of Confucius were treated as outcasts—stoned by boys in the streets and

mobbed by the fathers. Few seemed to have any respect for their rights or their feelings. They were unlike us. They wore different clothes. They dressed their hair in a peculiar way, and therefore they were beyond our sympathies. These ideas, these practices, demoralized many communities ; the laboring people became cruel and the small politicians infamous.

When the rights of even one human being are held in contempt the rights of all are in danger. We cannot destroy the liberties of others without losing our own. By exciting the prejudices of the ignorant we at last produce a contempt for law and justice, and sow the seeds of violence and crime.

Both of the great political parties pandered to the leaders of the crusade against the Chinese for the sake of electoral votes, and in the Pacific States the friends of the Chinese were forced to keep still or to publicly speak contrary to their convictions. The orators of the "Sand Lots" were in power, and the policy of the whole country was dictated by the most ignorant and prejudiced of our citizens. Both of the great parties ratified the outrages committed by the mobs, and proceeded with alacrity to violate the treaties and solemn obligations of the government. These treaties were violated, these obligations were denied, and thousands of Chinamen were deprived of their rights, of their property, and hundreds were maimed or murdered. They were driven from their homes. They were hunted like wild beasts. All this was done in a country that sends missionaries to China to tell the benighted savages of the blessed religion of the United States.

At first a demand was made that the Chinese should be driven out, then that no others should be allowed to come, and laws with these objects in view were passed, in spite of the treaties, preventing the coming of any more. For a time that satisfied the haters of the Mongolian. Then came a demand for more stringent legislation, so that many of the Chinese already here could be compelled to leave. The answer or response to this demand is what is known as the Geary Law.

By this act it is provided, among other things, that any Chinaman convicted of not being lawfully in the country shall be removed to China, after having been imprisoned at hard labor for not exceeding one year. This law also does away with bail on habeas corpus proceedings where the right to land has been denied to a Chinaman. It also compels all Chinese laborers to obtain,

within one year after the passage of the law, certificates of residence from the revenue collectors, and if found without such certificate they shall be held to be unlawfully in the United States.

It is further provided that if a Chinaman claims that he failed to get such certificate by "accident, sickness or other unavoidable cause," then he must clearly establish such claim to the satisfaction of the judge "by at least one credible white witness."

If we were at war with China then we might legally consider every Chinaman as an enemy, but we were and are at peace with that country. The Geary Act was passed by Congress and signed by the President simply for the sake of votes. The Democrats in Congress voted for it to save the Pacific States to the Democratic column; and a Republican President signed it so that the Pacific States should vote the Republican ticket. Principle was forgotten, or rather it was sacrificed in the hope of political success. It was then known, as now, that China is a peaceful nation, that it does not believe in war as a remedy, that it relies on negotiation and treaty. It is also known that the Chinese in this country were helpless, without friends, without power to defend themselves. It is possible that many members of Congress voted in favor of the Act believing that the Supreme Court would hold it unconstitutional, and that in the meantime it might be politically useful.

The idea of imprisoning a man at hard labor for a year, and this man a citizen of a friendly nation, for the crime of being found in this country without a certificate of residence must be abhorrent to the mind of every enlightened man. Such punishment for such an "offence" is barbarous and belongs to the earliest times of which we know. This law makes industry a crime and puts one who works for his bread on a level with thieves and the lowest criminals, treats him as a felon, and clothes him in the stripes of a convict,—and all this is done at the demand of the ignorant, of the prejudiced, of the heartless, and because the Chinese are not voters and have no political power.

The Chinese are not driven away because there is no room for them. Our country is not crowded. There are many millions of acres waiting for the plow. There is plenty of room here under our flag for five hundred millions of people. These Chinese that we wish to oppress and imprison are people who understand the art of irrigation. They can redeem the deserts. They are

the best of gardeners. They are modest and willing to occupy the lowest seats. They only ask to be day laborers, washers and ironers. They are willing to sweep and scrub. They are good cooks. They can clear lands and build railroads. They do not ask to be masters—they wish only to serve. In every capacity they are faithful; but in this country their virtues have made enemies, and they are hated because of their patience, their honesty and their industry.

The Geary Law, however, failed to provide the ways and means for carrying it into effect, so that the probability is it will remain a dead letter upon the statute book. The sum of money required to carry it out is too large, and the law fails to create the machinery and name the persons authorized to deport the Chinese. Neither is there any mode of trial pointed out. According to the law there need be no indictment by a Grand Jury, no trial by a jury, and the person found guilty of being here without a certificate of residence can be imprisoned and treated as a felon without the ordinary forms of trial.

This law is contrary to the laws and customs of nations. The punishment is unusual, severe, and contrary to our Constitution, and under its provisions aliens—citizens of a friendly nation—can be imprisoned without due process of law. The law is barbarous, contrary to the spirit and genius of American institutions, and was passed in violation of solemn treaty stipulations.

The Congress that passed it is the same that closed the gates of the World's Fair on the "blessed Sabbath," thinking it wicked to look at statues and pictures on that day. These representatives of the people seem to have had more piety than principle.

After the passage of such a law by the United States is it not indecent for us to send missionaries to China? Is there not work enough for them at home? We send ministers to China to convert the heathen; but when we find a Chinaman on our soil, where he can be saved by our example, we treat him as a criminal.

It is to the interest of this country to maintain friendly relations with China. We want the trade of nearly one-fourth of the human race. We want to pay for all we get from that country in articles of our own manufacture. We lost the trade of Mexico and the South American Republics because of slavery, because we hated people in whose veins was found a drop of African

blood, and now we are losing the trade of China by pandering to the prejudices of the ignorant and cruel.

After all, it pays to do right. This is a hard truth to learn—especially for a nation. A great nation should be bound by the highest conception of justice and honor. Above all things it should be true to its treaties, its contracts, its obligations. It should remember that its responsibilities are in accordance with its power and intelligence.

Our government is founded on the equality of human rights—on the idea, the sacred truth, that all are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our country is an asylum for the oppressed of all nations—of all races. Here, the government gets its power from tho consent of the governed. After the abolition of slavery these great truths were not only admitted, but they found expression in our Constitution and laws.

Shall we now go back to barbarism ?

Russia is earning the hatred of the civilized world by driving the Jews from their homes. But what can the United States say ? Our mouths are closed by the Geary Law. We are in the same business. Our law is as inhuman as the order or ukase of the Czar.

Let us retrace our steps, repeal the law and accomplish what we justly desire by civilized means. Let us treat China as we would England ; and, above all, let us respect the rights of men.

R. G. INGERSOLL.

HON. THOMAS J. GEARY :

MUCH of the adverse criticism on the Chinese Restriction law of May, 1892, is due to ignorance of the situation which then confronted Congress, and the intent and purposes of the law. Those hostile to the Act of May 5, 1892, condemn, not the intention of the law, but the consequences following upon its violation, and which are the creation of the persons affected by it.

The consequences that now confront the Chinese in the United States are not the result contemplated by the Act, but are the results of the action of the Chinese themselves in defying the government, in their voluntary failure to obey its just and reasonable laws ; and their possible deportation is the result of

their own actions, and not what was contemplated or expected when the law was passed. The law was intended only to prevent the further immigration of Chinese into the United States, and deportation of those legally here was not its purpose.

The Chinese law of May 5 was justified by the circumstances prevailing in this country; it was in accordance with the treaties made between this Government and China; it imposed no undue or unjust hardship upon the Chinese people here, and was a proper and just exercise of power on the part of this country. The condition that then confronted us is well stated by Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the attorney for the Chinese, in his argument before the United States Supreme Court in their behalf. He says:

"But in spite of the ever-increasing vigor of the successive restriction and exclusion acts, evading their prohibitions and the vigilance of the public authorities in their enforcement, another very large class of Chinese laborers had made their way into our territory. These were lawless intruders, not only having no right to be here, but having come in clandestinely, contrary to and in defiance of the express prohibitions of our statutes, and in appearance they were not easily distinguishable from the other class who under the treaties are entitled to be and remain here, whose rights, however, secured to them by the treaties had been uniformly observed and protected by the courts and the Government."

Again, of those unlawfully here, he says:

"As to the rights or status of that class of Chinese persons, or the legality or propriety of their removal by the method so provided, no question for consideration is here involved."

The law did not contemplate the deportation of those legally here—

"First, because the obvious purport and intent expressed in the Sixth Section is directly the contrary. It recognizes expressly their right to remain here, and, instead of revoking or attempting to take it away, it purports to construct a scheme, the constitutionality of which is presently to be considered, by which, as to each one of such persons in the United States, it is to be conclusively determined whether he does or does not belong to that class; and if he is so found and adjudged to belong to that class it leaves him undisturbed in the enjoyment of his right to remain in the United States, and if, on the other hand, he is found and adjudged not to belong to that class then his removal is provided for. Congress must have assumed, in constructing such scheme, that every Chinese laborer belonging or claiming to belong to that class would within the year present himself to the Collector of the Internal Revenue to have his right judicially determined by him; that in each instance it would be justly determined by the Collector, so that all would receive the protection intended by the Act in the form of the Collector's certificate of residence. Obviously, in this view,

it was the intent of the Act to protect and preserve the right to remain here to those to whom it belonged, to separate and distinguish them from the other class to whom the right to remain did not belong, and to give them an official certificate of their right."

Since 1882 the laws of this country have prohibited the coming into it of Chinese laborers. This law was known in China and was familiar to all of their people here, and yet year after year the law was violated and large numbers of Chinese, as Mr. Choate says, came into the country in violation of our laws. Their coming was encouraged by the Chinese here and over our borders, and through frauds practised at our seaports these people came into the land contrary to our wishes—they were not invited. Once here they were received with open arms by their people, and their identity was covered up and lost in the great mass of Chinese in the country who at all times lent all the assistance in their power to enable these people to violate the law. It was impossible to separate them from their fellow countrymen and return them to their native land, from the difficulty of distinguishing one from another, and as, with the disregard for truth which is admitted by all who know the race to be one of their characteristics, numbers of their fellows were always ready to come forward and testify that the accused had been in the United States for many years. These violations of law were encouraged by the Chinese legally here, and especially by the Six Companies, who made a profit out of the importation of the coolies. Either the restriction laws had to be repealed and the ports of the country thrown open to this class of immigration, or else some other measure that would secure the enforcement of the restriction laws had to be adopted.

It is claimed that the Act of 1892 was unnecessary, because more Chinese were leaving the country than entered it, and the number entering and leaving the port of San Francisco is cited to show that 48,000 more Chinese left the United States than entered it during the past decade. But the census shows the falseness of this argument. In 1880 there were 105,000 Chinese in the United States; in 1890 there were 106,000, or instead of decreasing 48,000 the number had actually increased. The only conclusion deducible is that 49,000 entered in defiance of our laws. Of all the Chinese now here, more than one-third are not here by our invitation but contrary to our expressed wish.

During these years the government has been compelled every year to expend large sums of money for the maintenance of guards and inspectors upon our frontiers and at our different seaports, in order to prevent the infraction of our laws by a race of people who never have shown any respect for them.

The Act of May, 1892, as Mr. Choate says, had for its primary and only object the identity of those Chinese who were justly here, so that we might distinguish them from those who came in violation of law, and who had no right to remain in the country. Its object was to prevent the deportation of the innocent or the infliction upon these of any hardships attendant upon its enforcement, and to distinguish them from the violators of the law.

The law was not harsh in its provisions, as we were more anxious to establish a means of identifying those who came hereafter than we were of visiting punishment upon those now in the country. This purpose was justified both by the necessity of securing obedience to our laws, and also upon the score of economy in reducing expenses which this government was compelled to incur every year, because of the attempts of this particular race to defy its laws.

Objection is made to the Sixth Section, providing for registration, on the ground that it subjects the Chinese to hardships and degrades them. If registration is a degradation, then there are many Americans who have a just right to complain. Thirty-four States require that citizens shall register before being allowed to vote, and some of these States demand that a description of the person shall be filed. Failure to comply with these laws is punished by loss of suffrage. Wherein lies the hardship for the alien in requiring him to do that which nearly all States demand of the American citizen ?

In most of the States the members of certain professions and trades are required to register and receive a certificate before being allowed to pursue their calling, and for violation of these laws are punishable by imprisonment and fine. These laws are interferences with the natural rights of citizens and discriminate between callings ; but complaint is not made by American citizens that by complying with them they are subjected to any disgrace. These laws are necessary to prevent frauds in the exercise of the suffrage, and to identify the citizens entitled to participate

in elections, and to prevent frauds being practised upon the people to their injury.

Surely, if it is right in order to secure the safety of our people from quacks and other fraudulent pretenders, it is right to use the same means to protect us from an immigration that we do not want and whose continuance is injurious. In the case of the Chinese, year after year we have found frauds practised upon the government, and the government subjected to expenses to protect itself against these frauds, and we apply to them the same rule that for years we have been applying to our own citizens—a rule justified by the actions of these people, and made necessary by their own criminal behavior.

If we had imposed a tax upon Chinamen, if we had made compliance with the law difficult or onerous, some modification of the law might be justifiable; but, recognizing how difficult and inconvenient to them it might be to attend before officers far removed from their residences, the law provided that the officers should go to the Chinaman wherever he was, and afford him every facility for complying with the law without expense or burden to him. Under these circumstances, and because of the belief that the law was justified by the conditions that confronted us, by the desire to maintain and insure respect for the laws of this country among the people of alien races, the law was wise and right, and ought to be enforced.

This law is beneficial, rather than degrading, to the Chinaman legally here. Under the old law he was subject to arrest at any time, on the charge of having come illegally into the country. He was at the mercy of any of his fellows who sought to inflict on him this form of annoyance; and charged with being illegally here he was subject to arrest and forced to incur the expenses attendant upon a trial to determine his right to remain, while the proof was necessarily parole, and perjury might be resorted to with ease and with comparative freedom from penal consequences. This law gives him, under the seal of government, a justification for his presence, and the written testimony always with him to free himself from this inconvenience and annoyance, while his right to remain could only be questioned and the production of his certificate required by a regularly appointed federal officer, who we cannot presume would use his position to violate the spirit of the law or to harass and annoy.

The opponents of the law say that the Chinaman was required to carry about him a certificate, having stamped thereon his own photograph; and we are told that the man must feel dishonored, because he carries his own picture in his vest pocket. Such an argument is unworthy of notice. From the resemblance which all Chinamen bear to one another no other means of identifying them than by photograph could be selected. We tried the description by other means under the law of 1882, and found it radically defective.

If previous laws had been complied with this law would not be necessary. It is known from experience in California, where nine-tenths of all the Chinese in the United States reside, that the great mass of Chinamen here would gladly and willingly have complied with the law but for the threats of their masters, the Six Companies, who hold the great mass of Chinese in the United States under their control and authority.

Thirty years ago we spent millions of dollars and sacrificed thousands of American lives to free this land from the curse of African slavery. To-day we have the exhibition of another race as absolutely enslaved by their masters as were the negroes in the South, establishing themselves and their institutions in our midst; and if it were well to free the country at that time from the slavery of the black, it ought to be equally essential and patriotic at this time to protect our country from the evils of Asiatic slavery, and our American labor from the unjust and degrading competition presented to them by the Chinese. Slave labor is not one of the essentials for the proper development of American civilization.

There would have been no failure to comply with this law on the part of the Chinese but for the Six Companies, whose antagonism to it is not because of the degradation which it offers to their subjects, but for the reason that the enforcement of the law would insure a certain means of preventing in the future any further importation of their slaves. It was the destruction of their slave industry that caused the Six Companies to make the effort they have made to secure the defeat of the law, and not any love for the vassals now in their employment here.

This law is justified by the treaties between America and China, and is in entire accord with the last compact between this government and the government of that country. In this treaty it is provided:

"If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the United States, meet with ill-treatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection, and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemption as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty."

This language is not found in any other treaty with any other government, and illustrates the superiority of Chinese diplomacy in negotiating treaties.

Recognizing the complex character of our government, the inability on the part of the National Government to control the States, and the primary liability of the States for injuries inflicted upon people, whether citizens or aliens, when committed in defiance of law, the Chinese Government not desiring to be compelled to seek redress from States and municipalities for injuries inflicted on Chinamen, secured from the National Government a declaration insuring the protection of their people, which undoubtedly makes the National Government primarily liable for such injuries. And such was undoubtedly the intention of China and the construction to be placed on that section of the treaty. This being the case, the liability of the National Government for injuries inflicted upon Chinese having been assumed by it in the treaty, that liability could only apply in the case of injuries inflicted upon Chinamen in the country in compliance with our laws, and the National Government could not be liable for those who came in violation thereof. Under these circumstances it was the duty of this government to adopt a system of registration of all these people for whose protection they became specially liable, so that it would know the measure of its liability, and protect itself against fraudulent claims imposed upon it by those who came in defiance of law. The exercise of the registration power was proper, and is justified by this treaty, and failure to require registration would be gross carelessness.

Some people will condemn all restriction laws, because from the fatherhood-of-God and the brotherhood-of-man standpoint, all men being equal, all men should be permitted the same degree of freedom and liberty in the practice of their trades and callings, and in the enjoyment of whatever fruits may come to them from their own industry, and all laws that interfere with the in-

dividual man, restricting his opportunities, or denying him the right to enjoy life and liberty, must be condemned by humanitarians and Christians. But this beautiful sentiment finds no application in the exercise of governmental powers, because the first duty of governments is to their own citizens, and in securing to them protection and the enjoyment of their life and liberty the consideration of the effect on other people is not of consequence.

The Chinese differ from all other people with whom we have been brought into competition. The population of China amounts to over four hundred million people, and nearly all of them are laborers. Mr. Bedloe, Consul at Amoy, in his report for January, 1892, gives an interesting table of the earnings, cost of living, and mode of life of the Chinese people. In that report he puts the average earnings of the Chinese adult, employed as mechanic or laborer, at five dollars per month, and states that this is ten per cent. above the average wages prevailing throughout China, while the cost of living of an adult is estimated by him at six cents per day.

Here is a condition deserving of attention by all friends of this country, and by all who believe in the protection of our working classes. Is it fair to subject our laborer to the competition of a rival who can measure his wants by an expenditure of six cents a day, and who can live on an income not exceeding five dollars a month? What will become of the boasted civilization of our country if our toiler is compelled to compete with this class of labor, with more competitors available from China than twice the entire population of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain?

The Chinese laborer brings here no wife and no children, and his wants are limited to the immediate necessities of the individual, while the American is compelled to earn income sufficient to maintain the wife and babies. There can be but one end to this. If this immigration is permitted to continue American labor must surely be reduced to the level of the Chinese competitor, the American's wants measured by his wants, the American's comforts no greater than the comforts of the Chinaman, and the American laborer not having been educated to maintain himself according to this standard, must either go down into a darkness

too gloomy to contemplate, or else take up his pack and leave his native land. The protection of American labor is an essential duty of the American Government; and protection against such competition is not only advisable but necessary, if we wish to continue the government we now have.

It is charged that we forced ourselves upon China, and sought her trade, and must not enforce the law from fear of losing it. This is not true. The English and the French battered down the gates of the Chinese cities; the American Government refused to be a party in the assault. If the initiative had not been taken by others China would to us have been a walled city to-day; but after the battering down had been accomplished, and other nations had been admitted to the enjoyments of the Chinese trade, our government merely asked that we should be placed on equality with them.

Much has been said about the so-called Burlingame treaty and the great promises of trade held out to us by its ratification. It matters not what our expectations were at that time; however great, they have not been realized. The inducements held out to our people by that treaty never have been justified by the action of the Chinese. We had a right to expect that the nation that had refused to be their enemy, when the great nations of the earth attacked them, should hold a better place in their estimation than their adversaries; but the experience of the last twenty-five years, since the Burlingame treaty was ratified, shows that in the matter of trade, the Chinaman permits no sentiment to influence or affect him, but buys where he can buy the cheapest, whether from his enemy or friend, and sells in the market that will take at the highest price the greatest amount of his commodities.

There is nothing in the Chinese trade, or rather in the loss of it, to alarm any American. We would be better off without any part or portion of it. For the year 1892 our imports from China amounted to $20,488,291; our exports amounted to $5,663,000, or a balance in favor of the Chinese of nearly $15,000,000 for the last year. The history of the last year has been the history of the last twenty-five years, during which time we have shipped to China more than $134,000,000 in coin, in excess of the amount of bullion and coin imported therefrom. The loss of this trade would not be injurious, and there is no possibility of China ceasing to trade with us so long as we are always a customer for more than $14,-

000,000 of her products over and above what she takes from us. Our people have no such rights in China as we accord her people here. They have not the right to settle where they please, to engage in trade, or to indulge in their missionary work, excepting in a few of the ports of China and a few of her cities; and if an American wishes to go into the interior of China he must do just what we ask the Chinaman to do here—to obtain a certificate of his right, and be prepared to show it wherever called for. We have to-day not exceeding twenty-five merchants in all of China. As a matter of fact, the American houses have withdrawn from that trade, being unable to compete with the other foreign houses.

The immigration of Chinese laborers has been prohibited for many years. The Pacific States are a unit against the further immigration of these people. Nine-tenths of all the Chinese in the United States are found in these States, and they have had opportunities for studying the effect of their presence, not permitted to the other States. American interests in the far West, the maintenance of American civilization, and the just protection of American labor from Chinese competition, is of more consequence than the profits of the Chinese trade, or the maintenance of missionary stations in China. The law should be enforced, for we cannot afford to have the declaration made that this government cannot enforce its laws against an alien race in the United States. It should be the duty of all good citizens to advise submission to law, and to withhold their sympathy and encouragement from those who defy the laws of the country, no matter who they may be; because, unless there is voluntary obedience to law, or if the right of one race or class to defy the government can be justified, a precedent is established for the future which will justify similar conduct on the part of other classes and races, and, ultimately, the government, under these circumstances, unable to enforce its decrees, will cease to be able to protect those who are deserving of its protection.

All aliens residing within the Union should be taught as the first condition of their remaining here that they must obey our laws, or else leave. There is not room in this country for the establishment of foreign governments, or for races that are not willing to submit to the authority of our American laws.

T. J. GEARY.

NORWAY'S POLITICAL CRISIS.

BY PROF. H. H. BOYESEN.

THE union between Norway and Sweden is of so unique a character that it seems as if it were devised with a view to being misunderstood. I have never been able to suppress the suspicion that when Bernadotte, in 1814 (then Crown Prince of Sweden), signed the Norwegian Constitution on behalf of his adopted father, King Charles XIII., he must have laughed in his sleeve at the declaration that Norway is a free, independent and indivisible kingdom, united with Sweden. For, when presently, on his succession to the throne in 1818, he appointed a Swedish viceroy to direct the government in his absence, he showed plainly that he accepted the Constitution of Eidsvold in a purely Pickwickian sense. He knew well enough, old soldier of the French Revolution as he was, that a certain enthusiasm for liberty, equality and fraternity yet lingered in the air in spite of Metternich and the Holy Alliance; and he was perfectly willing to have the Norwegians deceive themselves with an illusion of freedom, as long as they left the reality of power in his hands. This, however, the Norwegians would not do. The presence of the viceroy was a perpetual irritation to them, until the office was practically though not formally abolished by King Oscar I. A free, independent and indivisible country, governed by a foreign viceroy! Was ever a more absurd pretence foisted upon a people? That it seemed less preposterous to the generation of 1814 than it would to their descendants of to-day was, no doubt, due to the fact that it presented an advance upon the former relation to Denmark, which was one of frankly acknowledged provincialism.

The terms of the union which I have called unique in political history have, as far as I know, no exact parallel or precedent. First, to guard against the appearance of dependence, the King (Charles XIII.) was *elected* King of Norway, and became actually King by accepting the conditions imposed by the Diet (Storthing) of 1814, which framed the constitution. Norway, though she was ceded by Denmark to Sweden by the treaty

of Kiel, never acknowledged this cession, and contended that the sovereignty which the King of Denmark renounced reverted to the Norwegian people, which had the right to bestow it upon whomsoever it pleased. Though some indecisive skirmishing took place between Swedish and Norwegian forces, no conquest was made or claimed to have been made, and it was purely by friendly negotiation and mutual concessions that the union was effected. What might have resulted in case of war *á l'outrance* it is vain to speculate upon. Sweden was utterly exhausted by the disastrous wars of Gustavus IV., and the tremendous drain upon her resources had brought her to the verge of financial ruin. Norway was scarcely better off, being worn out by the famine of 1812, consequent upon the blockading of her ports, and having no organized army worthy of the name. Honors were therefore easy ; and it is futile to imagine what might have been, if affairs had taken a hostile turn.

Bernadotte, when he ascended the throne under the name of Charles XIV., was resolved, I fancy, to make the best of a bad bargain. The democratic spirit of the Norwegian constitution was highly displeasing to him, and he was in the habit of holding up the allies as a bugbear to the Storthing, when it was rebellious and refractory. The fact was, the problem which he was trying to solve was well nigh-insoluble. He was King of Norway and he was King of Sweden ; but he was not King of Norway by virtue of being King of Sweden. In Sweden, which has an ancient and powerful aristocracy whose support he could not dispense with, he had to be aristocratic and conservative ; in Norway, which in 1818 abolished whatever remnants of an aristocracy it possessed, he could only court popularity by being democratic and radical. As the same man can not be both simultaneously the King sat down, as it were, between two chairs and failed of popularity in both countries. He tried with all his might to stem the rising tide of Norwegian democracy and to impose an hereditary nobility upon the country, but he finally had to abandon the attempt and accept the inevitable.

The Norwegians have always strenuously resisted all attempts to consolidate the two nationalities. The person of the King is the only bond of union between the two kingdoms. No Swede can hold office in Norway, and no Norwegian in Sweden. The government of Norway, in its executive branch, is carried on

through a responsible ministry consisting of Norwegians only, a division of which is resident in Stockholm, so as to be in immediate contact with the King. The only officials whom the two nations have in common are the minister of foreign affairs, who has always been a Swede, and the consular and diplomatic representatives in foreign lands, who may belong to either nation. It is this anomaly which the Norwegians now wish to abolish, and they have commenced with the claim to a separate consular service, which, if granted, is sure to be followed by a demand for a separate diplomatic service and a Norwegian minister of foreign affairs. The Steen ministry, which has just resigned, on account of the king's refusal to sanction the law incorporating the former claim, represents in its extreme form this striving of the Norwegians for an absolute and unqualified equality with Sweden under the union. The Swedish diplomacy, which practically takes no account of Norway, and rather intentionally ignores her, misrepresents the country, in the sight of the world, giving the impression that she is a mere province or semi-autonomous dependency, which has no right to be heard in the councils of the nations. And how successful Sweden has been in this systematic suppression and deception every Norwegian who has lived abroad knows to his cost. He is invariably (whether he likes it or not) called a Swede, and his protests are, as a rule, received with a smile, or, perhaps, a question as to who represents his nation in Washington or London or Berlin. When he is obliged to admit that Norway is either represented by a Swede or by a Norwegian appointed by the Swedish foreign office, it is scarcely to be wondered at that his claim to a distinct nationality is taken with a large grain of salt. Moreover, it is an open secret that promotion can be secured by a Norwegian in the diplomatic service only by subserviency to and acquiescence in this traditional policy of ignoring Norway, or subordinating her interests in all respects to those of Sweden.

It is, therefore, by no means a mere question of sentiment which is at issue in the controversy now raging between the two countries, and which threatens serious consequences.

As I have observed, the separate consular service is a mere entering wedge, and leads, by a logical necessity, sooner or later, to the larger claim of an independent diplomacy. Norway has, by the bitter experience of nearly eighty years, learned that the

present arrangement simply means national extinction; and that the only way in which she can gain recognition from the world as a nation is by having a diplomatic and consular representation which is Norwegian and not Swedish. It appears to me that this claim is so rational that no impartial judge would think of disputing it. And if, as a matter of fact, a large party in Norway do dispute it, it is either because, having never been abroad, they cannot see themselves as others see them, or because they are oblivious of their country's grand history and pusillanimously content with inferiority and provincial subordination. Even Mr. Emil Stang, the leader of this party, who, after the resignation of Mr. Steen and his colleagues, has just formed a new conservative ministry, must be aware that a country, whose relations with its neighbors are managed, not by itself, but by one of the neighbors, is not a self-governing country, however much it may delude itself with that fiction, but a semi-autonomous province or dependency. It may be because Mr. Stang privately sees this, and only officially professes blindness, that he is said to have advised the King to approve of the consular law of the late Storthing, which, however, as minister he is bound not to urge.

It is not to be denied that the present situation is a precarious one and full of dangerous possibilities. It was a foolish and rather undignified proceeding on the part of the Storthing to cut off the King's civil list, and immediately, as if to emphasize the rebuke, vote pensions to the retiring ministry. For, being a man of honor, Oscar II., even if he were personally disposed to make concessions, could not afford to incur the appearance of having been coerced or influenced by pecuniary considerations. His position in Sweden is strengthened rather than weakened by the deliberate disrespect with which he is treated by the national assembly in Norway. And we are already beginning to observe the consequences. We hear a vociferous demand from the Swedish press to "suspend the Norwegian Constitution," which is but another way of declaring war, or forcing Norway into declaring war. But as the King is the commander-in-chief of the Norwegian army, and a considerable portion of the Norwegian people would deprecate a resort to arms, the odds would necessarily be in favor of Sweden; and the chance is worth considering that Norway might lose whatever independence she now enjoys, and after a bloody and exhausting war be reduced, temporarily at

least, to a provincial relation. It is futile to blink these ugly probabilities. Even Björnstjerne Björnson, than whom there is no more patriotic man in Norway, sees that, with an army which is not to be relied upon, as its officers are largely conservatives and have sworn allegiance to King Oscar II., and a divided public sentiment, it would be madness to provoke an armed conflict with a country which is more than twice as populous as Norway. He has therefore wisely called a halt and counseled caution and a resort to further negotiations. But the party of the Left, which for a quarter of a century have drawn much of their inspiration from his defiant courage and bold maintenance of their national honor, are deeply disappointed at what they call his desertion, his cowardice, his truckling to Sweden, and unfaithfulness to his principles. But, to my mind, this serious summons to pause and consider consequences is the bravest act of Björnson's life; for he knew perfectly well what a storm of denunciation he would call down upon himself by antagonizing the dominant spirit within the party which he has himself been largely instrumental in creating. It is, however, the part of true statesmanship not to rush blindly ahead, impelled by a mighty enthusiasm; but to consider ways and means and with cool prevision forecast results, even when they are likely to be undesirable.

That the Swedish government realizes the gravity of the situation, and is determined to support the King in his unconciliatory attitude, is obvious from the debate in both chambers of the Riksdag, April 12, 1893. A committee of the Lower House then reported emphatically against any concession to Norway's demand for a separate consular service, and the report was adopted, as the sense of the House, by a vote of 184 to 38. The discussion of the government's proposition to grant the King a certain provisional right to levy on communes and individuals for munitions of war, in case of army mobilization, was also highly significant, although the moderate counsel of Mr. Adolf Hedin then prevailed, stipulating that the Riksdag should be convoked, in extraordinary session, whenever there was cause for mobilization of the army, and that such mobilization should never be justified except for the purpose of maintaining the neutrality of the kingdom, or for defence in case of attack. It cannot, therefore, be said that the Lower House has thrown down the gauntlet to Norway or exhibited a challenging

spirit. In fact, the democracy of Sweden, which is already a force to be reckoned with, has shown a considerable sympathy with the aspiration of Norway for complete coördination under the Union, and it is only that portion of the press known as the Grand-Swedish organs (*Storsvenskar*) which, by its loud braggadocio and insults, has industriously fanned the embers of discord.

If the first Bernadotte had bequeathed to his descendants a policy of full and frank recognition of Norway's claim to equality with the larger kingdom, I venture to assert that the relations between the two countries would, to-day, have been friendly, if not cordial. No nation that is worthy of freedom will willingly acquiesce in subordination and feel grateful for whatever crumbs of self-government may be granted to it after long and acrimonious agitation. Every concession which Norway has wrested from Sweden has been secured by the most indefatigable and clamorous demand, and by an attitude of stubborn self-assertion and pugnacity. It is to this persistence in her opposition to all attempts at amalgamation and a jealous vigilance over her constitutional rights that she owes whatever measure of liberty she now enjoys. If, on the other hand, the Kings of the House of Bernadotte had comprehended and sympathized with this perfectly legitimate aspiration for coördination and equality under the Union, and appeared in Sweden as interpreters of Norwegian opinion, as in Norway they have appeared as the representatives of Swedish opinion, loyalty and gratitude would have been fostered and the two nations would have joined hands in many an undertaking in which they have now held jealously aloof. They would have presented a united and, therefore, far more formidable front than they do to-day, sundered as they are in sentiment and only held together by a hateful political necessity. But the Kings have, since the first Bernadotte and his son Oscar I., been Swedes exclusively, and by the very fact of their foreign descent they have been anxious to emphasize their Swedish patriotism and their complete identification with the interests of the larger country. It is, of course, perfectly natural that being born in Sweden they should be Swedes, and I am far from blaming them for their devotion to the cause which they conceived to be that of the country of their birth. No man can be of two nationalities, and I know no man, except the King of the House of Bernadotte, who has been placed in this difficult predicament of professing more than one.

The fact is they have rarely displayed the least comprehension of the spirit which animates the Norwegian people, and they have accordingly been unable to rise to that higher statesmanship which would have cemented the union, year by year, as surely as the policy they have pursued has strained it to the point of disruption. Oscar I. and Charles XV. had, perhaps, occasional glimpses of a deeper comprehension, and to the former Norway certainly owes a debt of gratitude. But Oscar II. has betrayed an alienism and a narrowness of vision, in his dealings with Norwegian affairs, which certainly cannot have commended him to the affection of his Norse subjects. And, if rumor be true, his son, the present Crown Prince, is still more ultra-Swedish and still more determined to chastise the "rebellious and ungrateful Norwegians" into obedience and submission.

Now, suppose such an attempt was made, and was, as perhaps it might be, temporarily successful. What would Sweden or the House of Bernadotte gain by such a victory? To keep Norway in a state of permanent subjection, which I do not believe can be done, would demand a constant expenditure of men and money which would weaken Sweden, produce unending strife and turmoil, and strain her resources to the utmost. For the Norwegians, as their history shows, are not of the stuff that slaves are made of; and it would require a far greater power than Sweden has at her command to reduce them to submission.

This is indeed worth taking into account; and there are many excellent men in Sweden who see it plainly. On the other hand, it is contended that if the demands of Norway for separate consular service and ultimately separate diplomatic officers were granted, the Norwegian minister of foreign affairs might antagonize that of Sweden, and the two kingdoms would no longer present to the world a united front. Well, nor do they now. The chances of antagonism are, however, infinitely minimized, when no cause for jealousy exists (the nations being absolutely coördinate), and the King being yet the superior officer of both ministers whom the envoys of both countries at foreign capitals represent. There would perhaps be one cause for disagreement where now there are a hundred, and the union which now is a grudging and compulsory one, and therefore weak, would then be a friendly and voluntary one and accordingly strong.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

THE FASTEST TRAIN IN THE WORLD.

BY H. G. PROUT, EDITOR OF THE "RAILROAD GAZETTE."

AT THREE o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday, May 28, I left New York for Chicago, and the next Tuesday at 11:15 in the morning I was again in New York. I had travelled 1,928 miles in forty-four hours and fifteen minutes, and out of that time had spent four busy and useful hours in Chicago. This was not done as a *coup de théâtre*, but as a simple matter of business. Any other man, or any woman either, could have done the same thing with perfect comfort and with no more fatigue than must be endured in any railroad journey of so many hours. There was nothing in the motion of the cars or in any other internal conditions to suggest that the train was running unusually fast. I wrote much of the time and made fair "copy." I slept in peace and dined in quietness, and that is more than one can often do on trains making but thirty miles an hour. It was only when one looked out and tried to pick out an individual cross-tie or to catch the fleeting mile-posts that he began to realize the smooth, swift and incessant progress that he was making over the face of the earth. For it must be remembered that while the schedule time of twenty hours for 964 miles from New York to Chicago gives an average speed of 48.2 miles an hour, this includes nine stops, of which seven are long enough to change engines and inspect the running gear. It includes also slackening of speed to take water or at grade crossings and through large towns. The average, therefore, of 48.2 miles an hour does not give the average speed in motion, nor does it give any measure of the maximum speed that must be made for short distances by a train making 964 miles in twenty hours. A great many miles must be run at over sixty miles an hour, and some miles are run considerably faster than that. In the westbound journey, of which I am speaking, two of us timed twenty-five consecutive

miles at an average speed of seventy miles an hour, and we timed one of those miles as having been run in forty-three seconds, or at the rate of eighty-four miles an hour. This record was made under such conditions that I feel warranted in accepting it as accurate. That was probably the highest speed reached on this journey, but much higher speeds have been made on the same ground and by the same engines.

The journey of which I write was made on the first round trip of the twenty-hour service between New York and Chicago, established by the New York Central & Hudson River and the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railroads—a service which marks an epoch in railroading. It is a brilliant performance in railroad operation, and it is of real importance in human affairs. In both aspects it is deeply interesting, and to look at it merely as a bold piece of advertising, or as an enterprising attempt to draw passengers from other roads, is to take a superficial view.

When in 1881 the train time between New York and Chicago was reduced to twenty-six hours and forty-five minutes there was no great practical reason for reducing it only an hour or two more. One must pass a night and lose a working day on the journey. Bringing the time down to twenty-five hours, as was done two or three years later, enabled the man who left one city in the evening to arrive at the other early enough to dine and go to the theatre the next evening. Or, if he started in the morning, he gained an hour and three-quarters for his business the next morning. Indeed, if he were a tough traveller, and travelled merely for business, as most folks do, he would do about as well to start in the evening by a thirty-six-hour train and pass two nights on the way. By so doing he got tolerable lodgings, he lost no more business time than if he had taken a twenty-five-hour train and saved the extra fare of the "limited" trains.

But the twenty-hour service immediately introduces new conditions. It enables a man to do business in New York, in Chicago and again in New York on three consecutive days, and to get in each city a fair business day. For instance, leaving New York at three o'clock, he is in Chicago at ten the next morning. He has really been twenty hours on the way, but for business purposes he has only been nineteen, because of the difference in longitude. Then he has four clear hours in Chicago, and leaving at two in the afternoon is in New York again at

11:15 the next day. The new trains, therefore, are essentially business men's trains, and if the acceleration of speed stops at the present limit the gain in time will still be one of the most distinct and important improvements in train service that have been made in recent years. If the time can be reduced still another two hours the further advantage will be greater than has been secured in any reduction made between thirty-six hours and twenty-five; and while it is foolish to tempt fate by making gratuitous prophecies, I should not be at all surprised to see the run between New York and Chicago made regularly in eighteen hours within the next two years.

Indeed, it is a fact that when the present acceleration was first planned it was the purpose of the officers of the New York Central and the Lake Shore to make the time nineteen hours; and in the light of what they are now doing there seems to be no serious mechanical reason why they might not have fixed the speed at that point. It would simply have involved running over the Lake Shore at the same average speed as is maintained over the New York Central; and that rate has been kept up for more than twenty months, in regular daily service, with no mishaps and no serious difficulties. The speed of the Empire State Express, which was put in service in October, 1891, is 50.7 miles an hour, including stops. That schedule has been kept up with remarkable punctuality, summer and winter, through all the vicissitudes of traffic and weather. The new twenty-hour train is scheduled for exactly the same speed from New York to Buffalo, but as it does not run into the Buffalo station it has a slight advantage and its "inclusive" speed figures out 50.6 miles an hour. Over the Lake Shore, however, the rate per hour, including stops, is 46.5 miles; but if this part of the run were also made at 50.6 miles an hour Chicago could be reached in nineteen hours from New York. There is no physical reason why trains should not be run just as fast on the Lake Shore as on the New York Central. There are fewer tracks to be sure, but there are fewer trains. The grades are lighter and the line is straighter. The Lake Shore fast engines are smaller in all their dimensions than those of the New York Central and consequently have not so much reserve power to draw upon in case of cross-winds, wet rails, or delays from any of the many contingencies of railroad operation; but no company

has a monopoly of big engines. Whenever the Lake Shore officers decide that the mechanical and financial results will pay them for hammering their rails with 20,350 pounds on each driving-wheel instead of 16,275 pounds, or to distribute the weight on six wheels instead of four, they can put on engines just as powerful as those of the Empire State Express. So, whether or not we are to have nineteen-hour trains probably depends entirely upon the profit of the twenty-hour service. But a reduction of the time to eighteen hours is quite another matter. It means three miles more each hour, for eighteen hours on end, and no one in the world has done that yet, much less proved that it can be done, day in and day out, under the complicated conditions of regular passenger service.

But in speculating on the continuation of the nineteen-hour service, and on still further acceleration, one important condition, possibly the most important, has been ignored. That is the element of competition. The Pennsylvania Railroad led in the reduction to twenty-six hours and forty-five minutes, and again in the reduction to twenty-five hours; it is not likely to sit still and let its greatest competitor carry off the glory and profit of the reduction to twenty hours or less; for there is glory in it and there is a fair chance of profit. I hear it said now, and sometimes by railroad men too, that the Pennsylvania cannot make the run in twenty hours. That is pure nonsense; it is simply a commercial question. Will it pay?

The Pennsylvania would have some advantages and some disadvantages in a contest of time between New York and Chicago. Its line up the Juniata Valley is very crooked, has but two tracks and is crowded with trains; but this is also true of the New York Central's line up the Hudson River Valley; and both are well signalled and well provided with passing sidings.

The grades of the Pennsylvania over the Alleghenies are severe and the line continues crooked to Pittsburg and beyond. The Pennsylvania has to lift every ton that it hauls to a height of 2,162 feet above the sea, while the greatest altitude reached by the New York Central is 919 feet. The heaviest grade of the Pennsylvania, going from Altoona to the summit, is 95 feet to the mile, while (excepting a very short grade between Albany and Schenectady) the heaviest grade of the New York Central, on the eastern slope of the Batavia divide, is 44 feet. But the Pennsyl-

vania's track is excellent, and the line is well equipped with block signals from New York to Crestline, 189 miles west of Pittsburg, or 633 miles in all. In all this distance the only really serious difficulties in fast running are concentrated in about 100 miles, over the Allegheny divide; and the very heavy grades are concentrated in about twenty-five miles just at the summit.

Westward from Pittsburg, on the Fort Wayne route, which is the Pennsylvania's shortest line, there are about 260 miles of single track out of a total of 468. The normal traffic is very heavy, and the long mileage of single track is a serious element in making a fast train schedule, not because of the danger so much as on account of interference with other trains. On the 11th of last February 457 trains were moved on the Pittsburg-Crestline Division in twenty-four hours, and sixty miles of the division was then single track. This was an abnormal condition and only lasted five days, but the whole line is heavily worked, considering the amount of single track.

These are the difficulties that stand in the way of the Pennsylvania's meeting the New York Central's time. There is no question of machinery, track or signals. On the other hand, its line is fifty-two miles shorter, which gives it an advantage of more than an hour in a twenty-hour schedule. Therefore we come back to the proposition that it is purely a business question, and the chances that twenty-hour trains will soon be run on both the great New York-Chicago lines, and that nineteen-hour trains will follow shortly, are good. The eighteen-hour trains may not come so soon as I have conjectured (there I decline to prophesy), but we shall have them, no doubt, as soon as Professor Biles's ships are ready to go from New York to Southampton in four days.*

I have said that the new twenty-hour service is a brilliant and unprecedented feat in railroad operation. This is using the words with due regard for their meaning. It is remarkable for the high speed sustained for a long distance and in that the train is run for almost 1,000 miles for through passengers only. Nothing approaching it has been attempted before in the world. In the summer of 1888 the two great lines from London to Edinburgh, the West Coast, 400¼ miles, and the East Coast, 392½ miles, suddenly reduced the time to eight hours, making the speed over the

* See NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June, 1892, "Thirty Knots an Hour to Europe."

longer route, including three stops, fifty miles an hour. This lasted one month, and the close of the month was marked by one run at 52.7 miles an hour, including five stops. Then, at the end of August, a treaty of peace was made, and the speed was dropped to forty-seven miles an hour, where it stands yet, so far as I know. This "race of the Scotch expresses" was much talked of on two continents. It certainly was an important step in the development of fast long-distance running; but the trains weighed from 175,000 to 225,000 pounds against about 400,000 pounds (or 495,000 pounds with the dining car) for the "Exposition Flyer." All these weights are exclusive of the engines. The distance run, too, was only about 42 per cent. of the run of the new twenty-hour train. But these trains were a demonstration and a stimulus. They ran over one summit 1,015 feet above the sea, with heavy grades, and made their time punctually, up hill and down. They did this with no new kinds of machinery, for some of the engines were thirty years old; it was simply a matter of careful administration. Many miles were made at much above the average speed, and one run is recorded of 76½ miles an hour for four miles. There was much outcry about the danger of such speeds, but there were no mishaps and few delays. The trials proved that with light trains, good track, adequate signals and infrequent stops, a journey speed of over fifty miles an hour could be kept up for four hundred miles without any revolution in machinery or methods.

In the next two or three years several fast trains for moderately long distances were started in the United States, particularly between New York and Washington, but the boldest and most novel step was taken here when the Empire State Express was established in October, 1891. That is like the Scotch expresses in distance run, 439 miles as against 400, with but four stops, and in being much lighter than our ordinary express trains, about 329,000 pounds exclusive of engine and tender, and in making a sustained journey speed (stops included) of 50.7 miles an hour. But it is unlike in that the engines are much more powerful than the English engines, and in that it has run without interruption and without diminution of speed for twenty months, and through two winters. From that service the twenty-hour service now established was the natural sequence.

H. G. Prout.

FRENCH GIRLHOOD.

BY THE MARQUISE DE SAN CARLOS.

A YOUNG girl in France is by no means the gay, fresh, happy creature one is accustomed to in other countries. She is, on the whole, a forlorn little specimen of humanity, whose existence is totally ignored in society. No sooner has her very summary education been completed than she is led to several "*bals blancs*" (young ladies' parties) as an introduction to the world; after which, in the course of a few months, her parents marry her.

A *jeune fille* must dress very simply, not to say shabbily, for she must not only avoid being remarked as either pretty or stylish, she must try almost to look plain; young men not caring to marry girls who have been the least talked about, however praiseworthy their reputation.

To be courted as a young girl is most unbecoming. To be courted as a married woman is a thing universally accepted—in very good society. Young girls are invited nowhere, everything in the way of amusement being given exclusively for married women, who consider girls a nuisance, and who are always literally sending them out of the room! These poor little creatures are supposed to be so utterly ignorant of the most elementary rules of natural history that the faintest allusion to scandal in its mildest form is carefully hidden from them, and we may feel confident that the old French joke about the indecency of the study of botany for a *jeune fille* was based on fact.

It is almost impossible to give foreigners an idea of the moral swaddling bands that constrain French youth and warp its spontaneous growth. A mother's one ambition is to launch her child suddenly into the wild vortex of life utterly ignorant of its dangers; the more ignorant she is found, the more perfect is considered her education. Her mamma's anxious vigilance has followed her day by day, from the hour of her birth, until she has triumphantly placed her darling, as innocent as a new-born babe,

on her marriage day in the arms of a man the child scarcely knows by sight, and who is often a Parisian libertine, in its high-bred phase.

Is it surprising that such a bride should experience cruel disappointments and often end by seeking consolation in those forbidden attachments where heart-breaking remorse follows new and deeper disenchantments, that end by shattering belief in all love, and leave the young mother powerless in her turn to lead her child through the untrodden paths of nature's own simple laws of love?

Neither can a young man attempt to reform present customs and seek a wife of his own choice, for a gentleman is in honor bound never to court a girl without having previously asked her parents' permission, and, as the slightest attention to a girl assumes immediately in France a serious character, he must either ask this permission before knowing his bride, or he must run the risk of being shot down by a chivalrous brother, should he afterwards decline marrying within a few weeks' notice.

As I have said before, when a girl leaves school a *bal blanc* is generally given to celebrate the event, to which are invited as many other young girls as may chance to be in the market at the time being. Poor little things! How they have longed for this first *bal blanc*. They can scarcely realize that they are putting on the flimsy white gown which means future access to unbecoming plays and immoral reading, whose modest *décolletage* discloses to their blindfolded eyes visions of diamond necklaces and an endless train of admirers in the distance.

During the six, eight, perhaps ten long years these girls have spent in convent schools, how they have dreamt of this first step towards emancipation. Now at last the dream has changed into a reality, and life is going to begin in very earnest. These dainty little creatures are dressed in white and sit in rows before their mothers, dancing demurely with equally pretty young Frenchmen, whose bright black eyes, small waists and finely cut moustaches symbolize that portion of mankind out of which husbands are to be picked and chosen by kind mammas.

During the course of the evening some bold partner asks permission to conduct Mademoiselle to the refreshment room. If he be of corresponding rank, or what is considered a good *parti*, the permission is granted, the vigilant mother taking care, never-

theless, to follow the young people on the arm of some venerable contemporary, and returning with them to the identical chairs they occupied before.

Never does Mademoiselle dance more than once with the same partner, much less give a warm hand-shake to an old playmate; a ring of laughter would be shocking, and as to looking bravely into a young man's eyes, such an act of unprecedented boldness would certainly destroy Mademoiselle's prospects of marriage. But "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," and the little flock of white lambs goes home with burning cheeks and beating hearts to toss over great square pillows as restlessly as might an American belle after an evening of intoxicating success.

By this time we have reached the most eventful epoch in a girl's, or perhaps, would it be better to say, in a mother's life, for now must the French woman prove herself to be a clever tactician; now must she keep a good lookout and lose no opportunity to hit off the mark with dexterity if she would secure a passable husband for her daughter, who in the meanwhile spends her time taking music and painting lessons and endless walks in quiet unfrequented avenues with sedate *fraüleins* or English governesses, as the case may be, for she knows that her life of forced constraint will soon be over and that after marriage youth will at last be allowed to assert its rights.

Yes, heralds have announced the combat, and the lances are drawn. Mademoiselle has been to her first ball, and this means that, after previous consultation with the family physician, mamma has decided to marry her daughter, and has already informed one or two old friends—duchesses and marchionesses delight in the traffic—the exact amount her husband intends to allow his child in the marriage contract. The news spreads like wildfire, and bidders forthwith present themselves, not to the parents, still less to Mademoiselle, but to the above-mentioned female brokers in hearts and ducats, and settle with them the first preliminaries of the transaction.

No serious step should be taken before the dowries of both parties have been openly avowed and corroborated by the respective family attorneys, as it would be considered indelicate to ruffle young people's affections uselessly, which might happen were it afterwards discovered that their combined fortunes did not suffice to cover the expenses of such lives as both desired to lead

after marriage; in which case, however, there would not be the slightest hesitation in breaking off an engagement on the wedding eve.

If valuable woods or productive farms form a part of Mademoiselle's dowry, if some historic *château* or eagle's nest on the seacoast be her portion, these possessions are elaborately enchanced by some diplomatic relative; to say nothing of the adroit insinuations made concerning Mademoiselles virtues; for, of course, Mademoiselle is perfection. Mademoiselle paints and Mademoiselle sings, and oh! Mademoiselle is so pious, and above all so innocent, so ignorant of life's mysteries! Here, it may be added, that mammas sometimes make mistakes; they forget how much Mademoiselle has got out of dictionaries, school companions and indiscreet servants concerning these self-same mysteries. Still, as a rule, French girls are almost too innocent; and, as none of the *abandon* which comes to the rescue of true love can exist between young married French people, who have barely met half a dozen times before marriage—it often happens that a woman never recovers the moral shock she has received in the first intimacy of married life.

But what Mademoiselle does know—be she ever so innocent—is, that all the world is trying to find her a suitable husband and consequently she looks suspiciously at every young man who comes across her path. She lives in a state of feverish excitement which soon tells on her health and the doctor orders iron pills to strengthen her constitution and double doses of music and painting-lessons to distract her mind, until at last one bright morning as mother and daughter are walking to early mass the former whispers with a look of mysterious importance: "Don't look around this morning my dear." A shot darts through the poor young frame, for this means that *he* is to be there and all through the silent service the child heart flutters and the color comes and goes from the girlish cheeks as she knows that her future husband is looking at her, examining her figure and watching her every gesture. Strange to say she goes through emotions resembling those any other maiden might experience while waiting for a real lover, for has she not made of her future husband an ideal, and does she not see in him the realization of her secret dream of love or ambition as her womanly or worldly instincts predominate? Little does she suspect, poor child, that that very man

will examine the horse he buys on the morrow with pretty much the same sort of interest.

Womanlike, "she casts a side glance and looks down," and manages to see two cold steel grey eyes that have pierced her very soul. Yet she may not look again. He it is that must first be satisfied as to the truth of the assertions that have been given him concerning the physical attractions of his future bride. A few days later on mother and daughter are invited to tea at the Duchess de ***. As Mademoiselle drives into the courtyard of the "hotel," she wonders why the many windows of this stately palace are not thrown open on so warm a spring night, and why music and streaming lights do not float out into the darkness to welcome her and her lover.

Can he have retired his propositions? Did those cold, grey eyes find her deficient in womanly charm? Or has the family attorney given a poor account of her dowry? Perhaps her father has refused to pay his debts, and so curious are the inner folds of human nature that this pure young heart feels a pang of revolt against paternal justice; for she had heard her aunt aver that any young man worth having nowadays must be head over heels in debt before he makes up his mind to marry?

Fortunately, Mademoiselle has no need for alarm. Her lover awaits her. The house is closed because the duchess would never have proposed a presentation of so delicate a nature at one of her brilliant receptions—the rendezvous of fast young married women. No; she has organized a party *en petit comité*, and has invited only a few discreet members of both families.

This time it is Mademoiselle's turn to look at the young pretendant before giving her consent, though her acquiescence is merely a matter of form, a truly modest, well brought up *jeune fille* never questioning the choice made by her parents, far less attempting to study a man's character or to examine his physical attractions. Still, it is considered necessary that both parties should have met before publishing the engagement, lest any insurmountable antipathy or repugnance should be produced on first sight. Should this happen, however, and the worldly advantages of the marriage be otherwise very important, relatives will soon manage to dislodge such like obstrusive notions and drown all opposition in the excitement of matrimonial preparations, an engagement never lasting over a few weeks.

There is something so touching in youth and love that though such a meeting as that which takes place at the Duchess de * * *'s is but a mockery of these heaven-born gifts, it happens, nevertheless, as Mademoiselle enters the duchess's gorgeous drawing-room in her soft silver grey foulard with a pink rosebud in her hair, that mamma's hands are tremulous and the hearts of old maiden aunts beat faster while the girl, as one in a dream, drops her pretty French courtesy and primly answers the dowager's questions in set old-fashioned sentences. For a few moments the duchess does a great deal of talking all by herself which permits those present to recover their self-possession, while the young man's beaming smile shows that he is charmed with Mademoiselle and considers her susceptible of great improvement as soon as toilet and expensive dressmakers are called into requisition.

Presently the dowager thinks it is time to break the ice and, in a loud whisper, asks Monsieur le Comte to present Mademoiselle with a cup of tea, simultaneously distracting general attention from the young couple by sending emissaries in various directions laden with cakes and refreshments. During the suppressed commotion produced by this military manœuvre the young people have managed to exchange a few words concerning the weather or the influenza. Then music makes a break, until refreshments come once more to the rescue, again a little music, and mother and daughter retire with the same stately courtesies they made at their entrance.

Early the next morning Mademoiselle hears the roll of the duchess's old coach under the portal ; she knows that now at last the final decision is coming. The count has found her adorable, is glad that she is not penniless—would not have married her had she a farthing less—and craves to be accepted as her affianced lover. He has no *château* ; but in exchange, his fortune is superior to hers, and his family of equally aristocratic lineage.

Mademoiselle would have preferred black eyes and a husband taller than herself, but, as her aspirations are not of a more serious nature, her mother easily overcomes such vagaries by adroitly leading her attention to the all-engrossing question of the trousseau. The next day the newly-betrothed maiden goes to the opera comique, which, by the way, often takes the place of church for these Fausts' first vision of their brides. The *fiancés* exchange a few

more meaningless words during the performance, after which the count gives his arm to "mamma," while mademoiselle rests on her father's, and all solemnly leave the opera box for the carriage door.

On the whole, matters advance pleasantly, and, notwithstanding unusually long conferences between the family attorneys, no serious difficulties ensue. The property is in pretty good condition; revenues on both sides are in solid three per cent. government bonds, and the few thousands in miscellaneous stocks are classed A No. 1. "*Tout marche sur les roulettes.*"

The Count is delighted with the information he receives concerning his bride's *château,* which happens to be precisely what he wanted, either in a good hunting district, if he be a sportsman, or on a pleasant seacoast, if he be a member of the yacht club. Mademoiselle, on the other hand, is dragged round to dressmakers and *fournisseurs* of every description till she verily longs for her marriage tour as a respite. During all this time our "lovers" meet frequently, though not always every day, and ever with the same pompous decorum observed at the duchess's and at the Opera Comique.

The parents and family lawyers have likewise attended to every detail relative to the marriage contract, stipulating not only the amount which is to be allowed Mademoiselle for her pin money after marriage, but even the city or country place where the newly-married couple are to spend their summers and winters, and six weeks from the day that stranger watched the graceful child during her morning devotions in the darkened aisles of some beautiful old church do they pass out under the same gothic arches, arm in arm, as man and wife, never more to be separated, according to the laws of their faith, by any human power, be their failings ever so great, or their disappointments ever so cruel.

LOLA DE SAN CARLOS.

INTERNATIONAL YACHTING IN 1893.

BY GEORGE A. STEWART, DESIGNER OF THE "PILGRIM."

HAD anyone ventured the prediction, during the summer of 1892, that the next season would see nine new 90-foot sloops striving for supremacy on both sides of the Atlantic, he would have been considered to be a person of a very highly developed imagination. In previous years an America Cup challenge has succeeded in bringing out one, or, at most, two defenders. But here, by means of the cross challenges that have been issued, we see the unprecedented number of nine new single-stickers of the largest size, all built to achieve the highest speed yet attained in craft propelled by sails.

It is a magnificent fleet, and it is a pity that the circumstances of the case prevent a meeting of all in the same contest. The spectacle of nine cutters of the largest size contending for one prize would be the grandest that ever delighted a yachtsman's eyes.

It has become the fashion lately to say that with the perfection of steam, and, further still, electricity, the sailing yacht will soon be a thing of the past—that in the hurry and bustle of modern civilization the uncertainty of the sailing yacht must give way to the speed and schedule time accuracy of the steam or electric yacht. I predict, on the contrary, that the sailing yacht will continue to increase in popular favor. The sporting instinct is highly developed in man, and with the trial and approval of the recent great improvements in the speed of sailing yachts, the stimulus will be felt to still greater advances. There is no excitement so rare as that of a close and well-sustained contest, and the racing of steam-propelled craft has never satisfied this feeling. The varying changes of the weather, the opportunity afforded for the triumph of personal skill in the management of wheel and sails,

and of correct judgment of the best course to be taken, all these things combine to make the racing of the sailing yacht one of the highest forms of sport known to man. These conditions appeal to the cruising men as well. The very uncertainty of the time when port can be reached, with its added pleasure of formulating new plans, and exploring untried harbors, adds zest to the cruise of the leisurely yachtsman, and he would laugh at the idea of exchanging his fickle but satisfying plaything for the 16-knot-an-hour steam yacht. For the busy man, steam yachts will still continue to increase and fill a very necessary part in the economy of pleasure navigation, but I believe that they will fill their own sphere without affecting the progress of the sailing yacht.

Mr. Carroll's plucky challenge to the British fleet drew attention to the big sloop class last fall, and when this was followed by Lord Dunraven's spirited challenge for the America Cup, the interest grew fast. The Prince of Wales commissioned Watson to design him a racing cutter, so that the designer of the "Thistle" will have two representatives, the Prince of Wales's "Britannia" stopping at home to defend the Cape May and Brenton's Reef cups and the Royal Victoria Yacht Club Cup from Mr. Carroll's "Navahoe," while Lord Dunraven's "Valkyrie" crosses the Atlantic to do battle for the America Cup in our waters. Not content with this, a Scotch syndicate commissioned Designer Fife to put the "Calluna" in the lists for them; and, lastly, Designer Soper got a chance, and "Satanita" made the fourth British yacht to be built.

Meanwhile matters dragged here in America. A syndicate of New York yachtsmen commissioned Designer Herreshoff to build a yacht for the cup's defence, and many were inclined to let the matter rest there. The idea of "not carrying all the eggs in one basket," however, had sufficient force to induce a second New York syndicate to lodge an order with the Bristol firm. Still the feeling of insecurity continued, as but one designer was represented in the two boats. General Paine thereupon entered the lists, and finally a syndicate of Boston yachtsmen commissioned Stewart & Binney to design a yacht to represent the Hub.

Secrecy, at least in the primary stages of a yacht's development, has become the rule among designers. For this reason the exact facts as to the different yachts are not yet public property, but the main features of nearly all have become pretty generally known.

The four British yachts, "Valkyrie," "Britannia," "Calluna" and "Satanita," judging from what little is known about them on this side at this writing, appear to be craft of considerable similarity of type. All are represented as being keel boats, there being no centreboarders or fins among them; all are boats of large sail-carrying power and several of them are represented as exceeding the "Volunteer's" sail plan considerably.

It is in this matter of sail plan that the British fleet will show the greatest divergence from former practice. Heretofore trans-Atlantic designers, encouraged somewhat by their rules of measurement, have striven to attain the highest speed with small sails and hulls of small resistance. The "Thistle" was a bold departure from British practice, yet even she was inferior to the "Volunteer" in sail spread. Another point that is noticeable among the new British yachts is the manner in which the masts have been moved forward, which gives a large area of mainsail, and, thanks to the modern system of long overhangs, a very short bowsprit.

The American craft show no such similarity in design. The "Navahoe" is more or less on the order of the American sloop as represented by "Volunteer," though "Navahoe" is deeper than "Volunteer," has the full lines and long overhangs that have now become fashionable both here and in Great Britain, and also carries a sail-plan by the side of which that of the cup-defender of '87 seems modestly small. The Rogers syndicate boat is a deep keel yacht of about 24 feet beam and 16 feet draught, and is modelled after the 46-footer "Wasp." The Morgan-Iselin syndicate has built a centreboard boat of 26 feet beam and 12 feet draught. The Rogers and Morgan-Iselin boats carry enormous sail plans.

General Paine, with the aid of his son John, has designed a modified fin boat. She has the canoe form of the fin keel, and the fin with a bulb lead keel bolted to it, but through the fin a metal centreboard plays. The Paine boat has a beam of about 22½ feet, and a draught in the neighborhood of 14 feet. The Boston syndicate's contribution to cup defence is of the fin keel type, though she also has a centreboard, which in this case is a small steering contrivance, and is put in well forward. Her beam is about 23 feet and her draught about 22. All the American yachts will be about 85 feet long on the water line, with an over-

all length of upwards of 120 feet, and the English boats will not differ much from these figures.

All the American boats, at least, are of the sort which the friends of the new order of things will call "racing yachts," and the enemies "racing machines." That is to say, in none of them has the idea of cruising comfort been allowed to interfere with the freedom of design. Speed is the one object aimed at in their construction. Not but that all could be converted into cruisers, and doubtless will be at the close of the racing reason. Still, the high power of the Herreshoff boats, necessitating large sails, and therefore large crews, is not in the line of best cruising comfort, and the same may be said of the Paine boat, as her sail-plan is represented as being not so much smaller than those of the Herreshoff boats. The draught of the Stewart & Binney boat puts her out of consideration as a cruiser, as she now is, but with her draught decreased she could be converted into a cruiser which would have the advantage of being able to attain good speed with a very small sail-plan, a desirable object in a cruising yacht. Still, the question of adaptability as cruisers has not been considered very seriously in building this year's cup-defenders, and they will be judged by their speed as racers.

At this writing the British boats have already had half a dozen races, and it is satisfactory to note that the "Valkyrie" seems to be at or near the head of the fleet in speed. It would be small honor to beat her on this side, if she were unable to do creditable work in her own waters. So far, the "Valkyrie" and "Britannia," the two Watson boats, have justified the prediction of their designer, that they would be about equal in speed, as each has won a couple of races, and they usually have finished within a minute or two of each other. The Scotch syndicate boat "Calluna" has suffered through the carrying away of her mast. This accident, necessitating a green stick, is a serious handicap, but so far "Calluna" has not shown herself the equal of the Watson boats. "Satanita," the Soper craft, has been behind the others in preparation, and so far she has not shown to the front. The new boats have beaten the "Iverna" sufficiently to stamp them as fast boats, though just how much it is necessary to exceed the "Iverna" to reach the "Volunteer" standard it is hard to estimate. As these lines are penned none of the American cup-defenders has been tried under canvas. "Navahoe" has been sailed, and

with her "tenderness" cured bids fair to give a good account of herself in foreign waters.

The development of the America Cup defenders is a history full of interest to the thoughtful yachtsman. With the building of "Papoose" in 1887 the tentative process in American designing may be said to have been inaugurated. For the next three years, the 40-footers held sway, and many problems of form, ballasting, light construction and rigging, were worked out. This class culminated in the keen racing between "Gossoon" and "Minerva" in 1890, the fine little Fife cutter having more than held her own against the whole American fleet for two seasons. In 1891, the 46-footers, by far the swiftest class of yachts built up to that time, compelled the admiration of yachtsmen, and the success of "Gloriana," "Harpoon" and "Wasp" have furnished ideas which are thoroughly incorporated in the fleet of 1893.

But, strange as it may seem, the class which has done the most for the cup-defenders of 1893 was one of comparative pigmies—the Boston 21-footers of last year. Judged by the speed of our corresponding classes here and abroad this class of 21-footers may well lay claim to being the fastest class of yachts ever built.

All the designers of the cup-defenders of this year had representatives in the 21-foot class, and the lessons of that keen competition are easily seen in the big 90-footers. It seems almost absurd to base a fleet of 90-footers on the performances of so small a class as 21-footers, yet the experiments made in the 21-foot class were so original and the results so striking that the temptation to adapt the ideas from the small to the large craft was irresistible, so that the cup-defenders of 1893 embody more original features than any similar large fleet ever built, and most of these original features had their first expression in the 21-foot class of 1892.

Previous to 1892 the distinction into keels and centreboarders had been sufficient to distinguish the types of yachts, but with the introduction of the new 21-foot class, keel boats, bulb keel boats, fin keels, narrow centreboarders, wide centreboarders and weighted centreboarders—all these terms were needed to distinguish the various types that were contending together.

The lessons to be proven from the big sloop racing of 1893 are incalculable in their number and magnitude. In the case of the two Herreshoff cup-defenders we have the experiment of sail-

plans which are enormous compared with that of "Volunteer." The two Boston boats will show the possibilities of the fin-keel type—the form which gives the maximum of sail-carrying power to the minimum of displacement. The Paine boat will work out the problem in conjunction with a big sail-plan and a centre-board, with moderate draught of fin, while the Stewart-Binney craft clings more closely to the original idea of the fin, namely deep draught of fin-plate and moderately small sail-plan.

In construction, too, light weight of scantling and light rigging have been carried to an extreme never before attempted. The Morgan-Iselin boat has a Tobin bronze bottom, being the first vessel that has ever used this material for plating. While adding greatly to the expense, it insures a smooth bottom. Sails of a high grade of cotton are to be used on all the American cup-defenders, by means of which the weight of a suit of canvas for a 90-footer is considerably reduced. All these experiments, while they add greatly to the possibilities of speed, also increase in like manner the possibilities of failure. It is to be hoped that every one of the boats will be successful in showing the possibilities of her type, in which case it is fair to assume that all will be considerably faster than "Volunteer" was in 1887, and that the chosen defender will show a turn of speed hitherto unapproached.

The season in Great Britain is sure to be full of interest. The racing there is in full swing, and the British idea of circuit racing, in which each racing yacht "takes in" nearly every race that is sailed in the United Kingdom—racing one day and cruising to the next port the next, sometimes sailing all night in order to take part in races that are sailed on consecutive days—this plan insures a satiety of racing even for the most enthusiastic owner and crew. Doubtless they will institute trial races similar to ours, by which their best boat will be selected to meet the "Navahoe." The English yachtsmen have still our Cape May and Brenton's Reef challenge cups in their possession, which were won by the "Genesta" when she was here in 1885. They will strain every nerve to keep these trophies, as well as their own Royal Victoria Yacht Club Cup, from the hands of the covetous Yankee.

Our racing season is very different from that of the English. To begin with, our cup-defenders were all started so late that they

will hardly be in form by the first of August. This will prevent any racing till the beginning of the New York Yacht Club cruise, and the Goelet Cup race is likely to be the first meeting of all four of our defenders. That race will be looked forward to with keen interest, and the winner will feel proud at having secured the first point in the competition for the honor of being the one chosen to meet the "Valkyrie."

Besides the cruising runs, there will doubtless be other races off Newport, cups for such races having been already offered by Mr. John Jacob Astor.

The races for the America Cup have been set to begin October 5, and as they are to be best three out of five this year, instead of two out of three as formerly, it is likely, with the usual number of postponements on account of fog or lack of wind, that this date will bring the close of the series well into October, which is pretty late for yachting weather. It is possible that an earlier date may be set, as Lord Dunraven has asked for such a change, but as all our boats were late in starting, it is probable that the cup committee will be sure that no harm is done to any one of our cup-defenders before acceding to the challenger's request. Should all our boats be in readiness, however, it is likely that the cup races may be set for an earlier date some time in September.

Whatever the date of the final races, the trial races for the selection of the American champion must be held at some time between the close of the New York Yacht Club cruise and the date of the final races. As the trials will take up considerable time, and as a period of preparation is necessary for the trial races, and also considerable time will be needed for the chosen yacht to prepare for her final effort, it is probable that there will be little spare time after the close of the New York Yacht Club cruise, and the trials and final races are likely to furnish most of the racing that the cup-defenders will be able to enter.

While the race for the America Cup will be the chief event of the year, the trial races of our four cup-defenders will furnish rare sport. Should the yachts be evenly matched, the racing between our own boats would be fully as exciting as the cup races, and the evolutions of four such mammoth single-stickers, with the splendid seamanship which is sure to be developed, will be well worth witnessing.

The final races themselves will repeat these splendid specta-

cles, and without doubt the cup races of 1893 will draw the largest attendance and excite the liveliest interest in the history of international yacht competition.

A word is in place about the sportsmanship of the owners who have contributed to make this great fleet a success. For the mere glory of a friendly competition a fleet has been built, representing an outlay which will be a large percentage of a million dollars. It is an ephemeral thing, and the owners well know that, with the progress nowadays made in yacht building, all of the present fleet are likely to be out-built by another year. If funds are furnished by private enterprise so readily for the mere generous rivalry of an international sporting event, it can readily be believed that the patriotism of the Anglo-Saxon race will be equal to any test to which it may be subjected.

GEORGE A. STEWART.

THE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD ERSKINE.

WITH NOTES BY THE HON. STUART ERSKINE.

It is not too much to affirm that the unhappy condition to which Great Britain was reduced at the end of the last century is without parallel in the annals of that country. That such a condition conspired, moreover, to render imperative some of the most desperate expedients and some of the most courageous exploits ever recorded in the history of mankind, let alone of any single nation, is equally true. In fact, no previous epoch in British history can sustain a successful rivalry with it in wealth of stirring incident.

It was at this period, when the nation's hopes were lowest, when national bankruptcy seemed imminent, invasion a preordained necessity, and disintegration inevitable, that Thomas Erskine, the famous Lord Chancellor, addressed the first of the following letters to his eldest son David Montague,[1] who was then residing in America. My ancestor, contrary to advice, had invested the greater part of his very respectable fortune amassed at the English bar—where his services in behalf of civil and religious liberty had earned for him imperishable fame—in the American fur , believing that this course was the best means of hereafter securing for himself and his family a monetary sufficiency appropriate to their position in life. His connection, however, with America, though in the first instance a material one,

[1] David Montague Erskine married the daughter of General John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, in 1800, and had a large family. He was destined by his father for the bar and was called to that profession in 1802, but he had neither the genius nor energy which marked his father's character. He lacked that natural inclination to the subject, which is the only passport to success, and without which study and application can avail nothing. He lived to disappoint his father's expectations in respect to his legal pursuits, and to become British Minister at Munich.

was not limited altogether to a commercial instinct, but was conducted according to a principle he had ever professed and exercised, that of extending his approbation and affection to all, irrespective of nationality, that should have the liberty and well-being of their country and the freedom of their political institutions intimately at heart.

The correspondence of Lord Erskine, so far as it goes, is valuable as illustrating the state of Great Britain, and indirectly that of the United States, at the period in which the letters were composed, and as expressing the opinions of a most remarkable man concerning a young and remarkable nation.

In 1798 Lord Erskine, or rather Thomas Erskine, for he was not elevated to the peerage until the year 1806, was of opinion that his American property required that personal supervision and attention which he was prevented by the exigencies of a public career from giving to it personally. So it was resolved that David, being the eldest son and therefore the child most intimately concerned in the success of his American investments, should proceed on a mission to the United States, in order that he might act as his father's mediator and representative in that country. The letters that follow tell their own tale. The first of these homilies is addressed to David Erskine as he was on the point of leaving England, and is as follows:

LONDON, August ninth, 1798.

DEAR HOMO[2]: I have this moment received your letter. By a letter from General Smith to your mother to-day it turned out, as you said, that he had applied to Sir Sydney, which was friendly in the extreme. My courses at the cockpit stand over till to-morrow, & as I could not at soonest have come away till Saturday, I have given up coming to Portsmouth altogether, as I have no doubt at all that the wind will be round to the east by the new moon on Saturday.

I sent you yesterday packets of letters from Mr. King, 5 in Number. So that your credentials are now as compleat as possible. I would have you before you leave Portsmouth take care that you have a proper legible Pen & ink, & I advise you to get a few little red Books for taking memoranda as they occur to you, which you may make use of & transplant into your letters, & it will be by far the best way always to have a letter upon the stocks, carrying it on from day to day as anything material occurs with a fresh date; and as I shall preserve them, you may put in them everything which you would wish hereafter to remember, & it will besides give you the most useful of all habits, a turn for observation & the power of recording them. Besides, it may be very serviceable to you hereafter, if it

[2] A nickname which occurs frequently throughout these letters. I cannot speak authoritatively as to its origin.

appears to your friends here to whom I shall read what is material that you are making good use of your time & are in a course of improvement. As to your proceedings in America I trust everything to your Prudence; you will see men of all parties & opinions & you will have this comfort, that what agitates them will only be amusement & instruction to you, as it is not your own country. You will be able to judge for yourself the feelings & opinions of the wisest part of America & will thereby be better able to estimate the merits of the Great Political actors than by going with any preconceived opinions concerning them. With regard to your manners: *Let them be as frank & open as possible.* I would have it uppermost in my thoughts—it is of such immense importance—when a Man is of a certain Rank & of good feelings it never can degenerate into forwardness, & it does more to reconcile the world than all the other qualities put together which the best & wisest man can possess. Not forgetting that nothing is so decisive of success in the Law. Let me advise you not to travel with Englishmen. You will see them when you return. It is the vice of Englishmen that they herd together in all countries, & come back with their old Ideas. There is no rule without partial exceptions, which must depend on circumstances — but if anybody should wish to fasten upon you, & there is an auckwardness arising from it, you may say that I particularly asked it to be a rule with you. This is the more necessary because America is at present the recepticle of the vagabonds & blackguards of all countries, many of whom in their litigations & distresses will introduce themselves as acquaintances of mine. It is one of the uses of travelling to know how to deal with all these things. I forgot to say that you may tell Church that if you want money at New York before you go to Philadelphia I shall be particularly obliged to him if he will put you in the proper course.

. . . . . .

Your affct. Father,

T. E.

For God's sake remember NAILS.[3]

The following letter contains its own explanation. Although no date is attached to it, it was clearly written on receipt of David Erskine's first communication announcing his safe arrival in America:

DEAR HOMO: I was very agreably surprised by receiving your letter, as from the universal prevalence of Westerly hurricanes, from the date of your letter from Corke, I rather expected to hear of your being put back to Ireland, or of being driven to Norway, than of your arrival in America. I think you judged nicely in going to Norfolk, and having got an excellent map of the U. States on a large scale I shall be sorry if you do not go to the Federal City in your way to Philadelphia, as it seems to lye in your way, and will besides protract your arrival at Philadelphia till the season of safety.

[3] Referring to David Erskine's finger nails, which he was in the habit of wearing longer than was either necessary or convenient.

I have the kindest letter in the World from Phineas Bond, who had received your letter. You cannot possibly have a better and a more faithful guide, and I am sure you will place great reliance upon his advice & judgment. When you have finished my business in America I leave it entirely to yourself the extent & duration of your Tour—Let it depend upon your comfort and the sensation you have of being in the course of rational improvements. Whether you return this autumn or the next—I leave entirely to yourself.

It was rather unfortunate that I purchased at the moment I did, as the funds in the phrenzy of Nelson's victory, the use made of that glorious event ought to have had a directly contrary effect, rose up 15 per cent., and the American falling 5 made a difference of about 20 per cent., so that if I had sold & bought at that critical period it would have made the difference of £5,000. However I do not repent what I did, as our intervenient escape from total ruin could not be rationally anticipated, and the funds have since fallen down again and are likely to sink lower.

The letters that follow are very similar in phrase and sentiment and not at all difficult to understand. Happily the gloomy prognostications contained in them were not destined to be fulfilled, although at the time there certainly existed ample probability that they would be verified.

My Dear Homo: Your hint about the American funds is prudent, & fit to be most seriously attended to, & I therefore send you a power of attorney which will place my fortune there under your management. Nobody can have so strong an interest to fulfil the trust with prudence. The only restriction I put upon your discretion is this:—Not to sell upon distant speculation of Evil, but upon fair emergency & approach of danger. I would not, to be sure, be caught in the storm, but I would not throw my goods overboard until the danger is imminent. I use this simile because you will recollect, my dear Homo, that the last activities of my life are over. That I cannot expect to be able greatly to increase my property, & I must therefore take care to make it yield the most. If I sell, there is a dreadful loss of income, and you besides only contemplate the danger nearest to you; & as to Phineas, it is like speaking of colour to a blind man to attempt to shew him the dangers of the British funds & of all British property. The danger is most imminent. If there be peace, I am safe in America; If there be no peace, no man is safe for an hour in England. When you wrote your letter in April you did not look forward to what has since happened. I send you the best account of my speech on Bonaparte's proposal that I can find. I spoke near two hours, & you may therefore judge how imperfect it is. It made a great impression—so great a one that Pitt was obliged to get up & let Fox be behind him. Nobody spoke but Fox & myself on our side. To return to the subject of American Funds—I send you out fresh certificates. I had bought them before I received your letter, otherwise I would not have bought them. Before this you must know that Bonaparte passed the Alps in person, & reconquered Italy in one Battle which led to a capitulation of the whole Austrian Army. Whilst Masséna has entered Munich, driven the Elector of Bavaria from his capital, & is pursueing his course to Vienna, unless he is stopped by a peace—For nothing else can save

the Emperor or the forms of the ancient European government. My pamphlet begins to be a prophecy.[4]

Your affectionate Father,

T. E.

HAMPSTEAD, July 11th, 1800.

JULY 16TH, 1800.

. . . I write these few lines to say that I wish on no account to part with a single shilling of my American funds except under the pressure of past and imminent alarm for British property, the approach of which I can safely trust to your discernment. But I would rather lose the whole of it, and begin the world *de novo*, than be such a driveller as to trust a guinea of it to the funds of this undone country, I mean undone under its present system. I know perfectly well what I say, and they will be marrying and giving in marriage when the rain begins to come upon the earth. There is not the most distant prospect of peace, nor the least awakening of the people to the inevitable consequences of a protracted war whilst a ministry composed for the most part of absolute paupers are supported by the landed and monied interests for the utter ruin of all the resources of the nation. . . . The Emperor has rejected Bonaparte's proposal of peace. New subsidies are to be raised, and in my next letter you will hear of the fall of Vienna,[5] and probably of the invasion of Ireland, which the French have certainly not abandoned, and in which they must succeed if they ever invade with an army, which they are now preparing to do. . . . P. S. I think I see by authentic news to-day a glimmering of a general peace.

LONDON, August 13th, 1800.

. . . Since you wrote to me on the subject of the stock, I have taken the greatest pains to investigate the state of American security from the most unexceptionable quarters; and I have even seen a letter written from the prison of Philadelphia from Mr. Cooper, who was convicted of libel on Adams, your President. I know Cooper personally, and have a great opinion of his abilities. He agrees with you that Jefferson will be President, but he sees no danger to the American government from that circumstance; yet I confess the fate of your government itself is the only thing with which I can connect an apprehension; for as to confiscation I cannot give faith to it, and I take it for granted that in the present state of America it is a most improbable event. Besides, trusts in such cases are never hunted out. The law is barely complied with. Neither nations nor individuals commit desperate and despicable pecuniary frauds; but under pecuniary pressures, to which America must be a stranger for many years to come. She will have a peace with France, though not directly. As to Great Britain, I see nothing but ruin staring her in the face. The people have totally lost their characteristic spirit, and if they had any spirit left the existing laws prevent the expression of it. Either an immediate continental peace will take place, and that before you can receive this, or else the

[4] That on "The Causes & Consequences of the War with France." It ran through 48 editions.

[5] The treaty of Lunéville (Feb. 9th, 1801), however, disappointed Lord Erskine's anticipations. Vienna was saved indeed, but the frontier of the Rhine was again ceded to France.

flame of war will be rekindled, and the political fabric of Europe will be finally consumed to ashes, and with it all the monopolies of this long favored country. I have seen so much of half politicians here, that I should think my property safer under Jefferson than Adams. Jefferson is an enemy to the crooked politics of England, but if England's government is administered with common sense America cannot be her enemy.

PORTSMOUTH, Feast of St. Michael, 1800.

. . . What the devil can possess you to admire the perseverance of our *once* glorious country, which you still stile glorious. Perseverance to connect itself either with common sense, or wisdom, or virtue, must be perseverance in what is right. The words for the contrary vice are obstinacy—infatuation—Blindness. The war never had an object but to perpetuate the ancient system of Tyranny & superstition which enslaved the world for centuries, & which would have enslaved the whole of it still, if Great Britain had not broke loose from it in the last age which gave birth to all her greatness till touched by the corruption which I am afraid is inseparable from it. She set about replunging the world (if she could) in the gulph from which she had escaped & from which other nations were escaping. She began with America & was defeated. The attempt & the defeat emancipated France by its example & its consequences, & in the attempt against France she has been defeated again. Depend upon it, if the war continues, This country is, without a figure, undone, undone in every sense in which the term can be applied. The inhabitants of this country are starving, & of course shaken loose from all sound connection with the state, and they only can live who are the plunderers & oppressors of the public. You will scarcely know England when you come back, but in the beauty of the fields, & the highly cultivated life which attends a corrupted and enslaved country to its very grave. In Hampstead you will see no change except that the laurels & trees next the road shut out the public which gave me all I want, and the kitchen garden, which has half ruined me, now promises to be my greengrocer throughout the year. . . . Phineas & yourself write like mere children. You know nothing of the desperate state of England. You (know) of her by times that are past. I see you thoroughly understand my instructions. Nothing but necessity most imminent, of which you cannot be mistaken, would induce me to sell my stock, & I would rather lose the whole of it than have it in the funds of this country—because I cannot, with my eyes open, run my fortunes upon a rock when it stares me in the face. I will not become a Landholder in America whilst her Laws of alienage remain; but I will immediately if she changes them; which Phineas seems to expect. . . . I have not changed any sentiment I expressed to you, but my opinion of the prosperity of America and a dawn of great happiness for her I am confirmed in. I do not mean as a country for living in, but for keeping the means of living in until the horizon of Europe after the storm shall be cleared up. I cannot see through it yet.

FEBY. 1ST, 1801.

DEAR HOMO: I consider the election of Jefferson in the light I did before. I think it HIGHLY beneficial to America & likely to support the union. I should have thought so still more strongly had the parties not run so nearly even. Depend upon it, David, the principles of the Federalists as you describe

them to me are not favourable to American greatness or liberty. Under the present circumstances of the World an alliance with France of the most cordial nature is true interest of the United States. It would be wise to adopt it without breaking with England, because universal peace is the true policy of all nations; but with regard to England under her present establishment, at all events under her present administration, she does not deserve the name of a nation, & I think it probable that I shall be obliged to stop your coming to England in the summer, if no peace takes place, as it would be unwise to come over to be witness to a foreign invasion & a revolution. I scarcely know what to write to you about my stock, because I think it in danger Here or with you. If this administration, this accursed administration, continues, there is no asylum for a Briton upon the face of the earth. I may be confiscated in America, tho' I have opposed all the violence which will provoke the quarrel, & I may be confiscated here by the blowing up of the funds; because my property is not sufficient to invest in Lands, which besides are scarcely worth holding from the taxes which load them, & which will soon make every man in England a mere tax-gatherer for government. As things are at present, with all my prosperity, I cannot save a farthing in the year and am even in debt at the end of it. You know that We are going to War; indeed it may be said We are already engaged in one with Russia, Prussia, Sweden, & Denmark, in addition to our former Enemies, France, Spain, & Holland, France having its foot on the neck of Germany. This war we begin with the funds at 5 per cent., famine stalking thro' the land, and the lower orders wholly disaffected. The King is too weak & prejudiced to be capable of feeling the situation to which his trust in wicked men has reduced the country, and the people seem to be quite indifferent to the consequences. It is this state of things that reduces me to a very great difficulty in determining what is best; but nevertheless a determination, & that an *immediate & distinct* one, must be made; *you* must know much sooner than *I* can whether America means to adhere to the Northern Confederacy or not. If She does not, I do not see any other probable cause of quarrel with England; if She does, my stock must be absolutely sold if trusts are doubtful, which probably they will be, because if She adheres to the Confederacy our Madman will stop her shipping, & America will retaliate by confiscating British property.

I wish the climate of America was a good one & the manners of its inhabitants something different. For England is UNDONE. Bond is quite bigotted on this subject & *will not* see the condition of this country. I wrote to you the catastrophe of my Estates left to me by A Stranger.[6] An ignorant Scoundrel of an attorney destroyed the public intentions of the

[6] In a letter from the Hon. Thomas Erskine to his son David Montagu in America, dated Jan. 13, 1801, he says, in regard to the matter:

"You will, no douht, have seen in the newspapers that a gentleman had considered me in his will. I had never seen him, but after the payment of legacies, he left me his beautiful estates, one in Leicestershire, the other in Derbyshire. He was tenant in fee simple, and his will duly executed; but unfortunately the ignorance mixed with fraud, thro' out towards me, of a country attorney has destroyed everything but the fame of this bequest. The Testator owed two thousand pounds; and this attorney, instead of raising it by mortgage, began selling little outlyeing bits of the Derbyshire estate; and, merely from the rage of making deeds to put money in his own pocket, under pretence of making a better title to the purchaser of a mill, suffered a recovery of the whole Derbyshire estate, and although the deed was to the testator in fee simple, which absurd rule this stupid beast of an attorney had never heard of. The recovery applied to but one estate, which was the largest, and it threw all the legacies on the other, which devours it to the bone, and leaves me nothing but *the honor.*"

Testator. Perhaps it is intended that my lot is not to be cast in this Land. I send you out some books, which I wish you to read attentively from the moment you receive them; as if you are to come over, the Court of Chancery must be your forum. . . . Read immediately Milford's treatise, Then Fonblanque & then Coxe's Pease Williams. I foresaw great inconveniences on your first coming over, your wife very young & a total stranger here, yourself devoted to laborious attentions; & an immediate establishment, however small, to create & keep up. I have provided against all this until you are fairly launched. . . . You have therefore everything to content you. Farewell. We send our united love to all of you.

Your affectionate father T. ERSKINE.

I have compressed into the comparatively limited place at my disposal such of these letters as seem to me most appropriate to a short magazine sketch of this character. Others of course remain; but those which have been given will, no doubt, suffice to arouse public interest in America in a man, who, by his own showing, entertained at one time serious thoughts of emigrating to the United States, and who is justly regarded in Britain as the greatest forensic orator of ancient and modern times.

STUART ERSKINE.

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HISS.

BY LOUIS ROBINSON, M. D.

ONE of the most alluring and elusive problems which tantalize the student of evolution is the cause of the rise of the Mammalia from the reptilian world of the Secondary Epoch. We have no sufficing knowledge of the factors of environment to justify us in propounding a dogma; but it is evident, from the remains of the earliest warm-blooded animals which have come to light, that they were a feeble and underling race. Air, earth and water swarmed with devouring foes. The only chance for the weak lay in concealment, or in an agility of limbs and wits surpassing that of their pursuers. Now, continued muscular activity involves great chemical changes in the tissues; hence the necessity of a rapid circulation of the blood and means for its efficient purification. Some cold-blooded air-breathers are capable of extremely quick movements, but none can keep them up for long together. The creatures in which the blood was more perfectly aerated were better adapted for the rapid emergencies of life than the others, and consequently those which had ample lungs and a four-chambered heart would save themselves in life's running battle when the older type failed.

Most interesting is it to look back to the constant dividing of the ways which have led us and our fellow inhabitants of the earth to such different existences. It would seem that at that critical epoch it was a query whether activity or sluggish concealment would give the weaklings the best chance of survival. The race is not run to the finish, for in life's handicap the final heat is indefinitely postponed; but if you want to estimate the relative progress on the diverse tracks, take note of the most perfect woman of your acquaintance and of the mottled toad which dwells in your garden. Let all Tories digest this hint of the final outcome of their principles.

It is a truism of history that a struggling race develops quali-

ties which enable it in the end to conquer. The thieving goat-herds of Latium, perpetually at strife with the folk on the far side of the next hill or rivulet, after long ages of conflict evolved a force and valor which subdued the world. The sparse clansmen of the Highlands, for centuries at one another's throats about matters which a county court judge would settle in a couple of minutes, now wield an influence over civilization entirely out of proportion to their numbers. The Jews, trampled in the mud of the Ghetto, and gasping for bare existence throughout the dark ages, hold the key of the treasury of the Eastern hemisphere.

It is only through great tribulation that we enter into any kingdom, whether earthly or heavenly. The remote history of our own race fades back into darkness which neither legend nor philology does much to illumine. But this law teaches us that the indomitable vitality of the Anglo-Saxon peoples is a sure index of a prolonged and desperate grapple with adversity on the part of our early forefathers, which, though not recorded in words, has left its impress forever on the fibre of our minds and muscles.

But to return again to the earlier mammals. They undoubtedly came of a cold-blooded preëxisting stock, and were evolved in a reptilian environment. Not only their derivation (as comparative structural anatomy proves) but also the obstetric agencies involved in their initiation into being, have left an indelible birthmark upon all warm-blooded creatures. The war between the newer and older orders was "to the knife," and was continued throughout whole geologic epochs so vast that it is futile to try to reckon them by our standards of time. No wonder that the trail of the reptile is across all nature, from the instincts of the hog to the devotions of the saint! We probably owe more to this coercive spurring from below than it would suit our dignity to admit. Yet, when we come to think of it, Nature is alive with instances of the development of what are deemed noble attributes through the humiliating impetus of a *vis a tergo*. There can be no doubt that the speed and endurance of the horse is directly traceable to the fact that, for countless generations before he came under human influence, he had to flee for his life from the wolves of his native steppes. And in like manner many qualities which have helped our species to its present supremacy may have had their origin in the dire exigencies of that pristine war. Our passions, our affections, our aspirations—

the very spires and pinnacles of our moral nature—rest on mundane foundations as ancient as the Mesozoic rocks.

It may take a little of the bounce out of our inflated and pachydermatous conceit to be reminded that, if we are nearer the goal than formerly, it is because we have been well kicked by a team of urgent circumstances ever since the ball of life was first set rolling.

The whole subject of reptilian residual influences is so vast and obscure that it will be well for present purposes to leave the enticing twilight of speculation for a while and to examine a few facts that may serve to illustrate the theories put forward. For this purpose some particulars concerning the impress left on birds and mammals by the contest with snakes (the most successful warriors of the reptilian host) will, I hope, prove both useful and interesting, especially as some of the observations have never before been recorded.

Let us take as a starting point the strange instinctive terror of the serpent which nearly all animals exhibit. It is not the result of individual experience, for experience, after receiving the venom of a cobra or a fer-de-lance, may be deemed a negligible quantity. It is inherent and is as much a part of the organism as the skeleton or the desire for food. Its universal distribution asserts its extreme antiquity.

Into the origin of the terrible perfection of the snake we cannot here enter. He is one of Nature's triumphs of specialism, and he had progressed along his narrow ophidian groove of development for millions of generations before even the most primitive mammal came into existence. It is evident that he himself must have been at one time hard beset by the stress of hostile environment to have evolved such a unique efficiency of fang and coil. Yet the very supremacy he has won in his own line of life has spoiled his chance of higher adaptive progress. The shifts to which the more defenceless and versatile beings have been put to dodge imminent destruction (and which have resulted in such startling consequences as the human intellect), his lithe agility and his fearful armature enabled him to eschew with disdain. He now inherits the lot of a narrow and militant conservatism in a progressive age. On his belly shall he go and dust shall he eat all the days of his life.

It seems probable that the feeling of shuddering repulsion we

have for all cold and crawling things is part of our share of this inherited instinct, which is itself an echo of the ancient feud. A man who was constantly handling snakes told me that although he had no fear of them, yet he experienced a thrill of intense aversion whenever he placed his hand on one. His rational mind had concluded a peace with the Ophidia, but his more animal and primitive nervous system had not, and had to be coerced into an outward acceptance of the treaty. One notices even among the birds and beasts which destroy serpents a kind of exaggerated excitement when they are in the presence of one which they do not display when they attack other kinds of quarry.

Among our kinsmen the apes the dread of snakes is universal; and is as much exhibited by those bred in captivity as in those freshly caught. The other day I transformed a savage old male *rhæsus macacus* which was tearing at his cage to get at me, with crimson face and gnashing canines, into a limp and pallid coward by the exhibition of a Japanese toy snake which I had in my pocket. Practical naturalists who have to do with strong and fierce monkeys occasionally resort to a similar stratagem in order to intimidate them. Mr. Rudyard Kipling introduces this fact into one of his tales, and makes the caretaker of an orang-outan, on board ship, gently hiss like a serpent whenever his charge became too obstreperous. I have tried the same experiment with apes of various kinds, and invariably with immediate results. The suddenly arrested movements and startled timorous look at once betrayed how much the mind of the beast was agitated by that uncanny sound.

Is it not strange that, throughout all nature, from the desolate swamp to the opera-house radiant with electric light, a hiss is an imitation of hostile intent? And that it invariably sends a flutter of apprehension through the nerves of the hearer? An actor who was great in the part of the ultra-villain in melodrama said that he never heard the hisses with which the gallery applauded his quasi-turpitude, without an uncomfortable momentary shudder, although he well knew that the sound was meant as an expression of the most sincere appreciation of his talents.

Does not the novelist make his arch-reprobate *hiss* his curses when his demoniac emotion is too intense for shouting? Is it not possible that political audiences are unconsciously guided by a deeply-seated animal instinct when they greet the unpopular

orator or sentiment with a storm of sibilation? Of course the speaker or actor knows quite well that the auditorium is not (except metaphorically) a nest of serpents, just as the keeper of the reptiles at the zoölogical gardens knows that a harmless snake will not kill him when he handles it; but the disconcerting *aura* comes all the same, and the hiss generally serves its purpose. I have taken pains to let a monkey see that my toy snake was only made of paper, yet the next time it appeared from my pocket he sprang back involuntarily just as at first. Darwin states that although he knew that a sheet of thick plate glass was between him and an enraged cobra, he could not help jerking his head back every time it darted towards him.

Why does a snake hiss? It has been suggested that the sound is at times caused by the rapid expulsion of the air from the long bladder-like lung at the moment of attack, so that the reptile may be enabled to dart with greater rapidity, "like a cast lance," upon his enemy. If so, it was at first a plain, though quite involuntary intimation to his adversary that he was "just going to begin", and gradually came to be a threat; just as the taking off the coat is deemed a proper demonstration of intention among pugnacious boys when provocation has reached a certain pitch.

I hope at some time, if professional work permits, to complete an essay on the sounds uttered by animals (and men) in expressing their various emotions, and to trace these back to their basis in Nature. In this article it will not be possible to attempt a more detailed analysis.

What other evidence have we that the hiss among warm-blooded animals has an ophidian origin? Is it not an instructive and significant fact that in *all departments of the animal kingdom* creatures which make their homes and rear their young in hollow trees and such-like places make a hissing noise when one attempts to explore their strongholds? Owls, tits, bats, some woodpeckers, marsupial phalangers and dasyures, opossums, cats, and many others not connected by appreciable blood relationship, have this curious habit. Every widely-spread instinct or attribute such as this is of the most intense interest to naturalists, for it is in itself sure evidence of some far-reaching evolutionary influence.

One can easily understand that a prowling carnivore which anticipated the presence of something edible in a hole would con-

sider twice before inserting a "privy paw" when he heard that blood-curdling threat. If his muddle-headed intelligence enabled him to weigh the *pros* and *cons* of the dilemma (which is improbable), he might argue somewhat in this way: "There may be a dinner up yonder, but then again there may be sudden death. It smells like kittens, but it sounds devilishly like a snake. This investment is too risky for a beast with a wife and half a dozen cubs. I will try another hole."

Dame Nature is a most excellent economist. She allows nothing to go to waste. If impetuous evolutionary agencies produce an inch of stuff more than is required for the immediate purpose, it is at once pounced upon and utilized in another part of the establishment. Does a butterfly develop a nauseous flavor, so that the gizzards of insectivorous birds turn queasy at the very sight of it? Other and sapid butterflies, in the same district, mimic its shape and color; and, thus disguised, secure immunity from attack. Does a bird prove himself a tough antagonist so that his enemies gladly leave him alone? Other birds, especially feeble ones like those of the cuckoo family, imitate his shape, plumage, and manner of flight.

It is a queer household that the old Dame rules with so wide an eye to the main chance and such Martha-like solicitude as to petty details! Her children are as virginally unconscious of design as the snowflakes; yet their days and nights are spent in all the bizarre disguises of a *bal masqué* with more than a suspicion of a basis of sordid intrigue.

It would indeed be a matter for surprise if so frugal a housewife as Nature allowed the wide-spread fear of the snake to remain a waste product. So called Protective Mimicry is considered rare among the higher vertebrates. I am inclined to think that closer observation will show that it is commoner than naturalists imagine. Let us consider a few particulars about the one animal which is familiar to us all, from among the list of those that breed in dark holes, to wit, the cat. They are scarcely conclusive enough to form a working theory upon, but at the same time they are very suggestive.

Several observers have remarked that the head of an enraged cat, with its flattened triangular outline, its exposed teeth and obliterated ears, and its glinting eyes with their slit-like pupils narrowed to a mere line, has a strikingly viperine appearance.

Its hiss—short explosive bursts or longer harsh expirations—is exactly like the sound vented by certain snakes when about to strike. It faces its adversary, and behind its fore-shortened body, waves the mottled tail in quick sinuous curves—utterly unlike the wagging of the tail of a dog—in precisely the same manner as that in which the hinder ends of all snakes move when they are excited. The enemy, probably one of the *canidæ*, which are all timid of serpents, might know that it was a non-poisonous mammal all the time, and yet the dreadful *suggestio falsi* might easily disconcert him just enough to shake his self-confidence and to give the cat the advantage.

Nor is this all. The true tabby cats (those with wide black markings) have, in nine cases out of ten, the stripes so arranged that when they are curled up asleep they present exactly the same appearance of a coiled serpent. My wife's favorite cat "Gwendolen," a very handsome half-bred Persian, first drew my attention to this fact as she lay on the hearth rug in my study. On the flank is an oval dark mark, which forms the centre of the concentric rings, and which might easily be mistaken for a snake's head as it lay coiled for a spring.

Since my attention was thus drawn to the subject I have observed many tabbies, and find that in nearly all those of this type the markings have the same distribution. On looking further into the matter I found that in several very noteworthy instances the markings of cats from various parts of the world almost exactly corresponded in *width, color* and *pattern*, to the markings of the formidable snakes of the country they inhabit. This is remarkably so in the case of the smaller ocelots, which are covered with ribband-like bands that might almost have been printed on a tawny background from the mottled skin of a *crotalus*. The larger cats of the same family, including the jaguar, have variegated curved marks on them resembling those of the South American boa-constrictor. These mottled bands are so arranged that when the animals are asleep, in the usual attitude of the *felidæ*, they form concentric curves, either circular or oval.

Now I am willing to admit that all this may be mere coincidence, and certainly the jaguar (although he is only a bloated ocelot) does not seem in need of any special protective coloring. It is difficult also to see what kind of danger menaced the slumbering cats which could be warded off by a serpentine aspect. Still,

taken with other facts, and considering the possible lapse of time and change of environment since the fashion of wearing a snake pattern commenced, the resemblances appear to merit further attention.

In some other departments of natural history there can be scarcely any doubt that an actual mimicry of the snake has been resorted to on account of the immunity it afforded. Nearly all long-necked birds, especially those which nest in the sedge or jungle, will hiss and dart out their sinuous necks in a very snake-like way when an intruder approaches. This may be observed in any duck or goose which is sitting, although the habit is, I believe, rare among birds which breed in Arctic regions. Travellers in the pampas have been unpleasantly startled by the realistic acting of the brooding rhea when he thus assumed the reptilian rôle to intimidate a trespasser who approached too near the family nest. Here again the foes to be warned off are chiefly of the fox and wolf tribe; but the cats, in spite of their own ophidian strategy, are not proof against the terror inspired by the snake.

It has often struck me as a curious instance of the indelible character of inherited instincts that the domestic hogs imported into America (and which are of mixed European and Chinese stock) should at once assume the offensive against the rattlesnakes and other formidable reptiles of the New World, with an address and a system of attack which show that this kind of warfare was familiar to them. This instance serves to prove to us that the impressions received by the nervous organism countless generations ago remain an important factor in modern life. It is akin to those *vestigial reflexes* to which I have repeatedly alluded to in my papers on ancestral traits in infants (published last year in England and Germany), which, I understand, have attracted nearly as much attention in the United States as in Europe. Among the experiments which I tried in the course of those investigations were some in which I endeavored to ascertain how far the intense instinctive horror of the serpent shown by the Quadrumana was exhibited by very young children. The results were interesting and suggestive, but I have not, as yet, considered them conclusive enough for publication.

Did space permit, many other instances could be brought forward of the profound influence of such instincts throughout all

departments of life. Can we doubt that the part played by dragons and snakes in superstitions and primitive philosophies, all the world over, is traceable to such a cause? We must recollect that in former times,—and in those not far beyond the margin of history,—the reptilian inhabitants of the earth were far more numerous and formidable than they are to-day, and took a much larger and more sinister place in the every-day life of men and beasts.

It is a suggestive fact, to say the least of it, that in the version of the legendary Human Drama upon which our Western ideas are so largely founded, the Evil Principle makes his first appearance as "The Serpent."

LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE FAMILY OF COLUMBUS.

BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF VERAGUA.

ALL nations endeavor to perpetuate the remembrance of those men who have contributed to their aggrandizement, both as a tribute of gratitude to their memory and as an example to future generations. Even in democratic societies the names of their most illustrious citizens will always be honored. Washington will always be the symbol of North American independence; Lincoln will continue the representative of the redemption of millions of men who were groaning in slavery; Grant and his companions in arms will always be remembered as those who maintained the unity of the country.

The benefits of the work of Columbus extend to the whole of the human race. To Spain belongs the glory that the discovery of America was made under the banner of Castille, and yet Spain did not directly reap the advantages of that memorable event. The West Indies afforded large opportunity to its people for satisfying their inborn spirit of adventure—Cortez, Pizarro, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and many other Spaniards, in their romantic exploits rivalling the legendary heroes of antiquity—but this took away from the Peninsula strength which was much needed there after a struggle of seven centuries to regain its territory. At the same time, the treasures which came from America, far from encouraging agriculture, industry and commerce, served only to feed external wars, waged with the idea of maintaining the splendor and power of all the dominions which had been united under the crown of Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the history of Columbus is considered as belonging to all nations and that his name should be equally venerated in every one of them. It can also be

easily understood that in America his memory should awaken greater enthusiasm at the present time, when the country is celebrating the success of his daring enterprise by the Columbian Exhibition. The festival of the Quadri-centennial has naturally aroused universal interest in all that relates to the life of Columbus. Scientific works have been multiplied in all the centres of erudition, and learned men all over the world have labored to bring to light a figure which humanity views with eagerness, desiring to dispel the obscurity which has ever enveloped it.

The city and the date of Columbus's birth have long been a matter of dispute; the events of his life are unknown, until at a ripe age he appears in Portugal engaged in cosmographic labors. The time he passed in Spain before his first voyage is also surrounded by fancies which obscure historical truth; fancies such as that with regard to the supposed enmity of the theologians of Salamanca, that robs the Friar Dominicus Diego de Deza of all the importance which Columbus himself attributed to him when he affirmed that "after God and the Queen, to him is due, principally, the discovery"; and also, with regard to Doña Beatriz Enriques and her supposed marriage with Columbus in order to legitimize her son, Don Fernando. It has been impossible to determine exactly the house in Valladolid in which he drew his last breath, and it has been even pretended that his remains do not rest in the sepulchre which the piety of Spain destined for them.

It is impossible to find valuable data concerning these questions on which to base a clearer conception than has hitherto existed, and it would be a thankless task to attempt to elucidate them, at the same time that it would be foolhardy to pretend to decide them with a final authority.

The visit of Columbus's descendants to America, on the invitation of the People and the Government of the United States, has excited some curiosity and it may not be out of place to give some account of the history of the house of Veragua. The titles of nobility that this house enjoys at the present time, and by which it is known, were not given to Columbus as a reward for his services, but, on the contrary, were granted as a compensation for the withholding from his house of those dignities and benefits which were their due.

The discoverer of the New World had a solemn agreement

with the sovereigns as to the reward of his services. The Queen agreed without hesitation that Columbus and his descendants should have the tenth part of all the products which should come from America, but she objected most strongly to Columbus's exercising any authority in the territory discovered, as, even though his authority were exercised in the name of the sovereigns, this would constitute a division of the royal power. This was not vain ostentation on the part of Isabella, but she deemed it necessary in order to maintain the political unity realized by her after a desperate struggle against feudalism, and not to compromise the national unity obtained by the conquest of Granada, the last refuge of Mussulman rule.

This was the reason why the negotiations were broken off and why Columbus abandoned the Court of Castille, with the intention of going to France or England; but such was the enthusiasm of the Queen for the enterprise that she caused him to return and acceded to his requirements, signing on April 17, 1492, at Santa Fé, a small town near Granada, the articles which conceded to him the tenth part of the revenue from the Indies and, under the title of Admiral and "Adelantado Mayor," the authority he had desired to obtain for himself and his descendants.

The efforts of the Admiral's enemies to have him displaced, or to make use of the power which he was exercising, are well known. The remembrance of those facts which so embittered his life has served to tarnish his memory with the applause of the detractors of Spain. Envy and bad passions have existed and will exist at all times and in all countries, and a grave injustice is committed by supposing that these pettinesses of the human heart constitute the distinctive elements in the character of Ferdinand the Catholic. Although he was a prince of exalted mind, he was also the representative of the ideas of his time with reference to the royal authority. A disciple of Machiavelli, in his policy he made use of the resources of astuteness and cold calculation. He was never dazzled by the glory of the enterprise of Columbus, and he was not willing that the grandeur acquired by Castille should cause public business to be directed into channels that he deemed dangerous and of but slight benefit to the interests of Aragon. Not so much from hatred of Columbus as from political motives, he saw with perfect indifference the existence of a spirit of distrust of the Admiral and the ignoring of his services.

While the Queen lived, Columbus obtained satisfaction for his wrongs, but when she died he was left to struggle alone, and, overcome by years, by sorrows and physical sufferings, at last succumbed in poverty, leaving as a patrimony to his family an immortal name, an example of patience and Christian resignation and a wealth of expectations.

His son, Don Diego, was too near the sovereigns to demand, and too far from them to obtain, what the discoverer of a world had claimed in vain, though supported by legitimate rights. He was page of Prince Don Juan, and was afterwards a prominent figure in the court of Doña Juana, on account of the splendor of his name in conjunction with that of his wife, Doña Maria de Toledo, who was niece of the Duke of Alba, one of the most distinguished persons of that epoch, and one who achieved glory for the Spanish monarchy.

Don Diego died without having obtained recognition of the rights stipulated for in Santa Fé. Circumstances rendered it inconvenient for the rulers of Spain to pay attention to these matters, occupied as they were with the attempts to establish the German ascendancy, which the country rejected, and with the wars carried on in France, Italy, Flanders and Africa by the Emperor, Charles V., whom it was not easy to persuade to give up a part of his dominions. The widow of Don Diego devoted herself to watching the interests of her son, Don Luis. The latter was not specially adapted to press with energy the claims which his mother had made, and resigned himself to the idea of relinquishing them, accepting an arbitration, which was intrusted by the Emperor to Cardinal Garcia de Loaisa, Archbishop of Valladolid. The Cardinal declared that the government of the Indies did not belong to the descendants of Columbus and that, in order to avoid disputes with regard to the amount of the tenth part of the products of those regions, there should be given to Don Luis and his successors an estate of twenty-five square leagues on the coast of Veragua, which Columbus had discovered on his last voyage, when he touched Central America. Property in land and cattle in La Vega of Santo Domingo was also secured to them. At this time (A. D. 1537) the titles of Duke of Veragua and of La Vega, with the dignity of Grandee of Spain, were created, and they were granted to D. Luis Colon, grandson of Christopher Columbus, as compensation

for renouncing all the rights and privileges agreed to by the Catholic sovereigns before the discovery was made.

Twenty years after the last-mentioned arrangement, and when it had but just begun to take effect, another modification was made, in the reign of Philip II. (A. D. 1557). The Veragua property and that which was granted in Santo Domingo were taken back by the crown, and in their place D. Luis Colon received the island of Jamaica, in plenary dominion, with the title of Marquis of Jamaica. Later, in 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain ceded the island of Jamaica to England, and since then the descendants of Columbus have been deprived of all right in the continent discovered by the founder of the house, their rights from that time being represented exclusively by the honorary titles of Admiral and "Adelantado Mayor" of the Indies, Duke of Veragua and of La Vega, and Marquis of Jamaica; and for the maintenance of these dignities certain revenues were granted to them, which, according to the laws now in force in Spain, have to be divided among all the children, and so diminish with each generation.

The Admiral believed that he was leaving the future of his family assured, and he founded an entailed estate so that his name might be perpetuated through the ages, arranging the order of succession after his eldest son, D. Diego. In this matter, also, what he wished for did not happen.

D. Luis Colon left an unhappy record in every way for his family. During his life the most distinguished marks of preëminence which constituted the heritage of the family were lost, and on his death began those legal difficulties which lasted for two centuries. His son Christopher died before him and the courts declared that the eldest of his daughters should succeed him; but she became a nun and transmitted her rights to the second daughter, whereupon Christopher's son, Diego, began a suit which was ended by the marriage of the two pretendants, who died without issue and were succeeded by the younger daughter of D. Luis, the wife of D. Jorge de Portugal, Count of Gelves, and a member of one of the branches of the Royal House of Braganza. The Duchy of Veragua remained in this family for several generations. Doña Catalina Ventura Colon y Portugal, sixth Duchess of Veragua, married Jacob Fitz-James, second Duke of Berwick and Liria. The titles of Veragua and Liria continued united for two generations more, until 1796 when they were sep-

arated and the Duchy of Veragua came into the possession of D. Mariano Colon de Toledo y Larreategui, the representative of the direct line through the grandson of D. Luis, who died in obscurity in Santo Domingo, when the title passed to the Countess of Gelves, it being supposed that the male line had become extinct.

In the long lawsuit which had been going on, the House of Gelves and, more especially, that of Liria had been able to exercise great influence in putting obstacles in the way of justice. They obtained a suspension of the proceedings just when the question was on the point of being decided, and in this way it would have been continued indefinitely but for the intervention of D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, a person of great prestige, owing to his having contributed to the social and political movement begun in Spain during the reign of Charles III., under the influence of those ideas which later resulted in France in the Great Revolution.

D. Mariano Colon formed a close friendship with Jovellanos, and when the latter became acquainted with the condition of the suit that was being carried on by the former against the Duke and Duchess of Liria, he took charge of the matter and procured a definite decision from the tribunals in favor of the legitimate successors of the Admiral. They were, however, unable to obtain possession of the revenues allotted to the House of Veragua, this being prevented by the war of independence in Spanish America. Things were in this state when D. Mariano Colon was succeeded by his son, D. Pedro. Brought up under the greatest hardships, he set out in the struggle of life armed only with his intelligence to procure him a livelihood. His severe training enabled him soon to restore to his family some of its former splendor, by rendering his country important services which were rewarded with great honors. His name occupied a place in the political history of Spain, and he was considered to be one of the best informed on matters pertaining to agriculture and cattle raising. He was several times Deputy and finally Senator of the Kingdom. A short time before his death he received the order of the Golden Fleece, one of the most highly appreciated of all decorations, and one which the Kings of Spain confer only in exceptional cases, the number of those who can wear it being limited. In 1867 it was my lot to succeed him, through the sad privilege of inheritance,

and to receive in my person the honors paid to the name of Columbus, in commemoration of the discovery of America.

To these mysterious workings of Providence I am indebted for the hospitality which the American people have extended to me. I shall never forget the kindness which has been shown me, nor my visit to this beautiful country, where Nature has been so prodigal of her gifts and where man, by his labor, has been able to increase his wealth and attain a degree of prosperity which is truly marvellous. These honors, however, will not arouse in my heart feelings of vanity. On the contrary, I hope that the remembrance of this important period will increase in me a sense of the immense responsibility of those who bear honored names, and who are under the moral obligation to transmit them, at least untarnished, to their successors; and I trust that God will enable me to carry out this object.

THE DUKE OF VERAGUA.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

AN UNPUBLISHED SPEECH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE following is a speech of Abraham Lincoln delivered in Chicago on the evening of the city election, March 1, 1859, and now first written out from my old shorthand notes. A great crowd of Republicans had gathered at Mechanics' Institute Hall to hear the reading of the returns from the different wards by Mr. N. B. Judd, the Chairman. About nine o'clock Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by Mr. Leonard Swett, entered the hall. He was received with an uproar of enthusiasm and his speech listened to with eager interest. This was Mr. Lincoln's first public utterance since the campaign of 1858 and the debate with Judge Douglas. During that campaign Mr. Lincoln had been severely criticised by anti-slavery men, especially by some of the clergy in Chicago, for saying in his Charleston speech that he would not favor negro citizenship in Illinois. He had also said in other speeches that the fugitive slave law was a constitutional and binding law, for which he was savagely denounced by Boston anti-slavery men, Wendell Phillips calling him "the slave hound of Illinois." To this he makes a brief answer in this speech, the only time he ever referred to these charges, and his answer is in his characteristic spirit of good sense, good temper and conciliation.

Early in the previous year, 1858, as the senatorial contest in Illinois approached, many Republicans of national reputation, Mr. Burlingame, Mr. Colfax, Mr. Greeley, and, it was said, Mr. Seward, had favored the fusion of the Republicans of Illinois with the Douglas men to reëlect Senator Douglas, between whom and President Buchanan a bitter quarrel was raging over the Lecompton constitution of Kansas. The Illinois Republicans, under the lead of Mr. Lincoln, made a straight contest against Douglas and in favor of the direct prohibition of slavery in the Territories by Congress. The Republicans carried the State by about 4,000 popular votes, but Mr. Lincoln was beaten in the contest for the Senate, Judge Douglas being elected by the Legislature, which had been carried by the Democrats, notwithstanding the Republican majority, on account of the apportionment. The course of Mr. Greeley and his friends was never criticised by Mr. Lincoln during the canvass, but in this speech five months later he vindicates the course taken by himself and the Republicans of Illinois, and shows the error of Mr. Greeley and the Eastern Republicans, and the fatal consequences that would have followed had the Illinois Republicans taken their advice and adopted Douglas as their leader.

A year later, in 1860, after Mr. Lincoln had been nominated for President, and the national campaign was at its height, I saw Mr. Lincoln

at Springfield and read over to him the notes of this speech, which I had taken down the evening he delivered it, but which had never been published. He listened to it carefully, and then said that as it contained comments upon the course of Mr. Greeley which would tend to awaken a discussion now past and closed, and as Greeley in the *Tribune* was then doing magnificent work for the cause, it would be better to let the speech go. On this suggestion from him I laid the note-book aside and never read it to any other person.

During the summer of the last long vacation of Congress, in turning over a quantity of old papers at my home, I came upon this note-book, and have written out from the shorthand the speech made thirty-four years ago.

ROBERT R. HITT.

MR. LINCOLN said: I understand that you have to-day rallied around your principles and they have again triumphed in the city of Chicago. I am exceedingly happy to meet you under such cheering auspices on this occasion—the first on which I have appeared before an audience since the campaign of last year. It is unsuitable to enter into a lengthy discourse, as is quite apparent, at a moment like this. I shall therefore detain you only a very short while.

It gives me peculiar pleasure to find an opportunity under such favorable circumstances to return my thanks for the gallant support that you of the city of Chicago and of Cook County gave to the cause in which we were all engaged in the late momentous struggle in Illinois. And while I am at it, I will through you thank all the Republicans of the State for the earnest devotion and glorious support they gave to the cause.

I am resolved not to deprive myself of the pleasure of believing, now, and so long as I live, that all those who, while we were in that contest, professed to be the friends of the cause, were really and truly so—that we are all really brothers in the work, with no false hearts among us.

For myself I am also gratified that during that canvass and since, however disappointing its termination, there was among my party friends so little fault found in me as to the manner in which I bore my part. I hardly dared hope to give as high a degree of satisfaction as it has since been my pleasure to believe I did in the part I bore in the contest.

I remember in that canvass but one instance of dissatisfaction with my course, and I allude to that, not for the purpose of reviving any matter of dispute or producing any unpleasant feeling, but in order to help get rid of the point upon which that matter of disagreement or dissatisfaction arose. I understand that in some speeches I made I said something, or was supposed to have said something, that some very good people, as I really believe them to be, commented upon unfavorably, and said that rather than support one holding such sentiments as I had expressed, the real friends of liberty could afford to wait awhile. I don't want to say anything that shall excite unkind feeling, and I mention this simply to suggest that I am afraid of the effect of that sort of argument. I do not doubt that it comes from good men, but I am afraid of the result upon organized action where great results are in view, if any of us allow ourselves to seek out minor or separate points on which there may be difference of views as to policy and right, and let them keep us from uniting in action upon a great principle in a cause on which we all agree; or are deluded into the belief that all can be brought to consider alike and agree upon every minor point before we unite and press forward in organization, asking the coöperation of all good men in that resistance to the extension of slavery upon which we all agree. I am afraid that such methods would result in keeping the friends of liberty waiting longer than we ought to. I say this for the purpose of suggesting that we consider whether it would not be better and wiser, so long as we all agree that this matter of slavery is a moral, political and social wrong, and ought to be treated as a wrong, not to let anything minor or subsidiary to that main principle and purpose make us fail to coöperate.

One other thing, and that again I say in no spirit of unkindness. There was a question amongst Republicans all the time of the canvass of last year, and it has not quite ceased yet, whether it was not the true and better policy for the Republicans to make it their chief object to reëlect Judge Douglas to the Senate of the United States. Now, I differed with those who thought that the true policy, but I have never said an unkind word of any one entertaining that opinion. I believ most of them were as sincerely the friends of our cause as I claim to be myself ; yet I thought they were mistaken, and I speak of this now for the purpose of justifying the course that I took and the course of those who supported me. In what I say now there is no unkindness even towards Judge Douglas. I have believed, that in the Republican situation in Illinois, if we, the Republicans of this State, had made Judge Douglas our candidate for the Senate of the United States last year and had elected him, there would to-day be no Republican party in this Union. I believed that the principles around which we have rallied and organized that party would live ; they will live under all circumstances, while we will die. They would reproduce another party in the future. But in the meantime all the labor that has been done to build up the present Republican party would be entirely lost, and perhaps twenty years of time, before we would again have formed around that principle as solid, extensive, and formidable an organization as we have, standing shoulder to shoulder to-night in harmony and strength around the Republican banner.

It militates not at all against this view to tell us that the Republicans could make something in the State of New York by electing to Congress John B. Haskin, who occupied a position similar to Judge Douglas, or that they could make something by electing Hickman, of Pennsylvania, or Davis, of Indiana. I think it likely that they could and do make something by it; but it is false logic to assume that for that reason anything could be gained by us in electing Judge Douglas in Illinois. And for this reason: it is no disparagement to these men, Hickman and Davis, to say that individually they were comparatively small men, and the Republican party could take hold of them, use them, elect them, absorb them, expel them, or do whatever it pleased with them, and the Republican organization be in no wise shaken. But it is not so with Judge Douglas. Let the Republican party of Illinois dally with Judge Douglas; let them fall in behind him and make him their candidate, and they do not absorb him; he absorbs them. They would come out at the end all Douglas men, all claimed by him as having indorsed every one of his doctrines upon the great subject with which the whole nation is engaged at this hour—that the question of negro slavery is simply a question of dollars and cents; that the Almighty has drawn a line across the continent, on one side of which labor—the cultivation of the soil—must always be performed by slaves. It would be claimed that we, like him, do not care whether slavery is voted up or voted down. Had we made him our candidate and given him a great majority, we should have never heard an end of declarations by him that we had indorsed all these dogmas. Try it by an example.

You all remember that at the last session of Congress there was a measure introduced in the Senate by Mr. Crittenden, which proposed that the pro-slavery Lecompton constitution should be left to a vote to be taken in Kansas, and if it and slavery were adopted Kansas should be at once admitted as a slave State. That same measure was introduced into the House by Mr. Montgomery, and therefore got the name of the Crittenden-Montgomery bill ; and in the House of Representatives the Republicans all voted for it under the peculiar circumstances in which they found themselves placed. You may remember also that the New York *Tribune*, which was so much in favor of our electing Judge Douglas to the Senate of the United States, has not yet got through the task of defending the Republican party, after that one vote in the House of Representatives, from the charge of having gone over to the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Now, just how long would the New York *Tribune* have been in getting rid of the charge that the Republicans had abandoned their principles, if we had taken up Judge Douglas, adopted all his doctrines and elected him to the Senate, when the single vote upon that one point so confused and embarrassed the position of the Republicans that it has kept the *Tribune* one entire year arguing against the effect of it?

This much being said on that point, I wish now to add a word that has a bearing on the future. The Republican principle, the profound central truth that slavery is wrong and ought to be dealt with as a wrong, though we are always to remember the fact of its actual existence amongst us and faithfully observe all the constitutional guarantees—the unalterable principle never for a moment to be lost sight of that it is a wrong and ought to be dealt with as such, cannot advance at all upon Judge Douglas' ground—that there is a portion of the country in which slavery must always exist; that he does not care whether it is voted up or voted down, as it is simply a question of dollars and cents. Whenever, in any compromise or arrangement or combination that may promise some temporary advantage, we are led upon that ground, then and there the great living principle upon which we have organized as a party is surrendered. The proposition now in our minds that this thing is wrong being once driven out and surrendered, then the institution of slavery necessarily becomes national.

One or two words more of what I did not think of when I arose. Suppose it is true that the Almighty has drawn a line across this continent, on the south side of which part of the people will hold the rest as slaves; that the Almighty ordered this; that it is right, unchangeably right, that men ought there to be held as slaves, and that their fellow men will always have the right to hold them as slaves. I ask you, this once admitted, how can you believe that it is not right for us, or for them coming here, to hold slaves on this other side of the line? Once we come to acknowledge that it is right, that it is the law of the Eternal Being, for slavery to exist on one side of that line, have we any sure ground to object to slaves being held on the other side? Once admit the position that a man rightfully holds another man as property on one side of the line, and you must, when it suits his convenience to come to the other side, admit that he has the same right to hold his property there. Once admit Judge Douglas's proposition and we must all finally give way. Although we may not bring ourselves to the idea that it is to our interest to have slaves in this Northern country, we shall soon bring ourselves to admit that, while we may not want them, if any one else does he has the moral right to have them. Step by step—south of the Judge's moral climate line in the States, then in the Territories everywhere, and then in all the States—it is thus that Judge Douglas would lead us inevitably to the nationalization of slavery. Whether by his doctrine of squatter sovereignty, or by the ground taken by him in his recent speeches in Memphis and through the South—that wherever the climate makes it the interest of the inhabitants to encourage slave property, they will pass a slave code—whether it is covertly nationalized, by Congressional legislation, or by the Dred Scott decision, or by the sophistical and misleading doctrine he has last advanced, the same goal is inevitably reached by the one or the other device. It is only travelling to the same place by different roads.

In this direction lies all the danger that now exists to the Republican cause. I take it that so far as concerns forcibly establishing slavery in the Territories by Congressional legislation, or by virtue of the Dred Scott decision, that day has passed. Our only serious danger is that we shall be led upon this ground of Judge Douglas, on the delusive assumption that it is a good way of whipping our opponents, when in fact, it is a way that leads straight to final surrender. The Republican party should not dally with Judge Douglas when it knows where his proposition and his leadership would take us, nor be disposed to listen to it because it was best somewhere else to support somebody occupying his ground. That is no just reason why we ought to go over to Judge Douglas, as we were called upon to do last year. Never forget that we have before us this whole matter of the right or wrong of slavery in this Union, though the immediate question is as to its spreading out into new Territories and States.

I do not wish to be misunderstood upon this subject of slavery in this country. I suppose it may long exist, and perhaps the best way for it to come to an end peaceably is for it to exist for a length of time. But I say that the spread and strengthening and perpetuation of it is an entirely different proposition. There we should in every way resist it as a wrong, treating it as a wrong, with the fixed idea that it

must and will come to an end. If we do not allow ourselves to be allured from the strict path of our duty by such a device as shifting our ground and throwing ourselves into the rear of a leader who denies our first principle, denies that there is an absolute wrong in the institution of slavery, then the future of the Republican cause is safe and victory is assured. You Republicans of Illinois have deliberately taken your ground; you have heard the whole subject discussed again and again; you have stated your faith, in platforms laid down in a State Convention, and in a National Convention; you have heard and talked over and considered it until you are now all of opinion that you are on a ground of unquestionable right. All you have to do is to keep the faith, to remain steadfast to the right, to stand by your banner. Nothing should lead you to leave your guns. Stand together, ready, with match in hand. Allow nothing to turn you to the right or to the left. Remember how long you have been in setting out on the true course; how long you have been in getting your neighbors to understand and believe as you now do. Stand by your principles; stand by your guns; and victory complete and permanent is sure at the last.

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN.

IMAGINATION pictures a new type in a new land. The pity of it is that the reality falls short of expectation. Australian women, to be sure, work out their destiny in the newest of new lands; but, in these latter days, when one end of the world, so to say, touches the other, originality is heavily handicapped. External influences are for ever beating on Australian shores. American and English examples, always present, are as inimical to the production of original and striking characteristics as civilization, according to Macaulay, is to the production of the most poetic poetry. Australian women aspire to the freedom and independence of American women, and stand in awe of the presence and traditions of English women. The result is a character moulded by conflicting influences reflected through the colored medium of Australian conditions.

Transition stages are rapid in Australia. The twilight flits across the hills and plains, and, ghost-like, disappears. The *naïveté* of childhood slips away before short frocks lengthen into long gowns. It is daylight or darkness, infancy or womanhood here. Before the English girl has outgrown childish delights the Australian is a woman in miniature, self-conscious, self-confident, not easily abashed, with eyes that long since have ceased to look out upon the world with wonder. In a short skirt, with a plait down its back, young Australia imitates its elders, flirts, falls in love, and, sometimes, reads and writes funny little love-letters in all seriousness. Very youthful, very innocent all this in its way, but the way itself strikes one as just a little precocious. Like her brother, the Australian girl has a say as to what she learns, where she goes, what she wears. In fact, she brings herself up under easy supervision. Grown to womanhood, the glitter and glamor of life already tarnished in her sight, she is without reserve, possessed of few illusions and less sentiment. She has arrived at a very good opinion of herself. So far as circumstances permit she pleases herself in the choice of a husband or a course in life. But with all her liberty she does not enjoy the recognized freedom and independence of the American girl.

The social code is slightly confusing. For an unengaged girl to go to the theatre or for a walk alone with a man would be scandalous, but at a dance she may wander about dim gardens and verandas with a new acquaintance and it is quite another thing. She marries at any age short of middle age, but it is not into greater freedom as the French-

woman, but into bondage after the most approved British fashion. Family cares and household duties absorb her; servants worry her. The happy knack of dividing life into parts and sustaining many interests has yet to be acquired. Accomplishments are neglected; dancing goes to the wall; for reading there is no time. But should domesticity fail to engross her and the giddy whirl of society sweep her away from home the household becomes a scene of disorder. Perhaps this is why the average domesticated Australian becomes so uninteresting after marriage. Her life narrows down, she seldom shares her husband's interests, her conversation fluctuates between scandal and servants' delinquencies, fashions and the children. Her days are varied by tea and gossip, with visits and occasional entertainments thrown in. Unless a fashionable woman she no longer troubles to be pretty or charming, and it is unusual for her to keep herself *au courant* of passing events and the questions of to-day, or to give more than an occasional glance at a newspaper.

Though pretty, tall, and well-formed, the Australian is not graceful. Her feet are seldom small, her hands rarely beautiful. Moreover, she does not dress well. Her toilette has none of the *chic* of the Parisienne's, little of the sobriety of the Englishwoman's. Overdressed or dowdy, she produces the impression of not only having little taste, but no artistic sense of the fitness of things. Stylish and elegant women are to be seen more frequently in Melbourne than elsewhere. Nevertheless, dress is dear to the soul of an Australian, and much is spent on it. Down in the lowest social grades it plays an important part. The Australian hugs the idea of equality, and, believing in uniformity of dress as the visible sign of equality, often sacrifices actual comfort to obtain fashionable clothing. An Australian family makes a brave show on holidays. There may be bare feet and rags in the house, but there are cheap feathers and gloves in the street. Here the vanity of the race peeps out and hatred of apparent social distinctions, for vanity is stronger in the Australian woman than ambition, just as indolence is more inherent than energy. She is clever but not intellectual, accomplished oftener than highly educated. To be able to play the piano is regarded as a sort of *cachet* of distinction, not to play it as a lamentable sign of neglected education. Tact is natural to her, also a quick sense of perception. With the ready ease wherewith a troutlet changes its color into harmony with that of its surroundings she adapts herself to circumstances, catches the cue of her *entourage*, and continues to produce a favorable impression. With a cheerful disposition and mercurial temperament the serious side of life scarcely appeals to her. Foreseeing not that to sow the wind is to reap the whirlwind, she exacts neither obedience nor due reverence from her children, and without being specially religious leaves the responsibility of their future very much to Providence. Thus, some of the finest feelings that bind the human race together become destroyed, and a spurious sort of independence loosens family ties in Australian households. Though hardly capable of strong feeling and deep, passionate attachment, the Australian is affectionate, and in manner hospitable, friendly, and, sometimes, sympathetic. Strangers to-day, to-morrow you are intimately acquainted. In friendship there is no tentative stage, but a plunge *in medias res.*

By her speech the Australian betrays her origin. *Bay* is pronounced *bai*; *say*, *sai*. Sometimes there is a a nasal sound in the voice. Often there is slang on her lips, not the slang of society merely, but of the stock-yard,

the camp-fire and the stable. It may be heard in the drawing rooms of society, for polished manners are not found as a matter of course in prominent places. Here men and women are shaken like dice in a box; chance decides the throw. Culture and refinement may dwell in the humblest homes and the veriest plebeianism amidst luxury. Australia is the land of many grotesque contrasts and some unique social surprises.

JULIA F. NICHOLSON.

THE WEAKNESS OF MR. DAVIS'S STRENGTH.

IT was to be expected that the recent reinterment of the President of the dead Confederacy would call forth widespread comment. It was not to be expected that any of this could be coldly judicial and wholly unbiassed, or yet that the larger portion of it could be free from errors of statement and of deduction. We are still too close to the subject for absolutely accurate portraiture of its real features, for the convulsion which distorted these was too exceptional for its abnormal scars and furrows to be smoothed to naturalness, except by the slow processes of time.

It is doubtful if Mr. Davis's impress upon his era will ever be justly comprehended at a distance from the confined sphere of his most important actions; and it is certain that to this time little of the cold justice of analysis has been given it even by the South, save by the few immediately surrounding the great leader of what outsiders still brand as treason, and we contend was not even rebellion. But to those who closest surrounded Mr. Davis—who acted with, or were influenced by, him in those unparalleled four years—the truth is evident. That one great weakness of the Confederacy was the inexorable personal strength of its leader's character is a fact to be proved by history, paradoxical as it may appear in simple statement. Strong will and prompt decision were character bases of the Mississippi statesman, and both were developed by service in the field and by accidents of political strife. With him a conclusion was an already-assured performance; and while he never "jumped at" conclusions, those arrived at by reason and judgment became irrevocable law for his action.

Success of these methods in his career as a publicist indurated them into concrete parts of his character; and, while ever courteous to dissent and ready to hear the "other side," neither moved the adamantine will once set to its cherished purpose. And that this purpose was ever honest, direct and wholly selfless none have yet risen to deny, nor will future history be ever able to prove clearly that it was the wrong one in the main. The analytic thinker may show that the leader's deep interest, nervous industry, and absolute self-reliance caused him to attempt too much, or that he exhausted in details time, energy and resource which might have been left safely to weaker subordinates; for no one brain and set of nerves in one body, could have accomplished fitly one-half of the work that Mr. Davis set himself to do.

It has been charged—North and South, long ago and of late—that through his tenacious adherence to his own peculiar methods, its President caused the downfall of the Southern Confederacy. Indubitably the cold judgment of history will dissolve this error in the acid of fact that the infant government—as Vice-President Stephens had expressed it—"died a-borning"; that its meteoric fall through history might possibly have been less red and blood marked, but might never have been stayed, even

had Mr. Davis been ruled by any advice of the so-called advisers he formally called about him.

But his natural imperious grasp of all subjects had now added to it a keen anxiety for the outcome of the struggle, which grew more intense and morbid as it progressed towards that close which his keen prevision must have seen, but which his indomitable will forcibly rejected. Then, when opposition reared itself before his cherished methods, he set it and the opposer aside, taking his place himself and striving with all his power to act—while he never arrogated—the royal motto: *L'ètat, c'est moi!*

His rejection of the Hampton Roads conference, so cogently and persistently urged upon Mr. Davis by Alexander H. Stephens, stands boldly forth as witness irrefutable, not of ambition or selfish motive, but of resistless impulse to work out the redemption of his cause by his own methods and with his own hands. The continuance of the war, contrary to the known wish and solemnly urged advice of General Lee, comes quickly to the front to reinforce the first witness; and minor instances might be called *ad infinitum*.

But the very fact that Mr. Davis overruled and carried with him such men as Mr. Stephens and General Lee proves the strength inexorable, the will of adamant, which he assuredly possessed. It proves, too, the keen insight he had into human nature; for these men—even if more far-sighted than himself, and of calmer judgment in weighing the inevitable—he still held to him, while opposed and overridden, with a loyalty that was possibly more personal to the leader of the cause than to the cause itself. For it is not credible that the man lives to-day who could honestly declare his conviction that Mr. Davis was swayed by any selfish ambition, or any petty hope of personal aggrandizement, could he bend Destiny herself to his will.

He was merely a great politician, placed by Fate in a position that had equally conquered the greatest statesman; and he was, besides, an "old-timer" when the great call of his life was made upon his powers. He believed absolutely and unreservedly in that resistless *élan* and unconquerable courage of his nearer countrymen, which had conquered in previous wars—of field and of forum—when he had led them. And as an "old-timer," though one largely expanded by thought, experience, and study, he could not wake to the bitter knowledge that no war of to-day may be successfully waged with the methods and weapons of yesterday. Nor would he let his more advanced advisers teach him this. He continued to oppose to the progress of advanced thought and aggressive nationality the tough, but feeble, barrier of a moribund system, rivetted by those props only which were fashioned to uphold that system.

One fatal failure was that to grasp in time those new methods of finance which alone could have placed a credit abroad, sufficient for the vast and unreplenished drain that some few thinkers foresaw, when they urged immediate exportation of all cotton, and its storing abroad for use at need. Equally weak was the "foreign policy," as it was called. Messrs. Benjamin and Mason and Slidell were essentially "old-timers" also. And the new nation's sole appeal to foreign governments—which proverbially have no sympathies—was based upon tiresome appeal to sympathy with an institution of which they were almost universally ignorant; which was contemned wherever they had the faintest inkling of it.

These are examples only; but they point the theory that the aggres-

sively dominant strength of the leader's character—crushing down all opposition and drawing all functions to itself—was largely a weakness in public result. And while this is the truth of history, it is equally a truth that no course of the President, and no ability in his Cabinet surroundings, could have changed one feature of that ugly disguise which Providence was giving to the real blessing of the ending.

For there is no advanced thinker in the South to-day who doubts the outcome of a successful termination of the war between the States, had such been made possible by Europe and the logic of events. A slave Republic with a white minority scattered over a vast area, border animosities, local jealousies of production and access to the sea, not to mention human ambition, must have split the South into a succession of San Marinos. Severance from mutuality of production, interchange, shared taxation and common protection had else done this from the outside.

Even the oldest of the original pro-slavery men still left in the South have been taught by the indisputable force of facts that the abolition of slavery was an applied lever to her material progress, present no less than future. Fiercely resisting as they did Mr. Lincoln's drastic treatment of the politic disease, reminiscent as they may be of the aggressions upon their beloved States Rights by the old Abolitionists, these old-timers cannot but accept, as younger and quicker thinkers early accepted, this glaring truth: The Emancipation Proclamation declared in larger measure the manumitting of the master from the slave, the freedom of vast natural resource and possibility of production, from their helotry to the cotton delusion.

The Southerner of to-day has long ceased to emulate the ostrich, having no reason to hide his head. He has learned that facts do not change for not being looked squarely in the face. Hence he accepts facts as he sees them; often rejoices in them and more often still utilizes them. But in doing this he loses no jot of loyalty to his own section and to her traditions, because he abates no tittle of his loyalty to the common country, made doubly his by its recementing with blood and fire. Hence he honors no less the memory of that strong, just, brave leader who was ready to give up his life for that cause for which he gave up all besides; suffering yet the more in that his life was spared so long.

The Southerner has no intent to make a saint of Jefferson Davis, but only to bear in memory his courage, his constancy, his indomitable will to work out what he believed would have been the freedom of his brethren and their land. But this respect for the good in the dead leader does not blind the Southern thinker to the fact that his over-confident strength became in some sort weakness; or to the knowledge that merely human will may never strive to override the inevitable.

T. C. De Leon.

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THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

I.—THE PRESENT CRISIS.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

THE present financial depression differs materially from any that has heretofore occurred in our history. The strain has been of unprecedented length and great severity, but there has been nothing approaching a panic, such as characterized other years under similar circumstances. More significant is the fact that throughout it all there has been manifest no unusual excitement, despite the general distrust in the stability of our moneyed institutions evidenced in every portion of the country; the daily failure of banks, national, state and private ; of great commercial enterprises, trust companies and corporations and manufacturing establishments. No stronger proof than this could be had of the vast resources of the country and the available wealth of the people. It demonstrates that no matter how bad the outlook there can be no general bankruptcy and distress like that of 1837, 1857 and 1873.

In all the circumstances surrounding the present situation it is equally at variance with other periods of liquidation. It has

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developed at a time when there is an abundance of agricultural produce and of manufactured product on every hand. Ordinary business in mercantile lines is up to, and in some trades above, the standard of the same months in times of marked prosperity, while the actual amount of money in circulation *per capita* is as great as that of recent years. Not less worthy of note is it that, in a majority of the failures that have occurred in legitimate lines thus far, the assets reported of the failed concerns have been largely in excess of their liabilities and of such a character as to cause comment that institutions holding them should have been forced to suspend.

As these facts come to the knowledge of the people the situation is slowly but surely undergoing a change for the better. It is true it is not a radical one, but it is sufficiently notable to attract the attention of even a casual observer. Evidence of this improved condition is plainly apparent. The people are getting over their scare sufficiently well to calmly take an inventory of the solvent institutions that are in every State and Territory, and to realize that they are so far in excess of the numbers that have been forced to the wall that many more might be put into liquidation and our country still remain the wealthiest in all the catalogue. They are coming to know that many of the failed institutions are in sections of the country where booms have been the order of the day and legitimate business growth looked upon as quite out of date. They are turning to staid New England and observing that not a national bank within her borders has closed its doors; that but two have gone into liquidation in New York, one through misuse of the privileges so easily granted those connected with the institutions, and the other because of mismanagement; none in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Minnesota and other Northwestern and Western States, and that the failures in the South are but few. They have learned that the three in Illinois, one of which carried down a now re-opened bank in Indiana, were forced to suspend more because of internal causes than from outside pressure, and that the same causes worked the failures of one in Ohio, one in Indiana, two in Michigan, three in the Dakotas, one in Kansas, three in Nebraska, two in Georgia, three in Texas, and one in North Carolina, and that two in Tennessee, one in Montana and one in Utah were wrecked by peculations.

They have also noted in the States of Washington and California the resultant effects of laying out cities for future purposes instead of present needs in the breaking of banks that carried paper of the projectors of such magnificence, while to the sudden drop in silver they have charged all the failures in Colorado, one in Montana, one in New Mexico and one in Utah. Re-opened banks in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, California, Washington, Florida and Kentucky under favorable conditions and of greater strength, too, have reassured the public.

Turning from a study of the causes which, under unfavorable circumstances more quickly than would have otherwise have been the case, revealed the weak places in a great banking system, to the financial reports they find that gold is coming into the country in small amounts instead of going out in large ones, that the rate of exchange is lower, that our breadstuffs are again in demand in European countries and that the balance of trade is once more slightly in our favor; that the tone of the press, the best of indicators, is reassuring, while the views of our public men and acknowledged financiers are hopeful and confident. The action of the President in calling Congress together in an extraordinary session at an early date, to consider financial legislation, has been of incalculable benefit in quieting the people's fears and improving the business outlook. It has imbued not alone the many in great business undertakings but all classes with the belief that the radically bad legislation of three years since is to be speedily undone, and strong in this belief they are looking forward with confident hope to August 7. When to all these sources of encouragement are added the further ones that the banks are loaning more freely, that frightened depositors who withdrew their money are redepositing it with the same institutions, that the savings institutions are again putting out money, that millions of new currency are being ordered for circulation by national banks upon bonds deposited, that there is less call upon the East for help on the part of the West and South, and that the borrower can secure accommodation on bonds other than those of the United States, there are indications of better times in the near future that must convince even the most pessimistic.

All these favorable symptoms must not, however, be interpreted to signify immediate and complete restoration to health. The ailment from which our financial system has so long suffered

is too deep-seated to warrant the hope of a recovery without a period of convalescence. The crisis is passed, but an imprudent act or failure to take every precautionary measure may cause a relapse which, in its consequences, may prove more serious than the fever when at its height. It has taken a long period of time to pervert the minds of the people in business matters and to thoroughly permeate the financial system of the United States with the disease that has so nearly ruined it, and of necessity it cannot all be undone in the twinkling of an eye. It did not commence with the passage of "the Sherman Silver Act," nor with the passage of the "Bland Act." It found its origin long before either was enacted, at a time when Congress first assumed it to be the chief end of legislation to make, through enacted laws, certain individuals rich. It was with this end in view that protective tariff laws were passed and for this purpose was brought into being the Silver bill, which has not only now returned to plague its authors, but is destroying the very interest it was designed to benefit. Such legislation is responsible for the spirit of speculation that would create something out of nothing; that organizes trusts for the purpose of enriching a few at the expense of many, and looks upon the general public, not less than the public's interests, as legitimate plunder. It has popularized an extravagance in public and private expenditure that has led the government in its public matters and the individual in his private affairs to live beyond their means. It has done more to strangle the life of legitimate trade than all else combined, and to-day the people are seeing the full effects of the evil in the menace to honest endeavors through the distrust bred by it.

The passage of the "Sherman Act" was but the culmination of the idea of enriching through protective legislation. No other excuse can be or has been offered for its enactment, except the disreputable one of political advantage. It is a regretful commentary upon the sense of duty which a distinguished representative must hold toward his constituents and the interests of the public when we find him saying, in the course of an able and exhaustive speech upon the passage of this law, in which he condemned it as unwise, but yet declared his intention to vote for it:

"It is pure politics, gentlemen; that is all there is about it. We Republicans want to come back, and we do not want you Democrats to come back in the majority. That is all there is to this silver bill—pure politics."

In the light of the subsequent disaster wrought by this measure, the public may well believe that such politics was not only not "pure" politics, but wretchedly bad politics, unworthy the representative of any great organization.

Not only was the "Sherman Act" the last embodiment of this ruinous idea, but the worst. Aside from the protective feature of it, the only effect that could possibly result from it was injury to our own financial system. In the face of this danger the opportunity was embraced for the unworthy purpose of gaining supposed political advantage. It was so clearly in violation of every fixed principle of finance that its authors knowing it then are apologizing for it now. Its passage was notice to the world of business that the people of the United States believed they could maintain two standards, one of a cheap and the other of a dear metal, in defiance of the single standard of all other civilized nations. It was heroic, but it was the heroism of foolhardiness and ill-considered action.

The consequence of this assumption is now so plain that "he who runs may read." The seed of distrust then planted has sprung into life and its huge proportions have called to action the bankers, merchants, professional men, farmers and laboring men. It has created in the largest degree to-day's disturbed conditions. The bill had not passed the Senate before the leading economists of Europe commenced to discuss the inevitable result of its operation upon the finances of this country. The late Adolf Soetbeer, the most distinguished German authority on the question of monetary standards, writing of it in the *Neue Freie Presse*, under date of June 21, 1890, said :

"Face to face with these optimistic expectations, stand many and great causes of apprehension. First of all and above all, it is doubted whether it will be possible to keep silver at the par of 129 cents per ounce of fine silver permanently, even if it could during the first few years be raised to that figure for a time by the colossal purchase of silver by the Treasury, provided for in the bill. Despite the increase of population and wealth, the fear is expressed that by the compulsory increase of the circulating medium to the extent of about 40 millions of dollars a year, and eventually of more, in silver currency, the want of such a medium will be greatly exceeded and gold driven from the country. An advancing and fluctuating gold premium will not fail to appear, and the real value of silver, measured by the universal measure of value, gold, will then, perhaps, sink permanently lower than it has risen at first, for a certain time, under the direct influence of the new silver bill. The new silver bill, it is claimed, must be considered as a very rash experiment, which, on the whole and in

the long run, will scarcely produce the extraordinary advantages expected from it, but which will, rather, after a time, cause much greater damage.

"It will not be expected of a calm, dispassionate observer, competent to form a judgment on such matters, that he will, at this stage of the case, give expression to a positive opinion as to which of these directly opposite views and expectations will turn out right, or as to whether, as so frequently happens, the probable effects of the new law are not estimated much too favorably by the one side and much too unfavorably by the other. Considering the many powerful factors that co-operate to produce a result in nearly all great economic questions, the only thing to do, in most instances, is to form an opinion for one's self as to how small or how great the probability of the indirect effects to be anticipated from a far-reaching law is. Experience teaches how different the course of things is in reality, from what many had at first prophesied with the greatest confidence. . . .

"It seems, as already remarked, rash and premature, thus early to pass judgment on the effects of the new American silver bill; but, hereafter, people will not be able to refrain examining in detail the influence and the consequences of this law, in the light of experience and of sound monetary political principles, for it is a law of vast practical importance and destined to influence greatly the commercial and financial interests of all countries."

Further, he says, illustrating the view that England and Germany would take of it (and those who are now talking about a conspiracy on the part of those countries against silver may read what was then said by one who was not a politician, but an economist, viewing the whole subject in its true light):

"It is safe to say that the advocates of bimetallism in Germany are completely mistaken when they think or claim that the course the silver question has taken in the United States has been disagreeable to the defenders of the gold standard in Germany and England, and that it disappoints their endeavors. How such an opinion could be formed or find expression is inconceivable. Nothing is clearer or better known than that Mr. Goschen, the British Minister of Finance, has, since 1878, harbored no more ardent wish with regard to the question of standard than that the double standard might be maintained in other large states and might oppose the depreciation of silver, without England herself needing to change its existing single-gold standard in any way, and that, with respect to the financial relations of British India, it would be only too welcome to him if the monetary policy of the United States would now bring about the rehabilitation of silver. And that Germany has as little interest in the depreciation of silver for its own sake as England and would gladly see the stability of the price of silver practically restored by the monetary legislation of the United States is just as undoubted. If the United States silver bill has the success expected by the bimetallists, Germany will then be afforded the best opportunity to get rid of the superfluous silver thalers it has left without loss and to obtain gold in exchange for them; Germany would then, to use the language of the bimetallists, give up the undecided and wavering policy she has pursued in the matter of the standard. If, in this way, the Soetbeer-Bamberg era,

during which Germany was hoodwinked by a small number of doctrinarian theorizers, comes to a close, the defenders of the gold standard will not have the least ground or reason to lament the 'victory of bimetallism,' which will have materialiy facilitated the final and complete establishment of the gold standard in Germany."

And again, under date of July 29, 1890, he says :

"The monetary system of the United States will then be delivered over to the greatest uncertainty, and the value of silver depressed lower than it has now been raised, or will be raised in the near future. Under any and all circumstances, gold will assert for itself the place of the universal measure of value and the ultimate medium of exchange; and the international trade of the United States, even if the silver standard rules there in the future in home trade, will not be able to escape it."

The same writer again discussing the reasons for and against the Sherman Act makes the following statement, under date of August 7, 1890 :

"In the above, we have only called attention to a few points of view from which the silver question may be looked at in connection with the new United States silver law. The result is the probability of a temporary rise of silver, but the total uncertainty of the height and duration of such a rise in value, as well as of the future use of an actual silver standard in the business of the banks, especially after there has come to be a premium on gold. Be this as it may, the conviction that gold will not cease to remain the universal measure of value, and that, to accomplish that end, it will have to assert itself as the ultimate medium of exchange, cannot be removed or even shaken by the monetary legislation of any country."

And again, under date of August 10, 1890, he states :

"In the meanwhile, in the uncertain state of things created by the United States Silver Law, the business world must and will have to do the best it can and await the further practical consequences of the law and the further development of the financial situation of the United States, cautiously and patiently."

It would be well if our public men would take these statements made before the "Sherman Act" had been fairly put in operation and study them. They are deductions made from the business world's experience with silver and have proven so true in the case in hand as to challenge admiration.

Not less true has proven the prediction of the *Economist* (England) under date of June 19, 1890 :

"It is always rash to prophesy, and the effects of currency changes are so complicated and far-reaching, that it is impossible to say beforehand what new influences may be brought into operation. But all the probabili-

ties point to the conclusion that sooner or later, and probably not later than two or three years hence, the United States Treasury will be forced to cease its silver purchases; and seeing that in the interval production will have been stimulated, and the general demand diminished, the withdrawal of that factitious support to the silver market will cause prices to fall to a lower level than that from which they have been raised."

Nor are we wanting among the distinguished financiers of our own country for testimony as to the ultimate result of such law: and therefore ignorance of its effect cannot be pleaded by those responsible for its becoming a law. Senator Sherman, whose authority upon financial questions is recognized at home and abroad, in a public address delivered at Cumberland, Md., October 24, 1878, in discussing "the condition of the country," said, relative to the effect of the then recent silver legislation—and what was said by him then was doubly applicable to the "Sherman Act":

"I am frequently asked whether we can maintain the equality of this money after resumption. I say, without hesitation, that we can do so; but we must not force the issue of either form of money when its convenience, the popular demand for it, and the separate uses for which it is designed, will not keep it at par with the other."

And, in the same address, he adds:

"The coinage of 2,000,000 monthly of silver dollars of full legal tender is a disturbing element, which we cannot now compute. We can only hope that, before the issue of silver is greatly increased, Congress will either limit its amount or make it contain enough silver to be equal in value to gold. . . . I therefore say with confidence, that, unless the people prefer irredeemable money, we will have redeemable money at par with gold coin, unless the people demand that silver coin of a kind less valuable than gold coin shall be issued in such quantities as to drive out of circulation gold coin and thus become the sole standard of value."

Afterwards, in his annual report to Congress as Secretary of the Treasury, under date of December 2, 1878, Senator Sherman said:

"Experience, not only in this country, but in European countries, has established that a certain amount of silver coin may be maintained in circulation at par with gold, though of less intrinsic bullion value. It was, no doubt, the intention of Congress to provide a coin in silver which would answer a multitude of the purposes of business life, without banishing from circulation the established gold coin of the country. To accomplish this, it is indispensable either that the silver coin be limited in amount, or that its bullion value be equal to that of the gold dollar. If not, its use will be limited to domestic purposes only. It can not be exported except at its commercial value as bullion. If issued in excess of demands for domestic purposes, it will necessarily fall in market value, and by a well-known

principle of finance will become the sole coin standard of value. Gold will be either hoarded or exported. When two currencies, both legal, are authorized without limit, the cheaper alone will circulate. . . . To the extent that such demand will give employment to silver dollars, their use will be an aid to resumption rather than a hindrance; but, if issued in excess of such demand, they will at once tend to displace gold and become the sole standard, and gradually as they increase in number, will fall to their value as bullion. Even the fear or suspicion of such an excess tends to banish gold, and, if well established, will cause a continuous drain of gold, until imperative necessity will compel resumption in silver alone. The serious effects of such a radical change in our standards of value cannot be exaggerated; and its possibility will greatly disturb confidence in resumption, and may make necessary larger reserves and further sales of bonds.

"The Secretary therefore earnestly invokes the attention of Congress to this subject, with a view that either during the present or the next session the amount of silver dollars to be issued be limited, or their ratio to gold for coining purposes be changed."

The result of such discussion not only made Europeans cautious of the operations of the act, but as its disastrous effects became more and more apparent a distrust in the ability of the Government to maintain gold payments developed to such an extent that a steady drain was commenced on the gold of this country until the reserve was broken into that the credit of the Government might be maintained. Two years of continuous purchase of unused silver with gold has given us no benefit on the one hand, while on the other it has worked serious harm to every branch of business. The distrust of Europe found ready harbor here, and because of it the financial interests of the country have not only been threatened, but seriously impaired.

It would be unfair, however, to charge in its entirety the present condition to a single cause. There must be taken into account as contributing elements, unwise speculations; great extravagances; the carrying of competition in trade and finance to dangerous limits, and the giving of unlimited credit to those engaged in purely speculative enterprises that have proved disastrous. But neither one nor all of these combined could have in a much longer period of time brought the country to its present state. The essential thing for the highest good of a people is to have an absolutely sound system of finance. The laws governing finance are more important than those regulating revenue or the conduct of government. They are the very basis of a nation's prosperity. The laws regulating monetary operations must conform to and aid the laws of commerce and trade, rather than

conflict with and retard them in their operation. No nation can subvert the immutable laws that govern the world's trade. To-day that law decrees a gold standard as the basis of its operations, and until that standard shall be changed by the common consent of all to a bimetallic one the United States must conform to it or suffer in the strife for wealth. There may be those of our people who have, as Andrew Johnson once suggested, discovered "the philosopher's stone," but he believed, as he expressed it, that:

"Congress cannot regulate the value of these coins, because the commercial world will take the coins for what they are intrinsically worth, and not for what the legal stamp represents them to be worth."

It is one of the incredible things that, in the United States, where we boast so much of advance in all that makes a country great among the nations, the chimera of a universal bimetallic standard is pursued under present circumstances, while other governments are fleeing from it. Of such standard Moritz Benedikt, editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* and member of the Austrian Monetary Reform Committee, said, at a meeting of the Committee on March 8, 1891:

"The end which the greater number of civilized countries have endeavored to reach during the last twenty years by their reforms of the standard may be described in a few words: *To cut loose from the pale of silver.* . . . Bimetallism is not only impracticable, but nobody has any confidence in it. Pirmez said at the Paris Monetary Conference in 1881: 'Bimetallism demands that those states which have already too much silver shall take more silver.' Bimetallists wish to correct the superfluity of silver by a still greater superfluity. This kind of homœopathy is impossible, because, at bottom, bimetallism has no foundation except the hope of Americans to be able to send their silver to Europe, and the hope of the French to ship their silver to America."

But a short time intervenes before the session of Congress. No body of men ever met with the people more deeply interested in their labors. The people now believe that the "Sherman Act" will be repealed, and in that hope have undertaken with renewed courage the task of maintaining the solvency of bank and factory and the thousand lines of commerce in which a busy people are engaged. The force of present public sentiment is emphatic for repeal, and the lesson of past experience points to the necessity of it. It will not come because of party caucus or of political de-

bate, but as the result of the patriotism of legislators who are bent upon serving the best interests of the people whose representatives they are. It will be remembered as the most costly piece of experimental legislation ever undertaken, and the last which juggled with the business interests of a whole nation for the sake of retaining the distribution of patronage. Its abolishment will forever divorce questions of finance from questions of political power, and bring about the solution of them in accordance with the rules of commerce and trade.

Many are looking for an immediate and spontaneous return of good times when this law is off the statute books, but such a thing is as impossible as is the maintenance of it without working greater harm. Those who oppose its repeal will not yield at once and without resistance. The struggle for the use of the "white metal" commenced in 1877, when Senator Jones made his famous report, and is not now to be abandoned without resistance, but in the end its opponents must be beaten, for no set of men ever yet have defeated the force of public opinion. The return to a sound basis will be slow, but when once upon it the American people will be immeasurably more prosperous than during these past years of speculative and fictitious values.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

AFTER THE FOUR HUNDRED YEARS, WHAT?

BY THE HON. SYLVESTER PENNOYER, GOVERNOR OF OREGON.

THERE is now progressing at Chicago a most remarkable Fair in honor of one of the most remarkable events in the world's history. The erection there of vast but meretricious buildings apeing, in the splendor of lath and plaster, wood, white paint and stucco, the most costly and stable edifices which have been the slow result of the patient labor and architectural genius of the ages, involved the expenditure of millions of money, some of which was appropriated by Congress without warrant of law, as no such expenditure was provided for in the grant of its delegated powers, and some by the legislatures of States in defiance of justice, as no man who cannot visit the Fair ought to be taxed for the benefit of the man who can. Such taxation contrasts most strongly and

strangely with the fact that the money raised to fit out Columbus for his contemplated voyage was not by the taxation of her subjects, but by the pledge of her private jewels by the Queen of Castile, and also elucidates the further fact, not generally known and understood, that in the prostitution of its taxing powers our government, believed to be the best the world ever saw, easily bears the palm against all existing monarchies as well as those of the past ages.

This Fair is in honor of the discovery of America by Columbus four hundred years ago. No event in the whole world's history, save alone the wonderful birth at Bethlehem over eighteen centuries ago, was clothed with greater and more momentous consequences. At the time when Columbus set sail the so-called civilized world was still encompassed in the gloom of the dark ages. For nearly fifteen centuries the splendid civilization attained in Greece and Rome had been gradually but surely declining. Civilization had retrograded, commerce had fallen into comparative decay, the arts had declined, while the people had sunk into a hopeless condition of serfdom. All this every student of history well knows, but as every student is not well aware of the great producing cause of this decline from the magnificent splendor of Grecian and Roman civilization to the gloom and ignorance and semi-barbarism of the succeeding ages, it will be most pertinent to state that such a decline was the direct result of a diminution in the volume of money, which is the very life blood of commerce and progress. The experience of the whole world has shown that where money is plentiful there the arts flourish, the people are prosperous, and nations march forward to greater achievements, but when its volume diminishes a decline in the condition of the people follows as surely as night follows the day. While the gold and silver mines of Greece and Spain yielded their precious treasures, Rome prospered; when they failed, Rome declined.

At the commencement of the Christian era, which occurred at the very apex of Roman greatness, the coined money of the Roman empire was estimated at $1,800,000,000, while at the time Columbus set sail from Palos the estimated coined money of all Christendom was estimated at less than $200,000,000. The result of the gradual diminution of the volume of the world's money is legibly written on the pages of history in a decline in

the condition of the people. There it stands and there it will ever stand both as an instruction and a warning. When we look about us now, at the close of the nineteenth century, and mark the great fact standing out in bold relief, that the noblest progress has been made where the Christian religion obtains the greatest sway, the other grave fact that the commencement of the decline into the gloom of the dark ages was contemporaneous with the announcement of the great truths of that religion gives irrefutable testimony to the undeniable truth that such a decline must alone have been the result of the steady diminution in the volume of the world's money.

When Columbus set sail upon the Western ocean, in search of new lands, the great impelling cause was the hope that the world could be further supplied with the precious metals. They were the imperative need of the people and the hope of the nations. With them in abundance, the lethargic sleep of the ages would be broken, the shackles would be removed from the oppressed, and new life and energy would be given both to nations and to individuals. That was their hope and their yearning. His voyage was successful and a new world was discovered. For what was the first search made by Columbus and his followers when once they had planted their feet on the virgin soil of San Salvador, and for what, immediately following, were countless expeditions fitted out to explore the new and unknown world? It was for those metals for which the people of the old world stood in most urgent need. And under the providence of God the discovery of gold and silver in rich abundance in the Western world was indeed one of the greatest boons ever conferred upon mankind.

Contemporaneously with the sailing of Columbus the coined money of the world had passed under the control of a class of men who thereby had become the virtual masters of the world, holding both nations and individuals under their relentless domination. The discovery of the precious metals in the Western hemisphere broke the bands of this slavery and disenthralled Europe from its abject condition of money servitude.

The discovery of the new world, with its wealth of the precious metals, is one of the most prominent landmarks in the world's history. From its date began the dawning of a wonderful advancement, constant, though perhaps irregular, until we stand now in the full glare of the splendid achievements which mark

the close of the nineteenth century. For fifteen centuries the world was gradually lapsing into barbarism, owing to a constant diminution of money. For four centuries it has leaped with giant bounds in the arena of progress, having been generously supplied by an all-wise Providence with a plentiful store of those metals. And now at the end of the four hundred years we may be standing at another great landmark in the world's history. The cupidity of the money lords would, if possible, render void the beneficence of Almighty God. The precious metals, gold and silver, which Providence has most graciously stored in our mountain sides and in the bowels of the earth for the benefit of mankind, and all of which the ever-increasing population and ever-developing resources of the world urgently need and imperatively demand, are deemed by them as being too large in volume for their selfish interests, and at their behest the nations of the world have demonetized one of these metals and are endeavoring to do the business of the world with one metal alone. The stupendous folly and colossal crime of this policy can be seen at a glance, when we remember that the world's supply of gold is estimated at $3,700,000,000 and that the grand total of the national indebtedness aggregates over $35,000,000,000. These debts, as well as the debts of corporations and private individuals, are now all made payable in gold. No mountebank ever imposed upon a credulous auditory a more transparent fraud than the attempt to do the world's business on a gold basis. The two drunken louts who of a cold winter night discarded one blanket because it was white and struggled and shivered under one yellow blanket, too short and too narrow to cover them both, were not one whit more foolish than is our government in discarding the broad bi-metallic basis of our fathers and adopting the single gold basis entirely inadequate to the demands of our increasing population and our yet undeveloped resources.

And now mark the result of this criminal policy of denying the use of silver as full legal-tender money. It is seen and felt on every hand. It is plainly written in a steady decline in business, in the fall of prices and in the constant accessions to the already vast army of the unemployed. It is estimated that the fall in the value of the listed and unlisted stocks handled on Wall Street since the first day of the present year aggregates about $500,000,000. But even this decline is trivial and comparatively

harmless compared with the other consequences of the demonetization of silver. It may perhaps be that the fall in some stocks is only a healthful wringing out of water, and, although individuals may suffer, it may perhaps be of ultimate benefit, while other stocks undoubtedly have declined through a loss of earning power in the corporations issuing them, resultant upon the general stagnation of business. It is, however, among the producing and laboring classes that this denial of the use of one of the precious metals as full legal-tender money is most severely felt. Gold alone, instead of both gold and silver, has become the measure of the value of property and the basis of business. And, as this is greatly insufficient to keep our ever-expanding industries in activity, they are being dwarfed to a conformity with the dwarfed basis. The prices of the farmer's produce, of the artisan's and mechanic's productions, and of the day-laborer's toil, are constantly falling, while the stoppage of industries and the enforced idleness of the laborer are the goals to which we are rapidly drifting.

If our government should directly provide by positive enactments for the destruction of the national industries, the depreciation of the property of its citizens and the denial of remunerative labor to its honest toilers, it would well deserve the reprobation of all honest men and the vengeance of a just God. Is it any less criminal, for compassing the same ends by indirect means? By diminishing the volume of full legal tender money to gold alone the identical result is reached, and a nation so unmindful of the welfare of its people cannot expect to prosper. The silver dollar should be made a full legal tender. And there should be no quackery. It would be worse than folly to allow Shylock the unjust and unprecedented privilege of dishonoring the silver dollar, and then attempt to keep it at par with gold by the creation of a special fund or by the sale of bonds. Nor is there need of more metal in the dollar. Give it full legal tender qualities and a dollar of 412½ grains would be at par, just the same as would a dollar of 450 grains. Let Congress but return to the policy of the fathers, give to the silver dollar complete legal-tender qualities, refuse to the money-loaner the disgraceful privilege of dishonoring any of the coined money of the realm, and thenceforward 412½ grains of silver would be worth a dollar in every national mart, and the protective tariff now existing in

favor of the gold-producer would be forever completely removed. After the four hundred years, what? We have observed, during fifteen centuries in the world's history, a steady decline in intelligence, in the arts and in the freedom and prosperity of the people, commensurate with, and consequent upon, the decline in the volume of money. We have also noticed the quickened activities and steady advance, throughout all nations during the past four hundred years, as the result of a needed supply of money. And now, in the very face of these facts, shall we deny ourselves the use of one of the precious metals, dwarf our industries to the narrow limits of a single gold basis, and thus deliberately turn back the advancing hand on the dial of civilization? If so, then at the end of the four hundred years of prosperity and of advancement in enlightenment and wealth, we will commence a retrogression into the valley of the shadow of gloom such as the world entered upon eighteen centuries ago. With the civilization of Greece and Rome and the sublime truths of the Christian religion carried by warrior and apostle among the nations of Europe at the commencement of the Christian era a general awakening and advance among all peoples might reasonably have been expected. But it was not so. The decrease of the volume of money caused a stagnation of industries, a decline in commerce, an isolation of communities, and a poverty of the masses against which these wholesome influences were comparatively powerless.

A moneyed oligarchy, after four hundred years, has again gained control of the world's supply of gold, and again dominates for its own enrichment the financial policy of the nations. Is there no hope of deliverance from the galling fetters of its imposed thraldom? If not, what of the future? Go among the great masses of the people of this country and read the lesson legible on every hand. The widely-diffused prosperity of former years is no more. The light of hope that heretofore brightened the face of the farmer as he enriched his acres and enlarged his granaries, and the face of the laborer as he added little by little to his accumulation of earnings, has given place to a look of anxiety or despair, as, in the hard and constant struggle for the support of themselves and their families, they are scarcely able to provide the bare necessaries of life and keep the wolf of want from the door.

SYLVESTER PENNOYER.

THE LESSON OF THE "VICTORIA" DISASTER.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM McADOO, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE appalling accident which resulted in the loss of H. M. S. "Victoria" and of so many brave men and gallant officers, has called forth many opinions, not only on the immediate causes which led to the catastrophe, but as to the lessons to be learned from it with regard to the construction of modern war vessels. The first question, I take it, that will be asked by the citizens of a country which ranks as a considerable naval power, and which is engaged in building war ships, is: "Does the accident show modern naval construction to be at fault, and will it lead to either a radical change in the make-up of the modern battle-ship, or result in its total abandonment for other types of ships or other modes of offensive or defensive warfare on the water?" To all of this, speaking for myself, I am inclined to reply in the negative.

While the best naval authorities agree that until we have before us the experience of an actual war with great naval powers as participants, the true value of the four factors of modern warfare—the gun, ram, armor and torpedo—must be more or less conjectural, yet there are certain known and demonstrated facts from which, by a consensus of opinion of the most scientific and ablest naval officers the world over, conclusions have been reached, upon the wisdom of which nations have staked and will continue to stake many lives and much money. Upon that which cannot be solved without actual war between equal combatants, the sinking of the "Victoria" casts little or no light. We know the tremendous power of a modern gun which makes those of the past wars seem ridiculous, and before which our old-time stone walled forts would be of as little value as a canvas tent; we know that a 110-ton gun firing a full charge strikes a blow equivalent to 60,000 foot tons, equal to raising the "Victoria" vertically six feet in one second; we know that it carries a projectile with the greatest

force many miles; we know that special armor of a given thickness forged by specially constructed machinery and prepared in a certain way, possesses extraordinary powers of resistance; we know that armored plates showing a concave surface to a projectile are less likely to be penetrated than those that are flat; we know that a torpedo exploded fairly under the greatest ship will prove destructive, and it did not need this accident to show the terrible power of the blow of the ram. The accident, to my mind, does not either add to or detract from the importance of the ram, nor does it lessen in any way the value of the modern gun, with its long and accurate range, great velocity and flat trajectory of its projectile, its ability to train in any direction and fire heavy bursting charges of high explosives, which upon impact are intended to give the effect of an aerial torpedo. It is, as yet, the first and greatest weapon of offence or defence in modern warfare.

The primary object of the battle-ship is to carry the heaviest of such weapons, and also to resist in the greatest possible degree the impact of the projectiles of the enemy. In addition she combines the ram and the torpedo. In a word, the modern battle-ship is intended to be the best effort of science, experience, learning, invention and discovery to produce the highest development of a fighting machine on the water. The sinking of the "Victoria" in no wise condemns this monstrous product of skill and science as a supreme instrument of naval warfare. Different nations acting on different lines of naval policy, and mindful of the circumstances by which they are surrounded, may prefer not to depend on battle-ships, or, at least, not wholly to depend on them, but if any lesson has been learned from the late accident, which would change the character of naval vessels to be built for such a nation, say, for instance, as Great Britain, it is not known to those who are supposed to be best informed on those subjects.

A ten-thousand-ton ship delivering a cutting blow with her ram while going at a high rate of speed is simply irresistible by anything afloat or being built to float. What such a blow means may be estimated from this statement of a naval expert:

"The 'Camperdown' has a weight of 10,600 tons and was moving at a rate of ten knots per hour, or 16.88 feet per second. This would give an impact of 46,900 foot-tons delivered by the sharp ram of the 'Camperdown.' That is equivalent to the blow that would be struck by a railroad train consisting of six large Pullman cars drawn by the heaviest of locomotives—say one of 120 tons—running at a speed of fifty miles per hour."

It is also equivalent to a force which would in one second of time lift the "Victoria" bodily four feet and more. Of course with enormous displacement an unsinkable ship might be built.

I do not mean to enter the field in which professional controversy rages as to the value of vessels depending wholly on the ability to ram an opponent. The recent disaster only illustrates the known destructiveness of the ram. The ram and torpedo are the deadly enemies of the warship, but the problem is, with what certainty, and accuracy, you can bring them in war into actual and deadly contact with a swift moving, powerfully armed, alert and vigilant enemy, provided with every modern safeguard and possessed not only of high speed, but of defensive and offensive power of the highest character, including, among his own weapons, a most formidable ram, every naval vessel now built being especially fitted for the purpose of a ram.

An accidental collision may occur at any time, but in action would a skilful commander, unless his motive or steering power were disabled, or unless his vessel had become enveloped in smoke or hampered by some other improbable and unlooked-for cause, give the enemy a chance to use the ram? The skill in manœuvering of the opposing commanders, the speed of the respective vessels, the facility with which they answer their steering gear are all factors in this problem. As against the greater speed of a vessel largely or wholly dependent for destructiveness on the part of its ram, it should, moreover, I think, be remembered that the all-around, protected and heavily-armed enemy would pour upon his pursuer a rapid and continuous fire from the guns of the main and secondary batteries, to which, if the ram is the principal or only weapon, little or no reply could be made. We can reasonably infer that this fire would be effective when we consider that with high-powered guns of 6, 8, 10 and 12 inch calibre, the angular elevation necessary to obtain ranges up to a nautical mile never exceed one and a half degrees. From these guns the projectiles are shot forth with a velocity so great that their trajectory approximates very closely to the horizontal, and the danger space for any vessel of considerable size would cover an area of about 200 yards in length.

What changes in naval architecture the accident may suggest, as to bulkheads and the means of quickly closing the doors lead-

ing to them, is a matter for professional consideration. On the whole, we may conclude that the great naval powers will continue to build battle-ships, their faith in them in no wise diminished by the late disaster. Until some effective and reliable means of reaching them, either from above or below the water, and applying to a vulnerable part heavy charges of high explosives has been discovered, vessels of the battle-ship and monitor types will be looked upon as the right arm of national defence, and as the most formidable of offensive opponents. Here in the United States the people rightfully look to the navy as the mainstay of coast defence. Fortifications are, of course, a necessary and proper adjunct, but with our long and exposed sea coast to defend, the heavy armored turret, that carries the greatest guns and moves swiftly and at will from place to place, is necessarily of more importance than a stationary battery on shore. The well-protected warship, moving at full speed, has decided advantages over the stationary fort. Our own great Farragut, even with wooden ships, made short work of successfully passing land batteries.

There are two lessons, however, which it seems to me we can learn with great profit in this country from the late disaster. The first is the necessity for squadron drills, and the practical manœuvring of fleets. There is no amount of theoretical learning which will give the same results as this experience. Many of our ablest naval officers in the United States are very deeply impressed with the lack of practice of our own men in these practical evolutions. It would, in my judgment, be of great value to the country and the service could we have a series of practical manœuvres such as those in which the late Admiral Tryon distinguished himself in the British fleet movements in 1888. That we have not been able to keep up more or less constant practice by a squadron of evolution, is not the fault of the Department. Our navy is small, and is necessarily, for the protection of American interests, scattered all over the world. The demand for ships in distant waters is so great, and the number as yet so few, that we are not able to keep a large squadron in home waters, or mass them in foreign stations. Undoubtedly, however, this will be changed in the near future as new ships are put in commission. At any rate, it is to be hoped that our officers and men in the future will have more frequent opportunity

for fleet drill, as it is the only practical way to acquire great skill and ability to handle ships in time of action, and is, moreover, the surest method of acquiring precision in that most important of things in the Navy, the art of signalling.

This leads to the second and greatest consideration, the importance of the personnel. With all his learning, persistence, skill and experience, with all the secrets he has wrenched from nature and learned from art, man has as yet made no machine superior to himself. He may cabin, confine, and chain the great forces to do his bidding, but the supreme intelligence which directs and controls is after all the master of the situation. Think for a moment of what depends upon the ability and courage of the man who, in battle, stands in a small armored tower, into which the light penetrates from a mere slit between the rim and the roof, through which he must see every movement of his enemy, and who directs every movement of his ship! On his intelligence, learning, experience, skill, courage, and nerve rests the safety of the ship, and the life of the crew, and the final outcome of the conflict. He holds in his hand the great powers which beget life and action in the ship, and at his touch she pours forth her fearfully destructive energies; a single false move, a signal misunderstood, a clouding of his vision, the tremor of his hand, the failure of his heart, a nervous collapse, an error of judgment, the lack of experience, and, above all, a failure to possess a quick and acute intelligence, and the cool courage to act with great promptness, and the contest which may involve a nation's rights, its honor, or the invasion of its territory, or the spoliation and humiliation of its people, is lost beyond retrieve. The best powers of invention, the persistent study of science, can beget no substitute for the human intelligence, which, in battle, is to control and direct the movements of these monster fighting-machines on the water. In the day of trial that nation will be most fortunate whose officers possess, in a large degree, the best qualities of mind and body, and a well-balanced combination of learning and experience, to which should be added the greatest possible devotion to the flag, begetting the highest blending of moral and physical courage.

The days when hostile cutlasses gleamed over the bulwarks of old-time frigates and officers cheered the men to repel boarders has passed away, but the all-important necessity for able and gal-

lant officers and brave and efficient men to command and fight our ships is as great, if not greater, than ever. We have now in the United States reached a stage in the material building up of our navy when we may well turn our attention to the consideration of perfecting the welfare and high efficiency of the personnel. And here let me recall the words of Farragut who urged the "great advantage" of obtaining "command young." Most of the commanding officers of our civil war were men under thirty. The age has been gradually increased until now officers arriving at command rank are forty-seven, forty-eight or forty-nine years of age. When the captain is now more than ever the soul of the ship how necessary that he should possess those qualities which generally can only come by long fixed habit of command. One thing I am proud to say, that if the day of trial comes to us as a nation the American people can rest secure in the confidence that nowhere in the world is there a body of naval officers and men more devoted to their profession, better educated in the art of war, more faithful to their flag, prouder of their country, and possessed of more courage and ability than the officers and men of the United States Navy, and saying this I am withholding no just tribute to the exhibition of splendid discipline and cool bravery on the part of the gallant officers and seamen who went down with the ill-fated "Victoria."

WILLIAM MCADOO.

PROHIBITION IN ENGLAND.

BY SIR WILFRID LAWSON, M. P.

IT HAS been suggested to me that a short account of what has been done, what is being done, and what it is hoped may be done, by those who on this side of the Atlantic are striving to overturn the liquor traffic, would be of interest to the numerous readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I shall take pleasure, as president of the "United-Kingdom Alliance to Procure the Total and Immediate Legislative Suppression of the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages," in endeavoring to give such an account. But I wish it to be understood that, for the accuracy of the facts stated and for the value of the opinions expressed, I take the sole individual responsibility.

I need not waste many words in describing the ravages which are wrought by drink. From the days when "Noah planted a vineyard and drank of the wine, and was drunken," until the present time, unvarying experience has proved the truth of the refrain of one of our English temperance melodies, "Where there's drink there's danger." In the words of Lord Randolph Churchill, "each generation becomes more and more alcoholized, more fatally liable to crime, poverty, and disease."

This was the truth which was firmly impressed on the minds of those social reformers who, in the year 1853, formed that "Alliance" which I have already mentioned. It is not now, nor has it ever been, either a partisan, a denominational, or a purely total-abstinence organization. The words used by the Provisional Committee, who took the first steps for its formation, have always seemed to me to be most interesting and instructive. They said: "Our trust is that it will never be compressed to a mere teetotal effort,—never be warped by any sectarian bias, nor marred by any political partisanship. Our earnest desire is that its basis may be firmly laid and faithfully maintained

on grounds as broad and catholic as principle and patriotism will admit of, and we pray that all its aims and operations may be conceived and conducted in a devoted spirit of the conscientious discharge of duty to God and to humanity." "Signed on behalf of the Provisional Committee, this first day of June, 1853. William Harvey, Nathaniel Card, Samuel Pope, and Thomas H. Barker, Chairman and Secretaries."

These good and clear-headed men saw plainly enough that the admirable temperance and teetotal organizations—vast as was the good they had done in the past—were almost fatally blocked in their onward career, so long as the legalized facilities for the sale of drink were spread broadcast among the people. They perceived that, as the law sanctioned these mischievous temptations, it was only by an alteration in the law that the evil could be removed; and they perceived also that the only way to obtain the desired alteration in the law was by enlightening and educating public opinion up to the pitch at which it should imperatively demand from the Legislature the required reform. At the first meeting of the General Council, held in Manchester in October, 1853, when the society was publicly inaugurated, the following declaration was unanimously adopted as a basis for the agitation and as indicating the character and scope of the movement:

"1. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

"2. That the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

"3. That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic abundantly prove that it is impossible satisfactorily to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievious in its tendencies.

"4. That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results, as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

"5. That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

"6. That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

"7. That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance."

Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart., was the first president of the Alliance, and soon after its formation he astonished the political world by declaring at a great party dinner: "I am also happy to announce that in that important town (Manchester), where originated the celebrated and mighty league which ended with the abolition of the Corn Laws, there is now organizing another mighty league, which will, I trust, be as victorious as its predecessor, and succeed in removing from our dear fatherland a much greater curse."

The Alliance, of course, at once encountered all the hatred, opposition, and ridicule which in this world are liberally bestowed on movements designed to do any good. But multitudes of the most earnest and successful workers in the Temperance Reformation saw that it filled the very place which it was necessary should be filled if that reformation was to be successful. Father Mathew, especially, hailed its formation with rapture.

But the legalized drink-shops remained, and in some districts were increased in number; and it might be said that the last state of Ireland—as regards drinking—was nearly as bad as its first. It was long before the Alliance obtained any support from the great ones of the earth. The nobility, clergy, and gentry, as a rule, disliked and despised it, and the nobility, clergy, and gentry form a mighty power in this Old World of ours.

The "statesmen," like statesmen everywhere else, watching the "jumping cat," thought they perceived that the liquor-selling interest was stronger than the opponents of that interest, and acted accordingly; while the liquor sellers themselves, their dependents, their dupes, and their organs in the press, could not find words sufficiently strong to express their indignation and their fury against those who even remotely interfered with "the hope of their gains." "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," cried the makers of silver shrines; and "Great is Bacchus of the Beer-shops," shouted the makers of strong drinks, and so loudly that for a time they drowned the still small voice of reason.

Lord Randolph Churchill, whom I have already quoted, has declared his belief that "two-thirds of the members of the present House of Commons are inspired by a terror of the organization of the alcoholic liquor trade, wholesale and retail." If this be the case in a House of Commons elected by a democratic electorate, it may be imagined what the state of things was

more than twenty-five years ago, when first a prohibitory measure was formally proposed in Parliament. It was simply a measure providing that licensing authorities should not be allowed to license places for the sale of drink in localities where the population should have definitely, and by decisive majorities, expressed a wish to be free from such licensed houses. It was called the "Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill," as it simply gave permission to the public to protect itself from the drink-sellers. The traders saw in the measure "the thin edge of the wedge," and resisted it accordingly. The philosophers invented the phrase, "You can't make people sober by act of Parliament" (which, of course, really condemned all legislation specially devoted to alcoholic drinks); and the statesmen were disgusted at the simplicity of the measure.

Whenever the bill came before the House, these statesmen used to take up much time in discussing and censuring its details and machinery. At last it was decided by some friend of prohibition that it would be well to move a resolution simply affirming the principle of the above measure, leaving the details to be filled in after the principle had been affirmed. This plan had a certain amount of success, and on three occasions, by increasing majorities, a resolution affirming the right of localities to the power of protecting themselves from the liquor traffic was affirmed by the House of Commons. The last resolution of the three was carried on April 27, 1883, and runs as follows:

"That the interests of the nation urgently require some efficient measure of legislation, by which, in accordance with the resolution already passed and re-affirmed by this House, a legal power of restraining the issue and renewal of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors may be placed in the hands of the persons most interested and affected, namely, the inhabi tants themselves."

This resolution was passed by 264 against 177, including tellers and pairs; and since its adoption we have had five different governments, including the one then in office, most of whose members supported the resolution, yet nothing has been done to carry it into effect. The Prohibition party out of doors have been urgent that action should be taken, but something or other has always been found, or been invented, to block the way. Surely it is not going too far to describe this delay as both discreditable and deplorable.

The reader will now, I hope, understand how matters stand

with us. The principle of optional local self-protection from the liquor traffic is admitted by Parliament, but Parliament has not yet been induced to give that principle legislative effect. And so the drink traffic with all its accompanying horrors goes on from year to year, filling our gaols, workhouses and asylums, entailing greater burdens on the sober and industrious portion of the community, and unchecked, except by the variable, uncertain, and capricious exercise of the authority which is placed in the hands of our magistrates, a body who, as a whole, are much more in sympathy with the makers and sellers of drink than with the victims of the dreadful business.

When one thinks of these victims, he is sometimes inclined to say, "No man careth for their souls," or bodies either. All that the unfortunates are considered fit for by the powers that be is to swell the national revenue derived from the sale of alcohol—which is, according to one of our greatest modern English doctors, a "most deleterious poison." It is almost astounding that this revenue, after more than half a century of temperance teaching and preaching, after the attainment also of all kinds of educational, sanitary, and religious reforms—which we have so often been told would stop excessive drinking,—it is, I say, almost astounding to find this revenue still of the enormous magnitude in which it has been revealed by late financial statements. Not long ago a Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to be himself appalled at the figures which he had to produce to the House of Commons. He said that the receipts from the consumption of alcohol had increased, as compared with the preceding year, by £1,800,000. After expatiating for some time on this amazing and, as he seemed really to feel, most regrettable fact, he came to the conclusion that "something must be done. Thus, one of our ablest public men, when once he began to look this business in the face, saw that legislation could do nothing to promote temperance except by diminishing the legalized temptations to drinking.

I have already indicated that this matter of licensing is in our country—with but trifling exceptions—in the hands of the magistracy, a body not appointed by any popular election, but selected by the Lord Chancellor mainly on account of birth, wealth, or social position. It is because they have neglected to protect the public by withholding drink-licenses that these frightful evils, which horrified the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred to,

have grown up amongst us. It seemed, then, that the only way of meeting the difficulty would be to intrust this "veto" power to stronger, or, in other words, more popular bodies. Accordingly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to give to our County Councils, which, roughly speaking, are our local parliaments, the power of ridding their neighborhoods of such drink-shops as they thought fit to remove. It is probable that many County Councils would have eagerly availed themselves of this power in order to benefit and purify these neighborhoods. But here comes in perhaps the most extraordinary proposition which has been made to the House of Commons in modern times. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed that some hundreds of thousands of pounds should be taken annually from the taxes of the country and handed over to these County Councils in order that they might pay "compensation"—as he called it in his speech—to those persons who were pecuniarily interested in the liquor shops to be disestablished.

It was admitted that these places were public evils—otherwise there would have been no proposition to get rid of them; it was a part of the law of the land that they held their licenses only for the space of one year, liable to have those licenses withheld when that time had elapsed, at the option of the magistrates, whose duty is supposed to be to act for the public protection. It was known that those interested in these places had made money by them, for no one would persistently carry on a losing business; and yet, after all this, the Chancellor coolly proposed that these men—many of whom had amassed fabulous wealth through the monopoly of the sale of drink—should likewise be enriched by public money when they were compelled to give up selling drink. Whatever position they were in, the public was to pay them. The great liquor trade was one of the main supports of a previous government, and the determination of the latter to give the brewers, who are the principal owners of public-house property, a new parliamentary title and increased value to that property looked very much like the outcome of that gratitude which, no doubt, the government felt to the brewers, and which has also been defined as a "lively sense of favors to come."

The brewers were delighted. They at once saw that so soon as public money had been given for the non-renewal of a single license—which ought to have been withheld by the licensing au-

thority—from that moment the value of licensed property would be indefinitely augmented. But the friends of national sobriety saw it also. They saw it, and they were determined that what Mr. Caine aptly called this great "financial barrier" should not be erected in defence of what one of our public men not long since called this "desolating trade."

So the fight began in real earnest. The government tried hard to popularize their measure by saying—what was perfectly true—that, if carried, it would lead to a certain diminution in the number of public houses. But very few temperance men were influenced by this argument, since they saw clearly that the "financial barrier" which I have mentioned would in the end be a far greater help to the liquor trade than would the purchasing of a few licenses by the County Councils be a damage to it.

One of the largest outdoor demonstrations which ever gathered together assembled in Hyde Park to denounce the compensation scheme. The brewers replied by a monster petition signed by hundreds of thousands of persons, which was presented to the House of Commons with great pomp and ceremony. The ministers of the Crown kept on declaring that their measure was a temperance measure. Mr. Gladstone, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Fowler, Sir George Trevelyan, and other leading men of the Liberal party, with vigor and eloquence drove home the reply that the "endowment of public houses" with public money could not possibly be a temperance measure.

The Church of England Temperance Society—alone amid the great temperance societies—looked with some amount of favor on the government scheme; but, on the other hand, all the other temperance organizations were, so to speak, furiously opposed to it, and in their opposition were cordially supported by almost all the religious denominations in the country, who had never on any occasion been so thoroughly welded together as they now were in resisting this scheme for the endowment of the greatest foe to religion and morality which the world has ever seen.

In the House of Commons itself the scene was even more striking. The government—the strongest which we have known for many a day—being re-enforced by a strong contingent of their former opponents, who are now more conservative than the Conservatives, continually vowed and protested that they meant to carry their bill at all hazards—thereby echoing the shouts of de-

fiance which it was ordered should be uttered every morning by the Conservative press. All the great measures of the session were postponed for the sake of gratifying the brewers by the passing of this bill. All amendments were rejected. The rank and file of the party were daily summoned to the House to assist in forcing it through. But here the difficulty began. "You can call spirits from the vasty deep, but will they come ?" You can send out "whips" for members to come down to the House to vote for government measures, but will they come down when they suspect public opinion is against them ? No, they won't, and so the government found out. Gradually, the majorities of that strong administration melted away, growing small by degrees and beautifully less, until on the first clause of the bill they only secured a majority of four. This virtually sounded the knell of the measure, and, though the government struggled doggedly on till the last, the compensation scheme had to be abandoned ultimately, after it had been for about two months before the country, causing during these two months more excitement and indignation than it had seemed possible that any legislative proposition could have produced in so short a space of time.

The great drink question, then, stands thus on this side of the Atlantic : There is a virtual unanimity among the statesmen of all parties that the places licensed for the sale of drink are too numerous. The Conservative statesmen, who make this avowal, also declare that, as they have failed in providing for their diminution by allotting public money for the benefit of those houses which may be dis-established, nothing more is likely to be done by politicians to promote temperance "for the next twenty years." The Liberal statesmen who formerly succeeded in their resistance to the Conservative scheme above mentioned, it must be assumed, have some plan ready for the reduction in the number of drinking houses, inasmuch as they have joined with the Tory statesmen in denouncing the superabundance of such places. The Prohibition party, meanwhile, sticks to its simple, straightforward demand, that it should be placed in the "option" of dwellers in specified localities to protect themselves. The Prohibitionists only ask for what are called, in reference to Africa, "uncontaminated zones," that is, districts without liquor shops, where local public opinion clearly demands that such shall be the case.

Not long ago Parliament, for the first time in our political history, gave a majority in favor of Sunday closing—for England. It also, by an overwhelming majority carried the second reading of a bill designed to curtail the sale of liquor in Ireland on Sundays generally, instead of with exceptions, which is now the law, and also to curtail its sale considerably on Saturdays. But neither of these measures has been carried through and inscribed on the statute book, because the government of the day declined to give the time or any of the assistance necessary for carrying the required stages through the House.

But the conflict and the result which I have described—the overthrow of the compensation scheme—is full of hope for the future. It was the voice of the people—the masses—the multitude—which really overthrew that great iniquity. When once they are as united and determined in their attack on the common enemy—Drink—as they have now been in resisting his assault upon them, his final overthrow is certain.

To spread the light, to promote union, and to perfect its own organization, is now the object and the duty of the Prohibition party. In that duty, it is my hope and my belief that they will not be found wanting, but that they will go on until they obtain their long-sought-for triumph over the Liquor Power. That triumph, when attained, will be indeed a great and glorious one, for the Liquor Traffic is by far the deadliest remaining obstacle to the complete success of that Temperance Reformation which Mr. Cobden has truly declared to lie at the foundation of every social and political reform.

WILFRID LAWSON.

DISEASE AND DEATH ON THE STAGE.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D., HEALTH COMMISSIONER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE climax of many plays is the death, in one shape or another, of the heroine, or, sometimes, but more rarely, of the hero. In other dramas sickness or injury of one kind or another plays an important part in the action or even in the plot of the piece. These ills of humanity are by no means confined to melodramas, although a melodrama without a death or deaths would be somewhat strange. In tragedy, death is the culmination of the deception practised on Othello, of the madness of Lear, or of the mistaken patriotism of Brutus. In Webster's most gloomy of plays, *The Duchess of Malfi*, death comes to the heroine as a release from the horrors with which her enemies have surrounded her. Death, too, is the long-looked-for friend of Lady Dedlock, and it throws its mantle of charity over the sins and sorrows of Camille. To the actor and actress, then, there comes a necessity for the study of death and its forerunner, disease.

Perhaps the most common mistake of the lay mind is the association of the dramatic with the conception of death. Nothing is more common than to hear from the pulpit pictures in words of excitement, of alarm, of terror, of the death-beds of those who have not lived religious lives, yet, as a rule, if these pictures are supposed to be those of the unfortunates at the moment of death, they are utterly false. In point of fact, ninety-nine of every hundred human beings are unconscious for several hours before death comes to them; all the majesty of intellect, the tender beauty of thought or sympathy or charity, the very love for those for whom love has filled all waking thoughts, disappear. As a little baby just born into the world is but a little animal, so the sage, the philosopher, the hero or the statesman, he whose

thoughts or deeds have writ themselves large in the history of the world, become but dying animals at the last. A merciful unconsciousness sets in as the mysterious force we call life slowly takes leave of its last citadel, the heart, and what is has become what was. This is death.

It is apparent that such a death as this would not serve the purposes of the playwright. On the stage, where action is the primary demand in the climax of the play, death must be made dramatic. While this is possible, the various causes which produce what I may call a dramatic form of death vary greatly with the cause of the death itself, and, judging from what I have personally seen or from that which I have read, there are many actors and actresses who do not understand this. Or, if they do, they have failed to learn what are the physical symptoms, the movements of the body or parts of it, that invariably follow certain causes of death. To illustrate my meaning, I will take as an example death when caused by a bullet through the heart.

I am not unmindful of the fact that actors or actresses must, to a certain extent, be conventional in their work. That is, they must present to their audiences that action which those audiences have been accustomed to associate with certain causes. A familiar illustration which presents itself is the first series of photographs taken of a horse galloping, by Muybridge of San Francisco. We had all been accustomed to the conventional galloping horse, and when the camera revealed to us the real movements they came as a kind of shock. It was almost impossible to believe that a horse could assume such strange positions. I remember one, particularly, in which the animal appeared standing on one fore leg, the other three being in the air. Since then our artists have painted and drawn horses, while in rapid motion, in their real attitudes—as, for example, in the pictures of Frederick Remington—and our eyes have become accustomed to these positions. But those of us who remember the pictures taken by Muybridge will remember also the feeling of incredulity with which we looked at them. Precisely the rules implied here hold good of the stage. An actress is supposed to swallow poison in the form of arsenic. The first real effect of this would be to cause in the person taking it the most violent colic imaginable, and it would be physically correct were the actress to roll about on the stage pressing her hands on her stomach. Yet it is apparent that no audi-

ence would tolerate such action on her part, and no one in that audience, unless it were a physician or toxicologist, would accept the action as holding the mirror up to nature. For all that, it would not only be right but anything else would be ridiculous and absurd.

To return to the death caused by a bullet through the heart. The causes of death are cutting the heart, letting the blood into the lung cavity, which is also cut into, and stopping the circulation. When the blood floods the lung cavity there would be an instinctive effort to throw it out, and the sufferer might cough it up. This is the only thing connected with the cause of death which could by any possible means be represented on the stage. But this would not be in the least dramatic; it would be, if faithfully carried out, very disgusting. There would be a bubbling kind of cough, an appearance of great distress and finally a hemorrhage from the mouth. The causes of death in this case, therefore, cannot be represented. I suppose that all of my readers understand it is impossible to suddenly disturb any group of nerves without producing what are called reflex (when so produced reflex may be translated involuntary or automatic) actions in more or less of the other nerves. If you smash your finger you will generally jump; the disturbance of the nerves of the finger produces involuntary action (we call this reflex) of the nerves of the legs, through the spinal cord and, as the nerves govern and move the muscles, the jump follows.

Now, the movement of the heart, its beating, which draws in and squeezes out the blood, and thus causes the circulation of that fluid through the arteries and veins, is controlled and carried on by nerves which are not subject to our will. No man on this earth can, by any exercise of his will, even lessen the beating of his heart. It is, perhaps, because the nerves of the heart carry on this work automatically that any disturbance of them has the greatest possible effect on all other nerves of the body. The automatic or reflex action following this disturbance is general, and the effects of the shock are most noted. When, then, an actor or an actress simulates death from a bullet through the heart, he or she simulates not the symptoms of the death itself, but those of the reflex action caused by the disturbance of the nerves. And of these there are enough to warrant any amount of action.

The majority of people who have been shot through the heart have jumped high in the air, waved or tossed the arms, turned partly around and fallen. This act is the result of a simultaneous movement of every muscle in the body, and, of course, in it the muscles of greatest strength, those of the thighs, have directed the general result. In the case of Harry Larkyns, shot through the heart by Muybridge, the photographer, in California in 1874, the victim ran through a short hall way and open door, and dropped under a tree in the back yard. These short bursts of speed are not uncommon. Harold Strange, a soldier in Meade's army at Gettysburg, was shot through the heart at the Bloody Angle. He leaped the stone wall, and ran towards the Confederate line, falling just as he reached it. A man shot through the heart by Juaquin Murietta, the bandit, turned two somersaults and fell. Violent, intense action, in a blind, unreasoning fashion, results from the shock when a person is shot through the heart.

It is common enough to see Othello fall down as he reads the line

"and smote him, thus!"

The Moor is supposed to have stabbed himself to the heart, but, from a physician's standpoint, the fall is absurd. The same objection is pertinent when Brutus kills himself. In each case the death is meant to be dignified; nor am I perfectly certain that audiences would tolerate anything else. In point of fact, however, you can understand, from what I have already written, that it would be impossible for any man to control the reflex action of the other nerves when those of the heart are so suddenly disturbed, and with this would come the involuntary movement of all the muscles, the greater again dominating the action. A man stabbed to the heart would act in very much the same way as one shot, nor would it be possible for him to prevent it. We all have had hiccough, and we all know the vexatious way in which this annoying involuntary spasm of the muscles defies the will power; yet a man could far more easily control this than he could the reflex action of the nerves producing involuntary movements of the muscles which would follow with the shock produced by sudden disturbance of the nerves of the heart.

From King Lear to that maniac wife of Rochester in *Jane Eyre*, whose solitary shriek before the audience, as she rushes across the stage in her only appearance has always seemed to me

supremely ridiculous, the range of madness in the drama is very wide. In that most horrible of all plays, Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, a number of the insane appear, when the drama is produced as it was written—something never done nowadays. I am not quite prepared to say that madness should never be represented behind the footlights, but I confess to a feeling that the less we see of it the better. It seems to me the affliction of the demented is so awful that it should almost be held sacred. I feel about it as a devout Catholic would feel were it proposed to have mass in the playhouse, or as many good people felt when the scheme was on foot to produce the "Passion Play" in New York.

As a matter of fact, madness, insanity, dementia in any form, is not in itself dramatic. The acts of the insane, of course, may be; as, for example, when a person is supposed to have homicidal mania and kills another. In this case there is an added horror in the act when we reflect that the murderer is wholly irresponsible. The same horror inheres in it as that which Poe made such use of in his *Murders in the Rue Morgue*. It is the thought that, awful as the crime is, it is the crime of a brute, of an animal that does not realize what it is doing. While this is all true, the act itself gathers its dramatic force far more from the fact that life is taken, that death, which we all instinctively hate, comes to the victim before his or her time. We must be careful to duly separate the dramatic from the horrible; the first results from the act apart from anything else, the second from the madness which is the irrational, unreasoning cause.

As I have said, there is nothing dramatic in madness. The insane, apart from the particular belief or fixed idea which marks their insanity, are very much like other people. Were any one to go to Bloomingdale or to the farm for the insane on Long Island, he would find it difficult to believe at first that those about him were not in all respects like other people. It is this fact which is at the base of the many stories we see in the daily press of people who are kept in asylums without cause. The popular idea of an insane person—an unfortunate, who crouches in a corner of a room, and there gibbers and mows at all—is nowadays utterly without foundation. Undoubtedly in those times now long gone by, when the insane were treated as criminals, the horrible picture of the madhouse, as drawn by Hogarth, was justified; but

to-day, thanks to the greater knowledge we have and the spread of humanitarian feelings, it would be absurd.

In nothing do the player folk yield more to the popular and conventional ideas of their audience than in their personation of the insane. While this is, I suppose, necessary, it is yet to be sincerely regretted. Madness is a sufficiently awful affliction, and the sorrow of those whose loved ones are suffering is great enough, without having it intensified by misrepresentation. While I cannot say that I think actors and actresses can do anything else, having before them the supreme necessity of making their action dramatic, it is this fact which adds to my dislike to seeing insanity depicted behind the footlights.

Many of the great actors and actresses have sought to study the insane for purposes of their art. The late John McCullough —himself fated to end his days at Bloomingdale, poor fellow!— told a friend of mine once that he had been studying insane patients before producing Lear. He complained, or rather spoke, of the fact that in no way did their actions differ from those of others and of the difficulty he found in getting any hints or lessons from them. In this he was right, for a sane man personating insanity is far more insane than are the mad themselves. In fact, when for any reason a person puts on insanity (a man accused of murder, as was Guiteau, for example), he is almost invariably found out because he overdoes it. But Mr. McCullough told a good story of Forrest which I have never seen in print. It seems that Forrest, before playing the same part, went to an insane asylum near Philadelphia for the same purpose. He watched one of the male patients for some time, during which the man kept saying: "I wonder how long! I wonder how long! I wonder how long!" Finally Forrest interrupted him. "What is it that you wonder how long?" he said. The man turned on him with a laugh. "I wonder how long a d—d fool like you will stand there looking for something he can't see."

Perhaps one of the best known deaths on the stage is that of Camille in Alexandre Dumas's play. Camille is supposed to die of consumption and the death comes from hemorrhage of the lungs. Now, in point of fact, the action of the body following hemorrhage of the lungs has nothing dramatic about it. If the blood vessel which breaks is very large there may be a semi-convulsion resulting from shock. Otherwise, the death comes from

loss of blood that pours from the mouth or from strangulation; that is, the lungs fill with blood, so that the sufferer cannot breathe. But such a death as this would not satisfy the demands of the stage, or what are believed by many persons to be those demands, and we therefore see Camille in strong convulsions. It is the old story of the galloping horse once more.

There are many deaths on the stage in plays when the cause of death is supposed to be heart disease. As a matter of fact, there are a number of diseases of the heart, in the majority of which the person dies because the heart simply stops beating. When this happens a real death is like nothing so much as a faint or syncope, the sufferer merely collapses and the end has come. About such deaths, however, there is nothing dramatic, and actors and actresses, therefore, generally choose to personate that form of heart disease known to physicians as *angina pectoris*. In this disease there is the most intense pain conceivable, and those suffering from it not only manifest the intolerable character of the pain by walking up and down, by moaning or crying, by throwing the arms about and sometimes by beating the chest with the clenched fist, but they often have convulsions in which all parts or limbs of the body are violently distorted. This disease gives any person ample opportunity for action, and as it is always advisable for an actor or actress to study that which he or she is to portray, the following story is worth telling. I should say that, while the story is true, I am quite certain there are very few physicians who would be guilty of the disgraceful part played by this one. An actress in New York, having to personate death by heart disease, went to her physician to get from him some directions. He told her he had a patient who had *angina pectoris* and asked the actress to come to his office on a certain day. When she came he had his patient, a poor woman, there. He ordered the patient to run up stairs as fast as possible, giving some excuse. This the woman did and brought on thereby an attack of the disease. She suffered and depicted the agony of the seizure while the actress watched her carefully, and she nearly died in the attack. It does not palliate the monstrous cruelty of this performance that the actress gave the woman a hundred dollars. The end was served, the actress personated the disease in the play and was very successful. Many of those who will read this story well know the people referred to, and I only regret that a promise, given before I heard it, binds

my pen. I think that physician should be held up to the execration of all good men. I believe the actress, if she knew what was to be done, was ignorant of the possible consequences and wholly failed to realize the hideous cruelty of the affair, but no such excuse may be pleaded for the man who planned it.

Speaking of studying disease, Richard Mansfield, as Baron Chevrial in *A Parisian Romance,* personates the unilateral convulsions (that is, convulsions of one side of the body only) of apoplexy better than I have ever seen symptoms reproduced on the stage. Before he played the part he went to a physician, and learned from him what to do and how to do it. The result was most admirable from the physician's point of view, for the acting of the death was not less perfect than that of the life.

In many plays the characters are supposed to take poison, and the popular belief as to the effects of poisons is as mistaken as it well can be. I have already spoken of the colic that follows swallowing arsenic. It is ordinarily believed that the effect of laudanum, or of opium in any form, is to put a person to sleep. Not only is this untrue of many people, but invariably the first effects of the drug are to enliven and excite the person taking it. When, then, you see the heroine in the dungeon swallow the contents of the bottle of laudanum and at once sink into a profound slumber, you are watching something that never yet took place. The secondary effect of opium, on probably eighty per cent. of human beings, is to put them to sleep, and, as this effect is much more lasting than the first excitement, it has possession of the popular mind.

The convulsions which so often follow the taking of poison on the stage may be produced by a common poison, strychnine. Properly speaking, strychnine does not produce convulsions in which there is a great and rapid movement of the limbs. The muscles of the back and the great flexor muscles of the legs and thighs are contracted into a sort of prolonged rigidity so that the sufferer is bent backward like a bow and often is supported by his head and heels, the body being arched between. Mlle. Croisette, in Paris, when playing in *La Sphynx,* created a great sensation and made a great name for herself. She went to Dr. Charcot, the eminent physician of Paris, and, learning from him the effects of poisons, chose strychnine and had the name inserted in the play. She studied carefully all that books could

tell her, and then procured several dogs and gave them the poison, watching the spasms which followed. She produced such a perfect simulation of the results following the swallowing of strychnine that, not only did the daily press praise her, but one of the medical journals devoted quite a long article to this part of the play and advised medical students to go to the theatre for the purpose of studying the symptoms of poisoning by strychnine. For one Croisette that you will find on the stage, however, you will easily see a hundred victims of poison who simply cause the physician to smile.

If there is anything more funny than the taking of poison on the stage and its results, it is the method used to save the life of those that have swallowed it. The first thing a physician does when called in to a case of poisoning is to make his patient vomit. It is a thousand times easier to get rid of such portions of the fatal dose as may not have been absorbed than it is to neutralize them, and for that reason strong emetics followed by the stomach pump are invariably resorted to. This could not be done, however, on the stage, even in these days of realism, because the audience would be disgusted, and very properly, too. But the antidotes used are very funny. I remember a melodrama which I went to see performed when I was a student—I have forgotten the name, but it had a long run at the Old Bowery Theatre —in which the heroine took arsenic by mistake. Of course she had the convulsions which stageland arsenic brings on—no other variety ever does—and the hero saved her! How? By scraping plaster off the walls and giving it to her in water. It was a noble act on that hero's part, and any hero who could make the alkali of lime neutralize arsenic not only deserved the hand, heart and fortune of the lovely heroine, but a leather medal from the nearest drug store for his knowledge of chemistry. A little time spent on books or with a physician would save authors of plays from asking impossibilities of the people in the cast.

The symptoms, that is, the violent symptoms of disease which, so far as I have been able to observe, are best known to actors and actresses are those of epilepsy. Perhaps because epilepsy is not uncommon, or perhaps because the convulsions which accompany its attacks have become a part of the traditions of the stage, you see either these or actions based on them in nearly every violent attack of illness or in nearly every death on the stage. It

is true that, so far as the action of convulsions is concerned, those of epilepsy are among the most dramatic known to medical men. There are the frothing at the mouth, the limbs violently distorted, the sudden and convulsive movements, the rigidity of the body broken up by the most extreme contortions; all these are dramatic. But exactly why the symptoms of epilepsy should have become the conventional symptoms of heart disease, of consumption, of poisoning, of death by violence—in short, of every death on the stage—I do not quite understand. One result of it is the creation in the minds of a theatre-going people, such as we are, of the most strange ideas of death that may be imagined. I spoke in the first part of this article of the misconception existing in the popular mind of the dramatic as associated with death, and in the building up of this misconception the stage has done its part. I do not suppose that it matters very much, for as to all of us soon or late death will come, so it makes little difference what we think about it beforehand. Still, among what Sir Thomas Browne first called "the errors of the vulgar," none are more complete than this.

To the well-regulated mind there is nothing more delightful on the stage than the work of that ancient and honorable body, the supers. It is among them, when the exigencies of the drama demand their deaths, that the most delicious methods of presenting the victory of the "grim conqueror" may be found. When the hero, in big hat, crimson sash, blue shirt and immaculately polished boots, stands with one arm around the heroine and deals death among the ignoble Red Men with his apparently inexhaustible revolver, then it is that one sees high art. The Red Man, in his buckskin shirt and feather head-dress, receives his death wound and wallops—I can find no better word—about the stage just in front of the practicable rocks for the space of five minutes. Even then he is not quite gone, for a convulsive kick at intervals shows the passing of his haughty spirit. When at last death comes to him, the physician goes home pondering to himself how many, many things there are that he does not know.

CYRUS EDSON.

ANGLO-SAXON UNION:

A RESPONSE TO MR. CARNEGIE.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

The relations of the different portions of the English-speaking race to each other and the common mission of the race, if it has one, are subjects which Americans generally, trained on panegyrical history, have hitherto seen too much through the eyelet hole of an antiquated feud with the memory of a King for whose misdeeds no living man is any more responsible than for the misdeeds of the Pharaohs or Sennacherib. That liberal spirits are now rising to a worthier point of view Mr. Carnegie's article, "A Look Ahead," in a recent number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW was a proof. Anglo-phobia is slowly giving way in American literature to moral breadth and historical justice, though its traditional force is still great, and in the writings of politicians it is apt to be affected, whether it is felt or not, as a tribute to conventional sentiment. Its last and not least strange manifestation is the work of an anglo-phobiac who labors in two bulky volumes to widen and prolong the schism of the race by showing that American institutions are derived, not from the mother country of New England, but from the mother country of New Amsterdam, in which it seems they had been studied by a party of religious peasants, who, during their brief sojourn, shrank, as we are expressly told, from the contagious influence of Dutch society and departed because they feared that it would absorb their children and that their English nationality would be lost.

A common language is in itself a most important bond of union. As few men comparatively read or speak any language but their own, the ideas and sentiments of the race must, so far as they are formed by reading, be cast into the mould of the common literature, in which the character of the mass is sure to prevail. While the American has been nursing ancestral hatred of England he has been undergoing the influence of the English authors upon his table. But all communities of British origin also show a marked and peculiar tendency to parliamentary govern-

ment, personal liberty, and freedom of opinion. All have been alike distinguished from most of the other races by their respect for law. If the race has a distinct mission it would seem to be to extend the reign of law. Wherever the British flag advances, in Hindustan, Egypt, or elsewhere, the dominion of law advances with it, and beneath it no Hindoo ryot or Egyptian fellah can be deprived of the smallest article of property without due legal process, or of life or liberty without regular and open trial. France may be making her tri-color, we are making our Great Charter, go round the world. Despite is done not only to the dignity of the race but to its collective duty to humanity when one portion of it helps a race less law-abiding in setting its neck upon another portion.

A moral reunion of the race, with a common pride in its common history and a consciousness of the part which collectively it has played and may yet play in the development of humanity, seems not very far from realization. By the opening prospect and the warm sense of returning goodwill the idea of a still closer connection appears to have been generated in some minds. A vision of this kind floats through Mr. Carnegie's paper. But such a thing as a political or even a diplomatic unity of the English-speaking communities scattered over the globe is surely inconceivable. Supposing such a union possible, what definite object would it have? Where would its centre be? Who would direct its policy? By its irresistible power, we are told, it would impose peace upon the world. Unfortunately, consciousness of irresistible power is more apt to incline to aggression than to the enforcement of peace, while the jealousy which such combination would excite could hardly fail to lead to counter-combination and call the rest of the world to arms. Besides, while there are important elements of unity in the race, there are also important elements of diversity arising from the local admixture in unequal proportions of alien blood, from variety of circumstances attendant on dispersion over two hemispheres, and from the shades of character produced by living under institutions radically, perhaps, the same yet modified in important ways. Mutual privilege in respect to naturalization laws might not be impracticable; otherwise to nothing beyond a moral reunion, it would seem, can we rationally aspire.

To a moral reunion of the English-speaking race, assuming,

as we probably may, that the influence of the Irish vote is transitory, there is apparently but one serious impediment. That impediment is the intrusive presence of Great Britain as a political power in this continent, with the constant irritation and frequent disputes which her presence inevitably breeds. For this the men of the American Revolution have to answer, since, when they expelled the loyalists, they constrained Great Britain to provide the exiles with a new home, and bound her in honor to keep her flag flying over them there.

The question of the relations between Canada and the United States has been brought up for practical discussion not only by the tariff and the McKinley Act but by the movement in favor of Imperial Federation, which aims at finally severing Canada from this continent and incorporating her in a federation, the centre of which is to be a European power. American statesmanship cannot blink the issue. The question whether this continent shall be united or whether it shall be divided, and a power antagonistic to the American Republic shall be formed to the north of it, is surely the one subject of external policy which is of vital importance to the American people. The American people expended, as it is reckoned, eight billions of money and a million of lives to rectify their relations with five millions of whites at the South, though the five millions of whites brought with them four millions of blacks and a problem still defying solution. Will they treat as a matter of indifference the cheap and bloodless rectification of their relations with five millions of whites at the North unencumbered with any fatal appendage? If the South commanded the mouth of the Mississippi, the North commands the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

I have said "a power antagonistic to the American Republic." Where separation is natural it may be friendly; where it is unnatural it is pretty sure to be antagonistic, on the part at least of the smaller power. England and Scotland being in the same island, so that separation was unnatural, there was constant hostility between them, and Scotland was always leaguing herself with England's enemies, until they were united. The connection of Canada as a dependency is morally with that party in England which is distinctively imperialist and unfriendly to American institutions, as was shown by its course at the time of the American civil war. The Toronto *Empire* is the recognized

organ of the Tory and Imperialist party in Canada, and of the recent utterances of this journal one of its contemporaries says :

> These are days of wild joy about the office of *The Empire*. The daily bulletin that tells of commercial stringency and financial disaster in the United States it rolls as a sweet morsel over its tongue. Each piece of news that tells of distress and business shipwreck across the line is hailed with enthusiasm, and gloatingly enlarged on, and exaggerated with a malicious delight which can be accounted for on no reputable ground that suggests itself to the mind. But, besides this indecent joy over the misfortunes of a neighbor, the editorial columns of the paper for months past have contained an almost daily discharge of venom against the people of the United States. The Columbian Exposition in Chicago has afforded a splendid opportunity for a diurnal outpouring of spleen, petty enough, it is true, but, nevertheless, indicative of the spirit that prompts it.

This, it will be observed, is at a time of perfect outward amity (for the Behring Sea controversy hardly touches eastern Canada), when Mr. Cleveland, whom Canadians regard as a friend, is President and when Canada is looking for tariff concessions at his hands. At the last general election the Conservative party distinctly appealed to anti-American feeling, as Americans failed not to note. They will have noted also that efforts have been made of late to revive old antipathies by celebrating events in the war of 1812, and by decorating the graves of those who fell in the Fenian raid.

Of the Canadians themselves few, probably, believe that things can remain forever as they are. During a residence of more than twenty years in Canada I have seldom met with a Canadian who, if he had thought at all freely on these matters, did not in private avow or betray his conviction that a change must some day come. The perpetual dependence of a free community on one side of the Atlantic upon a community on the other side is an arrangement which, though some may be personally willing to prolong it, few would pronounce reasonable or eternal. It is but the lingering shadow of what once was imperial sway. Its only assignable advantage to the dependency is the military protection of Great Britain, and this is needed only because Canada, as a British dependency, is involved in British quarrels, while, if Great Britain were engaged in a war with maritime powers, it would hardly avert the destruction of Canadian trade. Imperial federation, independence and continental

union are the courses among which many, perhaps most, Canadians feel that a choice must presently be made. That the question of their destiny is before the Canadian people no reader of their journals can fail to see. By the Imperial Federationists themselves the subject is pressed on the ground that the supreme moment has come, and that the cable, now worn to the last strand, must be replaced by a fresh cable or the connection will cease.

Imperial Federation as a generous dream is entitled to sympathy and respect, but at present it is an aspiration without form and void. Its advocates conjure us not to ask for a plan, but to cultivate the sentiment, which in the case of Canada means cultivating such feelings as will estrange us from the United States. I have elsewhere endeavored to state the objections to any assignable form of a union, the general object of which has not been stated any more than the means by which it is to be brought about, the structural difficulties of which are enormous, and which runs directly counter to the prevailing tendencies of the age. There has been much outpouring of eloquence in favor of Imperial Federation, with free denunciation of unbelievers, but no practical step has yet been taken towards the realization of the scheme. During all the years when Lord Beaconsfield, the high priest of Imperial aggrandizement, was in power, not only was nothing done by government, but no serious motion was brought forward in Parliament. Lord Salisbury, another strong Imperialist, was approached in vain. He sanctioned a convention, but confined it to questions of postal arrangements and other matters of that kind, which had no more to do with Imperial Federation than they had with the nebular hypothesis. If Imperial Federation meetings are numerously attended in Canadian cities it is largely by protectionists, who are ready to embrace anything that offers itself as a bulwark against American competition, but dread British competition just as much, and would at once fly off if they were asked to consent to free trade between the colonies and Great Britain, which is an essential part of the Federationist idea. By the French Canadians, tenacious of their separate nationality, the name of Imperial Federation is abhorred. Nor does the scheme of a fiscal federation of the Empire, though less ambitious, seem more practicable. The different colonies and dependencies differ from each other so widely in their com-

mercial circumstances that there can be little hope of devising a fiscal system which will commend itself to them all.

To independence, I must confess, I was myself at one time inclined. At all events I felt a strong sympathy with the band of young Canadians who, inspired by the achievement of confederation and by the appeals addressed to their patriotism on that occasion, were setting out to make Canada a nation. But the movement found little support, and though it is now being revived in opposition to continental union it seems not to have much strength in itself. In some quarters, probably on the part of its ostensible advocates in Quebec, independence is only a cover for continental union, for which there is a timorous reluctance in face of tradition and conventional sentiment openly to declare. It could hardly be anything but a half-way house. The provinces are too totally wanting in unity, geographical, economical and even ethnological; for the French nationality in Quebec, the forces of the Dominion not being equal to its absorption, gains instead of losing intensity, and is thrusting out the British population from every part of the Province except the commercial quarter of Montreal. There is little inter-provincial trade, except what is forced by a stringent system of protection. Nor is there any barrier, of language or of any other description, to keep the Dominion separate from the mass of population to the south of it, with which its own population is rapidly commingling, with which its commerce and its banks are wound up, with which it is connected by an identical railway system, which contains its winter ports, from which it receives its periodical literature, with which it has churches, brotherhoods, and societies of all kinds in common, and to which it is increasingly attracted by social influences and family ties. If there were anything special to be conserved in Canada, a Canadian or a social philosopher might, for the sake of it, be willing to bear the expense of a separate government and to face the attendant liabilities. But there is nothing at all events for which the elastic liberality of the Federal system would not leave free scope.

That the best relation between the two sections of the race on this continent and the only one on which they can permanently rest is that of equal and honorable union is the conviction to which I have been led not without consideration of the arguments on the other side, or even, as I have said, without at one

time inclining to a different view. That it is the natural relation, and that separation is artificial, a glance at the map will show. Suppose those four blocks ef territory, advancing separately from the habitable continent into the region of ice and snow, had never been divorced from the main mass, would anybody dream of divorcing them now? Would he not be deemed a lunatic who should propose it? The severance was the work of pure historical accident and of a quarrel as devoid of any permanent significance as a quarrel can be. Can we imagine that it is destined to endure forever?

The advantages of reunion to both parties are manifest and are hardly denied by those who, on what they think higher grounds, oppose the measure. It would exclude war from North America and dedicate the whole continent securely to peaceful industry and progress. It would remove all internal customs lines and impediments to trade. It would make the St. Lawrence, the fisheries, the sealing grounds, and all the privileges which are now the subject of perpetual disputes, the undisputed heritage of all. It would open the whole field, including Manitoba and the Canadian Northwest, to the free flow of population. It would call forth the mineral wealth, now dormant, of the North by admitting Canadian capital and enterprise to a region which they are now prevented from freely entering by mistrust of a foreign jurisdiction. The commercial benefits which it would confer on Canada by putting an end to the commercial atrophy necessarily attendant on her present state of isolation need not be rehearsed. Not only is the home market of Canada small as a whole, but it is divided into four with wide spaces, involving heavy freights, between them. Commercially the position of Ontario and Quebec is what that of two not very wealthy American States if taken out of the Union would be. The existing States of the Union on the other hand would gain commercially by the accession of Canadian States, just as they have gained by the admission of any other new States, say of Minnesota or Dakota. Those who protest against giving a market of sixty-five millions for a market of five millions fall into the singular fallacy of imagining that an addition is a subtraction when the less is added to the greater.

Another advantage of union which presents itself strongly at the present moment is the power which it would afford of

dealing uniformly with continental problems. Of those problems the most urgent is immigration. We need not here discuss the Chinese question. It is sufficient that, as nobody will deny, the question whether the Pacific coast of this continent shall be opened, with a prospect of its being at last socially ceded, to a race radically, perhaps unalterably, alien to our civilization, is on any hypothesis one of the most vital kind. But it cannot be solved, nor can an immigration of Chinese or of any other alien nationality be effectually controlled unless the whole continent is brought under one jurisdiction. At present, when the front door is closed by Congressional legislation, a back door is opened in Canada, and the practical result of American interdiction is that the Canadian Government raises a small revenue by the transmission of Chinese through its territory into the United States.

It is more to the purpose to estimate the objections to union than to proclaim the advantages of its accomplishment. When the subject is mentioned to Americans two bugbears present themselves. One of these is the Roman Catholic population of French Canada, which, it is supposed, would from its religious character and its reactionary tendencies form a dangerous element in the Republic. The continent would be fortunate if it were not likely to receive any worse addition to its inhabitants than the French of Quebec. They are backward, it is true, in education, in intelligence, and in industrial activity, because they have been kept back by the influences, ecclesiastical and social, to which they are subjected in their state of isolation. But they are good people, kindly by nature, courteous, eminently domestic like the country people of France, frugal and generally moral, their clergy having, to do it justice, taken great care of their morality. Politically, they have been the victims of systematic corruption which has not failed to affect their character. But they are free from any tendency to political conspiracy or cabal. They are also free from the tendency to industrial wars, and make, it appears, good and tractable workmen in the factories of New England. Though the forces of Canada are inadequate to the assimilation of the French, by the forces of the United Continent they would probably be assimilated, for all essential purposes, not less easily than the French of Louisiana; more easily, perhaps, since they are closer to the centre of influence, and are not estranged by any peculiar institution like slavery. Certain,

however, it is, that the Roman Catholic French of Quebec are not to be kept out of the United States by keeping them out of the Union. Into the Northeastern States they are annually pouring, and the volume of immigration will increase with the continuance of the fiscal isolation, the pressure of which is specially felt by Quebec, as her natural products are unfit for exportation to Europe. In fact, the present arrangement is the worst for the United States that could be devised, since separation keeps the people of Quebec under the dreaded influences, and, when they have been trained under those influences, drives them into the United States. Union would bring the nest from which the swarm goes forth under the liberalizing influences of the Republic. If we turn from French Canada to the Canadian Northwest we find that there, while the natural inflow of American immigration is barred by the political line, the region is being artificially filled with Mennonites, Icelanders, Roman Catholic crofters from Skye, colonies from the London slums, and other elements which are alien to American civilization, but which, if manifest destiny ever prevails, must be incorporated in the American commonwealth. An American will, perhaps, be pleased when he reads in Canadian papers that there is a perpetual exodus into the United States of the flower of Canadian youth, but his satisfaction might be diminished if he knew the sort of immigration from Europe by which the void is partly filled, and which some day may be incorporated in the United States.

The second bugbear is the Canadian vote, which, it is imagined, would be solid, and would upset the balance of the American party system. This fear is baseless. As has been already said there is among the provinces no natural unity, geographical, commercial, or ethnological. They have been held together and made to form the basis for the Ottawa government by the continual exertion of government influence. Each of them, when it was in the Union, would be drawn to the States which it would adjoin and with which it would be identified in commercial interest. A political conspiracy between British and French Canada, or between Ontario and those maritime provinces which French Canada cuts off from it, would be the most unlikely thing in the world. Whether the majority of Canadians would go into the Republican or Democratic party only astrology can undertake to foretell. That a recollection of their separate existence with

their local traditions and feeling would dispose the Canadians, or at least the British part of them, to cherish local self-government and repel the encroachments of central power is most probable. Little else can be predicted. Solid Canadian vote, Americans may be assured, there will be none.

That extension of territory should be rather dreaded than desired is a proof of the wisdom and morality of the American people. But the extension in this case would be not only peaceful but natural. It would be the manifest dictate of nature. The recent admission of six new States is not felt to have been attended with the slightest fear of disruption. No such danger can there ever be till there is formed a line of cleavage, such as there was between the Slave States and the Free; and when the tariff question has once been settled there will remain no prospect of anything of the kind. The elasticity of the federal system renders it capable of indefinite extension so long as geographical unity is maintained, and federal government, while it observes its proper limits, will be known only as the source of benefits and immunities against which nobody is likely to rebel. If three hundred millions of Chinese can live under one government so surely can a hundred millions of Anglo-Saxons.

Some Americans, feeling that American democracy is after all not the last word in politics, think two experiments better than one. That they should prefer political instruction to territorial aggrandizement or commercial gain shows that they are profoundly wise. But there is not in reality a double experiment. The two democracies, though one has a vice-regal coronet on its head, are in all essential respects identical. There is no material difference in the suffrage. Organized party is the real power under both constitutions, and its machinery and modes of action in both cases are the same. So is the relation between political morality and that of common life. The distinctive part of the Canadian arrangement is the adoption of the British system of cabinet government, with a legislature subject to dissolution at the pleasure of the Prime Minister, who advises, and if his advice were not taken, would depose the representative of the Crown. But British institutions, especially when they rest not on written laws but on traditional understandings, require British statesmen for their operation. Otherwise the result is a disappointment, like that of my lord who bought the puppet show without the

showman. Of the dependence of the executive on the vote of the legislature the practical result is a constant effort on the part of the executive to corrupt the legislature and the constituencies by which it is elected. Municipal government and its liabilities are the same on both sides of the line. So far as political affinity is concerned Canada would fall at once with the greatest ease into the party system of the United States. Hardly a wire or a wire-puller need be disturbed.

A greater difficulty is, perhaps, presented by the difference between the two banking systems of the two countries and the relation of the American system to government securities. The day will, perhaps, come when governments will understand that their duty is simply to stamp the coin, or to provide any special safeguards in the case of banks of issue which circulation may require, and that they have no more business to interfere with the money trade or to appropriate a share of its profits than they have to interfere with the dry-goods trade or to dip their hands into the till of the dry-goods firm.

The change of flag again is a point which, whenever negotiations for reunion are set on foot will call for considerate treatment. Strong feeling, however, on this subject, like the anti-unionist sentiment generally, has its chief seats in Toronto and one or two other cities where the flag is daily seen and of late has been industriously displayed. In the rural districts the flag is not often seen. The shock caused by a change has, perhaps, been somewhat overstated. The English, Scotch, and Irish flags underwent great changes at the unions, and half a dozen of the great European powers at least, besides France, have, within the last century, changed their flags, adopting in place of their ancient standards mostly varieties of the tricolor. The Canadians, nearly a million in number, who are now south of the line, have all come under the Stars and Stripes apparently with little compunction or suffering.

That an inclination towards union with the rest of their continent is spreading, in rural Canada especially, seems to me a fact, which anxious and vehement denial only confirms. That the sentiment is commercial rather than political and arises from a desire of the American market rather than of American institutions is true. But political change is seldom sought for itself or without the belief that it will bring some material benefit

or relief from some material evil. By the agitations for commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity the minds of the people have been awakened to the needs of a continental market, while the fate of the old reciprocity treaty has taught them that there is no security for permanence but union. On the other hand, it may safely be said that the political abhorrence of union, of which much has been said by one of our ex-Governors-General and others who have discussed this question in the American press, has hardly any real existence so far as the mass of the Canadian people is concerned. That a Continental Unionist cannot hope to be elected to Parliament is true only in this sense, that the nominations in Canada, as in the United States, are made by the party conventions, and neither of the Canadian parties has yet declared for continental union. It is most untrue if it means that a man well known to be personally in favor of continental union finds it impossible or even difficult on that account to get his election. Continental Unionism has no metropolitan organ, because the cities are the chief centres of the opposite party, and the advertising is in protectionist hands. But it has a good deal of support, more or less outspoken, in the country press.

At the same time there is a powerful opposition, political, commercial, and social, besides that *vis inertiæ*, which, whether it be a real force in physics or not, is a real force in politics. There is the Governor-General with his court at Ottawa, and the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces. There is the official class, naturally desirous of keeping the government at Ottawa. There are the members of the Ottawa Legislature in both Houses who do not feel sure of translation to Washington. There are the protected manufacturers who form a powerful and compact phalanx, how powerful and how compact Americans know full well. There is a body of government contractors and others connected with government works. There are lawyers looking to government for judgeships and holding government briefs. There is the Anglican Church, monarchical in the colonies, as well as at home. Nor is the influence of British titles and of admission to the British court and aristocratic circles on the rich trifling ; it is surprisingly great considering the age of reason in which we live. A sort of gentility is cultivated by the assumption of superiority to Yankees. In Canadian cities, as in every commercial community,

there is a love of holiday soldiering, the Yankee being the imaginary foe. The strength of all these elements combined and uniting their powers of influence or intimidation in addition to the force of traditional or conventional sentiment can be easily understood; and it will be readily believed that in face of it the expression of sincere opinion is much restrained, and that a visitor or a reporter seeking to gauge Canadian sentiment may be greatly led astray. Those who have watched the course of Canadian opinion during the last twenty years will not believe that the obstacles to reunion are insurmountable; but to overcome them the concurrent efforts of its friends on both sides of the line will be required. Something in the nature of a plebiscite will also be necessary in order to take fairly the verdict of the Canadian people. At a general election questions of all kinds are thrown together and all sorts of influences prevail.

Injury to national spirit, as distinguished from British or Anti-American sentiment, there can hardly be said to be when a truly Canadian nationality has not been formed, Quebec, which is geographically the keystone of the confederation, having a French nationality of its own. Nor, for the same reason, would there be any loss of grandeur by incorporation with a nation which it may fairly be assumed will before long be the greatest in the world.

On the other hand, to the list of impediments is now to be added the overmastering power of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This corporation, though its road was built by public money for a public purpose, does not scruple to make an open and strenuous use of its influence in politics on the Tory side. The growth of local influence at the expense of national policy in the United States has been marked of late years.

The case of Quebec, which though alien in race forms geographically the keystone of the confederation, stands by itself. In that Province there is no British influence and the social influence on the conservative side of such old French families as remain is slight. Here the force adverse to union has been the priesthood, which wished to keep Quebec to itself, looking on American liberalism as dangerous both to souls and to tithes. But the immense exodus from the Province, which is the result of commercial atrophy and which is likely to render the collection of tithes more difficult as well as to reduce the numbers of the

flock, together with the awakening in the Province itself of influences such as wait on railways and other progressive agencies, has of late been relaxing the sinews of clerical reaction; and if the Roman Catholic clergy of the United States show themselves favorable to union it is not likely that the resistance of their brethren in Quebec will be very strong.

Among the serious obstacles to reunion need not be reckoned British opposition, if once the decision of Canada in favor of union is declared. Canada has been almost officially told that she is at liberty, whenever she thinks fit, to become independent; and if she is at liberty to become independent there can be nothing to forbid her making use of her independence by uniting herself politically to the continent of which she forms a part. It is true that of late there has been in England a wave of imperialist sentiment. But it is confined to a small and imaginative class. Among the democracy, which has now the upper hand, the desire of checking democratic progress in this hemisphere by means of a monarchical and aristocratic Canada does not exist. Friendship and trade with the American people are what the British democracy desires, and its leaders would be perfectly open to the argument that these objects could be secured only by resigning a political supremacy which is dangerous as well as barren and ceasing to interfere with the development of humanity on a continent with which Great Britain has politically nothing to do.

It is always taken for granted that in any negotiations for union the authority of the mother country as well as Canada's freedom of choice will be duly recognized and her sanction sought for any change.

The dealings of the Government and people of the United States with the Canadian question hitherto have not been a cause for pride. First, by the denial of amnesty to the Loyalists a hostile community was formed in the north, and Great Britain, who very likely would have retired, was compelled in honor to retain her position here. Natural affinities, however, at length prevailed, and by 1812, as we learn from the dispatches of Prevost and Brock, the American connection had so far taken hold on Canada that Canadians were extremely unwilling to obey the call to arms. By that miserable war all was thrown back. Before 1837 a party favorable to American connection had again

formed, but the people of the United States left it to its fate, permitting on that occasion just enough of filibustering on the border to revive ill feeling between the two communities. In 1854 there was a strong movement in favor of union on commercial grounds, and a manifesto was signed by a large number of leading men in the colony, including the late Premier of the Dominion. This Lord Elgin was enabled to extinguish, by the reciprocity treaty at Washington, the Democratic party playing into his hands because they feared that Canada, if brought into the Union, would turn the balance against slavery.

The next stage in the history was the Fenian raid, which the American Government permitted in its resentment against the British aristocracy, of whose offences Canada was entirely innocent. At the same time the reciprocity treaty was denounced. Once more the evil spirit was evoked.

The other day a movement was set on foot on both sides of the line in favor of commercial union, which, though it would have left the political question untouched, would have been pretty sure, from the intimacy of the connection which it would have formed, the general relations of the two peoples being what they were, to lead in the end to union pure and simple. This policy received the unanimous support of the House of Representatives and failed by only one vote of unanimous support in the Senate. We were beginning to build on its success when suddenly it was not only renounced but reversed, and instead of commercial union we had the McKinley Act. Now another change of policy looms in view. In face of such gyrations how can unionist combination and effort be carried on?

The first thing needed if continental union is to be brought about will be something like a steady and consistent policy on the part of the Washington administration, combined with a bearing perfectly friendly towards Canada. President Harrison was little studious of sentimental effect and he never showed Canada the friendly side of the shield.

Is a steady and consistent policy possible for a democracy, the government of which is always changing hands? Can party, where it is the ruling power, be so far restrained within the bounds of patriotic duty as to refrain from factious manœuvring when vital objects of external policy are concerned? Has the American people in renouncing immoral aggrandizement also re-

nounced national aspiration ? Can local interests, when a great question presents itself, be kept in subordination to the interests of the whole country ? These are queries which the treatment of the Canadian question by the American Government and Congress in the coming years will go far to answer, and the answer will not be devoid of instruction as to the probable future of government by the people.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

HOW CHOLERA CAN BE STAMPED OUT.

BY ERNEST HART, EDITOR OF THE "BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL," AND CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

When cholera first spread westward from its home in India, across Asia and Europe, its characteristics were so unusual that it was attributed to "telluric," "meteoric," "atmospheric," and such like mysterious influences; indeed, at the present day there are still many, I regret to know, who attach undue weight to such views. For my own part, I think it is high time that these old notions were put aside, and that the spread of cholera should be looked at practically, in the light of the accumulated evidence afforded by all the great epidemics of the past. That accumulated, and unhappily still accumulating. evidence clearly shows that cholera is a filth disease of specific character, carried by dirty people to dirty places, and there spread by the use of dirty water. With pure water, pure air, pure soil, and pure habits, cholera need not be feared by any nation or by any individual.

To Snow belongs the great honor of being the first to recognize water as a medium of disseminating cholera. His deductions to this effect, from his observations of cholera in England between 1849 and 1854, were confirmed by the elaborate investigations of Farr and Simon. In 1866, following in the same footsteps, I was instrumental in tracing the disastrous cholera epidemic of that year in East London to the distribution of polluted and partially filtered water from the River Lea by the East London Water Company. Since that startling experience I have been convinced that specifically polluted water is not merely an occasion or adjuvant cause, but the *causa causans* of almost every great epidemic of Asiatic cholera, and I have observed that when the use of the infected water has been abandoned or cut off the

epidemic has ceased. These views have been fully borne out by a close observation of each successive cholera outbreak within the last thirty years.

ENGLISH EXPERIENCES.

Epidemic of 1831-3.—In England, cholera first appeared in October, 1831, and until the summer of 1833 ravaged various parts of the kingdom. Its extension was so sudden and mysterious that it was popularly looked upon as a visitation of Providence beyond human control. The new disease was carefully studied, and its affinity for the poor, ill-fed, unhealthy parts of the population, and for the unclean, ill-ventilated and crowded districts was fully recognized, but its relation to the water supplies seems to have received little thought. Yet, the general circumstances of the water supplies of England at that time were deplorably bad, and Dr. Snow a few years later collected information which led to the presumption that, as in subsequent epidemics, contaminated water in 1832 played an important part.

Epidemic of 1848-9.—In 1848 occurred the next great visitation of England by cholera. The disease rapidly overran the whole country, and before it had disappeared in epidemic form, towards the close of 1849, 53,293 of the English people had died from it, and 18,887 had died from "diarrhœa," out of a population of some 17,564,656 living in a great variety of circumstances. It was in August, 1849, whilst this epidemic was running its course, that Snow propounded his theory that a most important way in which the disease may be widely disseminated is "by the emptying of sewers into the drinking water of the community." He had found that in most towns in which the malady had prevailed to an unusual extent this means of communication had existed, and he has recorded numerous instances in support of his opinion. He held that the cholera of 1848 was brought to London from Hamburg, that it was increased by infected persons, that the infected sewage matter found its way partly through soil into the wells, and partly through sewers into the Thames and Lea from which a portion of the water supply of London was derived. This theory was adversely criticised at the time, in a report by Drs. Baly and Gull to the London College of Physicians, and, as Mr. N. C. Macnamara has well remarked, these physicians well-nigh nipped this doctrine in the bud, and

thus did much to retard the progress of our knowledge of the etiology of cholera.

Epidemic of 1853–4.—Early in the summer of 1854 cholera had obtained a foothold in London, and the outbreak which occurred in St. James's, Westminster, in the neighborhood of the public pump in Broad Street, is of historic interest, as it is the earliest important instance in which the agency of water as a disseminator of cholera was clearly demonstrated. The first death in the parish was recorded early in August, 1854, and throughout that month a few deaths occurred each week, but during the week ending September 2, 78 deaths were registered; in the next week there were 287 deaths; in the following week there were 67, and then the mortality as quickly subsided as it had risen. By the beginning of November there had been some 700 fatal attacks in this single parish; that is to say, 22 out of every 1,000 persons living in the parish had died of the disease within three months. No satisfactory solution of this mysterious outbreak presenting itself Dr. Snow was called in to examine the water supplies. His published report shows the clearly-marked incidence of the disease on those who drank the water of the parish pump. It shows how the workers in one particular factory, where the water was always used, suffered severely from cholera, whilst those in an adjoining brewery, where the water was never used, escaped, and numerous instances of fatal attacks of cholera following the use of the treacherously sparkling water from this pump are detailed. On the drains of the house adjoining the well being opened it was found that there was a cesspool under a common privy, within three feet of the well, and at a higher level than that of the water in the well; that, the walls of the cesspool being rotten, the contents leaked into the surrounding soil; that the walls of the well were also rotten; and that there was distinct evidence of the cesspool contents having for a long time leaked into the well. In the house itself a child aged five months had died on September the 2d of so-called "diarrhœa," but with distinctly choleraic symptoms.

In this case it was a well that was at fault; but in 1848 and 1853, as Mr. (now Sir John) Simon clearly showed in his reports to the General Board of Health, Londoners were also the subjects of gigantic experiments at the hands of some of the water companies, who drew their supplies from the Thames and Lea

at points where those rivers were grossly polluted with the sewage and out-scourings of the rapidly-growing metropolis. Carefully gathered statistics show that the people who drank dirty river water suffered from cholera greatly in excess of those whose water supply was from less polluted parts of the rivers.

Epidemic of 1866.—The next choleraic invasion of England was in 1866, and is memorable for the terrible experiment which was unconsciously carried out by another of the London water companies, at the expense of some 4,000 lives in East London. Early in the outbreak I was struck by its incidence on the area supplied with water by the East London Water Company, and I felt confident that it could only be due to a sudden specific pollution of the water supply. Acting on behalf of a great medical journal, I dispatched the late Mr. J. Netten Radcliffe to investigate the matter. After much trouble the result showed that, owing to changes having been made in their filtering apparatus, the company had sent out for a few days unfiltered water, or water in a very partially filtered state, direct from the River Lea, which had just at that moment become infected with choleraic discharges from a cottage of which the sewers were connected with the river, and in which a family infected with cholera had come to reside.

During this epidemic many other parts of England besides London furnished evidence of the relation of water supplies to the spread of cholera.

Since 1866 sanitary improvement throughout England has grown apace, and concurrently Asiatic cholera has not been able to extend or even to establish itself in the country, though cases have reached her shores on numerous occasions. The London water supply is better filtered and of better quality to-day than formerly, but it is still open to criticism in so far as it is derived from the Thames and the Lea at points below where those rivers still receive sewage. The immunity of water companies in distributing poisoned water is a curious and serious anomaly.

EGYPTIAN EXPERIENCES.

Since 1831 Egypt has been severely scourged by cholera at short intervals, but reliable data are not available earlier than the visitation of 1883, when cholera, appearing at Damietta in June, gradually invaded various towns of the Nile Delta, and

reached Ghizeh and Cairo by July 16. According to Dr. Sandwith 58,511 deaths from cholera occurred throughout Egypt in 1883 amongst a population of 6,765,000. The definite origin of the epidemic has been much disputed, though there seems to have been ample opportunity for the introduction of the specific infection into Damietta. Once started, however, the condition of Egypt, especially as regards water supply, was, I can say from personal observation, exactly such as would favor the extension of the disease. The Nile is the main source of water supply to the country, and Dr. Sandwith, Sir W. Guyer Hunter, and others, have fully shown the fearful extent to which that river has been and is habitually polluted with human and other filth. Great improvement in the condition of Egypt has taken place during the last ten years, but the question of providing Cairo with proper drainage is still in abeyance, and the water supply of the country is also still far from being satisfactory.

FRENCH EXPERIENCES.

Marseilles has earned an unenviable notoriety as regards cholera in recent years. In 1883 there were some concealed cases; in 1884, 1,777 deaths were recorded; in 1885 there were 1,039 cholera deaths; in 1892 there were some 90 deaths, and in February, 1893, nearly 100 deaths. The insanitary state of the town is notorious, and there is much evidence, which limitations of space prevent me here from referring to in detail, that its public water supply, especially where derived from the sewage-polluted river Huveaune, has been responsible for the epidemics referred to.

Toulon also has suffered severely from cholera at various times, and both its sanitary state and its water supply have been by no means satisfactory.

In 1884 the disease spread from Marseilles throughout the southern and southwestern departments of France, and, as the result of local investigations, Doctor Proust reported that water played an important part in its transmission.

A very detailed account of the cholera epidemic of 1884 in France has been written by Dr. L. H. Thoinot, of Paris, and a concise abstract of it is to be found in Doctor Shakespeare's report on cholera in Europe and India. It shows that the disease spread from place to place by means of soiled personal effects, by small

water-courses which had become contaminated with choleraic discharges, or the washing therein of soiled linen, and by the movements of persons experiencing an active or latent attack of cholera.

The Department of Finistère, in the northwest corner of France, furnishes a very vivid object-lesson in the spread of cholera by dirt, sewage-polluted well-waters, and specifically contaminated public fountains, as is shown in the recent very able and interesting report on the subject by Monsieur Henri Monod, who was formerly Prefect of Finistère, and also in the reports made by Doctor Proust after local investigations on behalf of the Comité Consultatif d'Hygiène Publique de France.

In November, 1884, there was a sharp outbreak of cholera in the western suburbs of Paris, the mortality rising rapidly day by day from 1 on November 3 to 96 on November 10, and then as rapidly declining, in the manner characteristic of water-borne epidemics, and I had excellent reasons for believing that the epidemic was due to the temporary distribution of a highly-polluted water to particular districts of the city. Again, in 1892, Paris, more especially its western and northwestern suburbs, was once more somewhat severely visited by cholera. Breaking out in Paris in a crowded prison at Nantarre, on the west of Paris, the disease soon spread through the neighboring districts, and before the end of the year 977 deaths had been chronicled.

There is a very general consensus of opinion that the consumption of the Seine water was at the root of this serious outbreak, as it has been at the root of previous epidemics. The suburban districts in the north and northwest—those districts, in fact, where cholera raged in 1892, and where it began in 1884—draw their water from the Seine after it has passed through Paris and been fouled by steamer traffic, by the filth from the cholera and linen washed in its floating wash-houses, by innumerable private sewers and by the contents of the main sewers of Paris at Asinieres and St. Denis. Happily, works have been undertaken to improve the Parisian water supply.

ITALIAN EXPERIENCES.

It is to Marseilles and Toulon that Italy is indebted for the severe epidemic of cholera which swept over the

country in the autumn of 1884. Breaking through the quarantines on the Italian frontier, the disease was carried by fugitive workmen throughout the country, and before the end of the year some 27,000 attacks of cholera and upwards of 14,000 deaths had occurred, at least 44 out of the 66 Italian provinces having been visited.

The severest outbreak occurred in Naples. Introduced there in August, 1884, from Marseilles, the attacks and mortality rose by rapid daily strides, until September 11, and then as rapidly fell. Between August 23 and November 9, some 12,345 cases and 7,086 deaths occurred amongst a population of 492,908. At that period the water supply of Naples was mainly derived from trenches running from house to house underground, and was exposed to direct contamination, not only by soakage of filth, but by the reckless practice of washing in the trenches linen soiled with choleraic discharges. In the following year Naples was supplied with pure water from a distant mountain stream (the Serino), and there followed a marked immunity of the city from cholera, notwithstanding the presence of the disease in the neighborhood. In 1888, however, an injury to the Serino water conduit led to a temporary return to the old system, and two sharp epidemics of cholera at once ensued, but ceased upon the resumption of the purer supply.

In September, 1884, the disease reached Genoa. After a few sporadic cases, a sudden and widespread explosion occurred between the 21st and 24th of September, the rich and poor being indiscriminately attacked. Genoa has a fine supply of naturally good water, brought from a distance by three aqueducts. On close investigation it was observed that of the first 300 cases of cholera, 93 per cent. were in houses supplied by one of those aqueducts (the Nicolay), and on following that aqueduct to its commencement, near the village of Busalla, 13 miles distant, a colony of workmen was found encamped. Cholera had broken out in Busalla on September 14, and inquiry disclosed the fact that the clothing of the workmen, both of the sick and of the healthy, was washed in the river Scrivia, which feeds the Nicolay Aqueduct. The supply of this water to Genoa was promptly stopped on September 28, and the epidemic at once rapidly declined.

In 1885 the most severe epidemic occurred in Palermo, in

Sicily. Into this somewhat unsavory town the disease was brought by sea, notwithstanding a stringent quarantine, and between the middle of September and the middle of November 5,535 cases, of which 2,959 were fatal, occurred, among a population of about 275,000. In Palermo the water is obtained partly from open trenches passing beneath the houses, as at Naples; partly from public fountains, and partly from wells which are exposed to the most filthy contamination. Apart from other pollutions, the water trenches are fouled through the very common custom of washing clothes in them. Doctor Albonesi was, at the time, director of the local sanitary council, and to his enlightened and vigorous administration, and prompt dealing with the dangerous water sources, is due the early termination of the epidemic.

SPANISH EXPERIENCES.

In 1885 Spain was the scene of a cholera outbreak of exceptional ferocity. Introduced into Alicante, on the south-east coast, in spite of quarantine, in August, 1884, the disease slumbered through the following winter, and in April, 1885, burst into an epidemic at Jativa and Alcira, when, evading sanitary cordons, it was soon carried far and wide by the dispersing laborers. Between February 5 and December 31, 1885, 2,247 local governments, having an aggregate population of 6,575,641, had been invaded, and 338,685 cases and 119,624 deaths had occurred.

Sanitation and domestic hygiene are of a very primitive description in Spain. Filth is allowed to accumulate, there is rarely any drainage properly so called, and the water supply is for the most part derived from the open and unprotected rivers and streams. In a work published in 1886, Mr. George Higgin has, by comparative pictures of the facts respecting a number of typical towns, very clearly shown that the Spanish epidemic of 1885 was *par excellence* water-borne. He shows that the disease never became truly epidemic or dangerous in any Spanish city in which there was a pure supply of water, and where proper means were taken to guard against the sources being polluted from any specific choleraic poison. He shows how, in this way, the cities of Toledo, Seville, Malaga and Madrid escaped comparatively lightly, whilst such places as Aranjuez, Saragossa, Granada and Valencia suffered very lightly.

RUSSIAN EXPERIENCES IN 1892.

The complete history of the fearful cholera mortality in Russia in 1892 still remains to be written; but what we know of it bears out previous experiences as to the influences of infected water. In a series of papers recently published in the *Lancet*, Dr. Frank Clemow, of St. Petersburg, has collected a large number of facts bearing this out. A particularly instructive case is narrated by the United States Consul at Tashkent, in Turkestan. At Ashabad the cholera had already disappeared early in August, 1892, and the event was celebrated with much rejoicing. The Governor-General gave a dinner, but one-half of the guests died of cholera within twenty-four hours. Further, out of the 13,000 inhabitants of Ashabad, 1,300, or ten per cent., died within forty-eight hours. The cause of this outbreak was traced to a small stream of water which supplied the town, and which, it was found, had been fouled by filth from a small Turcoman village on its banks, where cholera had broken out four days previously.

CHOLERA AT HAMBURG IN 1892.

Cholera was officially announced in Hamburg on August 21, 1892, but it had been found present in the town for some days previously. The influence of the public water supply in disseminating the disease may be seen in the incidence of the disease respectively on Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbeck, the three towns which make up the Greater Hamburg. Wandsbeck, with a population of 20,571, had 64 cases (3.1 per mille), and 43 deaths (2.0 per mille); Altona, with 173,279 inhabitants, had 572 cases (3.9), with 328 deaths (2.3); Hamburg State, with a population of 622,530, had 17,974 cases (28.8), and 7,611 deaths (12.2); or, taking only the infected parts, the town and suburbs of Hamburg, among 579,907 inhabitants there were 17,891 cases (30.8) and 7,582 deaths (13). Wandsbeck, which suffered less than the other two, is supplied with spring water, whereas Altona and Hamburg derive their water from the Elbe. Altona, however, gets its water very far down, at Blankensee, where the river is cleaner than in Hamburg, and passes it through a good gravel filter, unlike Hamburg, which takes its water from the harbor, contaminated with sewage and absolutely unfiltered. Happily,

steps have been taken to secure purer water to Hamburg in the future.

INDIAN EXPERIENCES.

India is generally referred to as the "home of cholera," the disease being established endemically throughout a wide area. This, however, is not, as most Indian authorities once believed and many would even now have us believe, due to any mysterious or unpreventable causes, but in virtue of conditions which may all of them be removed, and which in time, I trust, will be removed. In India, as elsewhere, water has been the chief nurse and disseminator of cholera, and I believe that if every town and village in India were provided with pure and properly protected water, the so-called "endemic area" would soon become indefinite. Dr. M. C. Furnell, who has had great experience as Surgeon-General of Madras, is firmly of opinion that the general method of the propagation of cholera in India is by means of specifically polluted water, and he has had no difficulty in finding masses of facts in support of his opinions.

The experiences of Calcutta, as observed by Dr. W. J. Simpson, the Health Officer of that city, go to show that those persons who have an abundant and pure water supply, namely, the Europeans and better class of natives—escape cholera epidemics, except in isolated instances which can generally be accounted for; while the natives, who necessarily depend on tank water, suffer severely when a tank becomes polluted by the excreta of a cholera patient. It must be remembered that the natives bathe and wash their utensils and clothes in the tank because it is the only available place for doing so, and that they use the water of the tank, contaminated as it is, in addition, by soakage and sewage, for cooking and drinking, because it is the only available water supply for domestic purposes. Dr. Simpson raises a very earnest cry against the scarcity of pure water. The first requisite for Howrah and the suburbs of Calcutta is a liberal water supply, whilst Calcutta itself needs an increased supply.

Madras also furnishes instructive experiences. Before the introduction of the Red Hills water supply Madras suffered each year severely from cholera; but since 1872, when the water supply was first opened, the disease has practically disappeared from the city. The experiences of Pondicherry, Gopaulpore, Nagpur,

Salem, Peshawar, and other places, may be quoted as showing a marked immunity from cholera, when pure uninfected water has been in use.

Religious pilgrimages, also, are a fruitful means of spreading cholera in the East, owing to the habit of bathing and drinking the water of the sacred wells and pools. Graphic descriptions of the Mecca pilgrimage of 1866, or of the Ardhodoya Jog held at Calcutta in 1891, and of the Kumb festival at Hurdwar, 1891, are before me and bear out this statement.

Under English rule much has been done in India in the way of sanitary reform, but very much still remains to be done, and I cannot but recognize the very heavy responsibilities which rest on England in regard to this matter. It appears to me that the sanitary administration of India requires to be radically remodelled, and I venture to submit that this could without insuperable difficulties be effected. I would suggest (1), an Imperial Sanitary Department attached to the Government of India ; (2), a Provincial Sanitary Department attached to each of the Provincial Governments, such as Bengal, North West Provinces, Punjab, Madras, Bombay, etc., and (3), a Local Sanitary Department attached to each municipality, district board, etc.

I have been unable within the space here at my disposal to attempt to give more than the merest indication of the mass of evidence which I have accumulated, showing that water is the chief if not—in Europe—the sole agency in the spread of epidemic cholera. With the scourge close at our gates let me urge upon every community and every responsible authority in America to profit by these lessons before it is too late ; to put their houses in order and secure purity of water especially, but also of soil, of air, of habits. This is the best, the only successful, weapon wherewith to protect ourselves against cholera. Quarantine is a sieve rather than a protective armor.

ERNEST HART.

THE AMERICAN HOTEL OF TO-DAY.

BY GEN. RUSH C. HAWKINS AND W. J. FANNING.

GENERAL HAWKINS:

SOME one has said: "There are two occasions when the American needs rest—when he starts out upon his vacation and when he returns from it." The wise author of that saying might have added: "The deluded individual when he moves out upon his period of anticipated rest should provide himself with an extra or summer stomach of copper, or of some other strong material, capable of digesting the culinary results which usually flow from this announcement: 'The cuisine will be first class in every respect, and the management will leave nothing undone to promote the comfort and pleasure of guests.'" This is the usual form adopted by "Mine Host," from the eastern boundaries of the State of Maine to the southern end of California.

Deceived and lured on to the destruction of my digestive organs by the average spring flood of announcements, clothed in all the fascinating devices of the printers' and engravers' art, I was led to undertake a campaign among the summer resorts, more or less fashionable and all very high priced, five dollars *per diem*, at least, being the usual charge, no matter how bad or very bad the accommodation.

The first halting-place was selected with special reference to altitude and isolation of the hotel from other buildings. This establishment advertised special terms up to the first of August, which meant less than five dollars per day. But, upon application to the manager upon the premises, I was told that those terms had to be arranged in New York or Philadelphia before the opening of the hotel. The location of this particular hotel is unsurpassed upon this continent. The buildings are large and the whole well ventilated, but two weeks was all we could stand of its much advertised culinary perfections.

Our next move involved a railway journey of more than four hundred miles, at the end of which we found ourselves at one of the most beautiful of New England villages, and lodged in a new summer hotel, which, as to construction and convenient arrangements, is as nearly perfect as possible. The whole, in fact, is nothing less than a work of art. The furniture, carpets, table appointments, etc., etc., were in perfect taste, and the service in every department all that the most exacting could desire. But, as usual, the kitchen in its leading features was a failure. After fifteen days at this place we returned and spent a week in New York, which proved to be the only comfortable one of the whole summer.

To arrive at the third objective point involved a rest for one night at the most populous and popular resort in our whole country. For that purpose we selected the most "swell" and "quiet" hotel of the place, where the late dinner and breakfast proved to be quite the worst, as to quality, of the whole season. The dinner *menu* must have contained about one hundred and ten items, and the one for breakfast at least seventy-five. We were tempted to taste a certain "fancy dish," *entreé* in other words, which purported to have been made of *capon* and *truffles*. It proved to be a sort of a cold pressed hash of veal and beef tongue, with not a particle of *capon* or even chicken in it, while the *truffles* were a composition of a shining black substance of the texture of isinglass.

Four hours more of a railway journey carried us to an almost new hotel created and owned by a rich corporation. Its location is a marvel of beauty, situated upon a high bluff near the shore of a lake, commanding views of two extensive ranges of mountains, and each combined with a long stretch of a most picturesque body of water. The description only partially indicates a location of singular beauty, and no better could be found for a summer hotel. The building is spacious and airy, the rooms large enough, furnished in good taste, and there is an extensive *foyer* on the first floor, where all the guests can assemble for music and conversation. The latter is a most fascinating feature of the establishment, which, it is to be hoped, all builders of "Summer Resorts" may imitate. As to the laying out of grounds and general hotel features all had been done that fairly good taste and the liberal expenditure of money could accomplish, and if we could

have existed upon its surrounding atmosphere alone we might have prolonged our visit to the end of the season. But, unfortunately, this we could not do, and the demands enforced by the mere fact of human existence compelled us to eat of the manipulations of a so-called *chef*, which proved to be as defective as any we had encountered, and after a sojourn of two and a half weeks we made a compulsory departure, with a completely demoralized digestion, possibly damaged beyond repair. So our campaign among the "Resorts," undertaken with confidence and courage, accompanied with an unwarrantable amount of hope, ended in defeat and disaster, which compelled a retreat to the much-dreaded afflictions of an over-heated city, to which was added a possible attack of cholera, all of which we preferred to encounter rather than continue our sojourn at the superior summer resorts

The defects in the American system of hotel-keeping are general and organic, for which no particular landlord or manager can or should be held responsible. Not one in fifty among them knows anything, practically, about cooking, and they have to depend upon the supposed knowledge of a lot of German, French, Italian, and Irish upper scullions, who come over here, and easily pass themselves off for *chefs*. They are cheap, and that is the reason why the average American landlord and manager employs them. They are no more cooks than they are astronomers. In European kitchens they probably trimmed the joints, peeled potatoes, stirred the soup kettles and washed the onions, but were never permitted to interfere with a joint, *entrée* or a sauce. But, like other classes in Europe, they act upon the theory that anything is good enough for the Americans who like to be humbugged, and the American hotel-keeper is quite willing to take this particular class of impostors at their word.

Herr Freytag, a *chef* at the Russian embassy in Rome for more than thirty years, and afterwards the proprietor of the Hôtel des Iles Britanniques in that city, told me that a good bed, good soups, good bread and good tea and coffee were the foundations for an acceptable hotel, and he was right. As a rule, the American hotel is a failure in respect to all of these essentials. It is true, there are more good beds now than there were formerly, but neither the tea, coffee, soup nor bread has improved ; if anything, they are worse than thirty years ago ; now there is more pretence, *i. e.*, attempts at "style" at the expense of all comforts,

which have been banished from the average American machine hotel.

Capoul, the French tenor, in one of his published letters about America, said: "This is a wonderful country, with the loftiest mountains, the longest rivers and the largest lakes, but without a soup." Fifty years ago Judge Grimke, a noted holder of Circuit Courts in South Carolina, ordered tea at a backwoods hotel; shortly after it was served he sent for the landlady, and astonished her by saying: "Madam, if this be tea bring me coffee, and if this be coffee bring me tea." This command could, with propriety, be given in nine-tenths of our hotels to-day. The usual hotel coffee would easily pass for some kind of medicine, and often the supposed tea defies recognition. The general aim seems to be to hoodwink patrons with a show of great liberality—hence the dinner bill of fare with from eighty to one hundred and twenty-five items upon it, and the breakfast *menu* with from forty to seventy-five. Such a spread of printer's ink looks large, panders to national vanity and convinces the native that he is not being swindled.

It is quite unnecessary to write that not one in ten of those products of the kitchen named in the bill of fare are properly prepared or decently served. The vegetables are usually cold and soggy, often slopped with a nasty-looking and worse-tasting sauce; the joints are usually tough and cold; the flesh made dishes [*entrées*], with high sounding French names, neither taste nor smell like anything we have ever seen before; the sweets are often the better part of the dinner; but the fruits, in the majority of instances, are the cheapest and poorest that can be found.

The common theory of enormous liberality on the part of the proprietor is a delusion, for I have the information from rather reliable expert authority that in all the caravansaries where from one to ten hundred guests are lodged each day the cost of feeding never reaches forty cents a head, and that the leavings of these feasts are utilized in various ways and never wasted. If this be true, the apparent liberality is only another addition to our long list of national shams. When asked why the hotels in America do not adopt the Continental *table d'hôte* dinner, the answer always is: "Americans won't have it that way; they want more liberality;" and yet during the past twenty-five years I have

met hundreds of Americans at the better French, Swiss, Italian, Belgian and German hotels, and have heard but a few find fault with the food or service. On the contrary, I have known many of them to ask : "Why cannot our hotels be managed like these?" The "why" is a hotel secret. It costs less to feed guests the American way than the other, and so long as that fact remains we can hope for no reform. And, besides, to serve a *table d'hôte* in the better French style requires good taste, knowledge and certain skill, qualities that can only be acquired by a long experience in first-class establishments, such as American hotel proprietors and managers know nothing of.

The American landlord applies the enforced theory of Colonel Sellers to the everyday actualities of hotel keeping. He has convinced himself that his guests do not need really palatable food ; they only want the illusion, *i. e.*, to see a certain liberal display of items with high-sounding names on the bill of fare, and dishes filled with some sort of a beyond-understanding substance, to correspond with a certain name, which can be supplied when ordered. No matter whether or not it is actual food fit to eat, it represents an item printed, and fulfils one part of the contract existing between the landlord and the guest.

The relations existing between a guest and proprietor of hotels can be expressed in a very few words. The former arrives, the attending room-clerk hands him a pen, he writes his name, and, if unknown to the clerk, is shown the most undesirable room in the house. This is what is called "trying it on," and if the guest does not "kick" he is entered upon the account books for not less than five dollars per day, exclusive of sundries. At the end of a certain stated period he receives his bill, but between the registration of his name and the reception of his bill he receives very little attention ; he has become a paying cog in one of the numerous wheels which constitute the machine known as an American hotel, where comforts are unknown and exorbitant charges are the rule.

The self-constituted experts that preside over these establishments felicitate themselves upon the fact that they understand their business, that they know how to "keep a hotel," and they are offended if their supposed accomplishments are not recognized ; no doubt they do keep hotels, *i. e.*, from a national standpoint. But, still, the monumental fact remains that a very large majority

of them preside over manufactories for converting good materials into unpalatable and unhealthy food quite unfit for human consumption.

The subject of extortions by head waiters and their subordinates, which landlords do not attempt to regulate, demands heroic treatment in a separate paper. These annoying practices have become national and, as to amounts, unprecedented. At one of the very large hotels in Saratoga, where we remained over night upon our last return to New York, the service was most defective; our three meals were served by as many different waiters; we were "struck" by each, and by one in a most insolent manner. This evil is now qnite beyond endurance and ought to meet with prompt and decisive resistanee.

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

MR. FANNING:

THE American is universally regarded as the most mercurial being on the face of the earth. Thoroughly domestic in his tastes and imbued with the deepest love for his home and country he, nevertheless, has a burning desire to see the great world around him, and whilst forever exclaiming that there is "no place like home" is seldom found in that heaven-favored spot. Hence the somewhat inelegant but very descriptive appellation of "globe trotter" that has been applied to him by Europeans.

This tendency to be constantly on the move has made the hotel one of the most interesting features of modern life to the average American citizen, for once he leaves the sacred hearth he must needs rely upon "mine host" to supply him with the things that make life worth living.

The inn of the past, though filling an important place in our literature, affords little or nothing in the way of practical instruction to the innkeeper of to-day. There is a dreamy, delightful atmosphere of poetry and romance—not to speak of tragedy—surrounding the classic inns of "ye olden time," and there is interwoven into their history many quaint and beautiful legends, but for all practical purposes the inn, which has supplied such rich material to English writers from Shakespeare to Dickens, is interesting to us only by way of comparison. It bears about the same relation to the modern hotel as the caravel in which Colum-

bus sailed over unknown seas, four hundred years ago, bears to the majestic steamship, which, in our day, sets at defiance both wind and wave, and plies between the old and new worlds with the accuracy and precision of a local ferryboat. There is indeed no other branch of commercial enterprise which has kept pace with the advance of civilization more thoroughly than that of hotel-keeping.

Prior to the discovery of the uses of steam the inn existed only as a temporary abode for those who travelled from the necessities of trade, or for other reasons of equal urgency. But with the advent of railroads and steamships hotels were called upon to provide accommodation not only for the wayfarer who journeyed from necessity, but also for that ever-widening stream of humanity that sought recreation and pleasure in travel. Thus it came to pass that the wayside inn of former ages, with its crude facilities for the entertainment of man and beast, gradually evolved into the magnificent palace of to-day, which, in many instances, surpasses in architectural beauty and interior decoration the best-appointed private dwellings.

It may be noted that the business of inn-keeping has not undergone a more radical change than has the character of the men engaged in it. The good-natured and jovial landlord who, in the olden time, stood at his doorway, in apron and cap, to welcome the coming and speed the parting guest, could little comprehend the vast and intricate system under which our great modern caravansaries are conducted. A genial and obsequious manner, coupled with a knowledge of making soup, made up the stock in trade of the average inn-keeper of a hundred years ago. But to establish and successfully manage one of the great hostelries to be found in any American city calls not only for large capital, but also the highest business capacity. The modern Boniface has personally no time to look after the comforts of his guests. He must give his undivided attention to a general supervision of the business, leaving to the heads of the various departments the working out of details, and trusting to the perfect working of his system to insure to his guests the comforts and convenience of a temporary home. He is public-spirited and progressive, ever ready to encourage and promote any event that is calculated to attract people to his town or city. In this he may be said to be actuated by selfish motives, but the com-

munity at large share with him the benefits which flow from his practical and liberal conduct. In short, the magnitude and importance of the business, no less than the thoroughness with which it is conducted, make the hotel proprietor of to-day rank as the peer of any man engaged in the highest commercial circles.

Some idea of the enormous proportions the business of hotel-keeping has assumed in this country may be gained from the fact that there are in the United States upwards of thirty thousand hotels, exclusive of what may properly be termed inns and taverns and what are commonly known as apartment houses, although the latter are in many instances conducted as hotels, in that they have a common kitchen and dining-room.

During the past two years there have been opened in the city of New York four new hotels, the aggregate cost of which, including furniture, was upwards of ten millions of dollars. They are veritable palaces, both in architectural design and interior splendor, and yet they may be said to be only in keeping with a large number of hotels with which our citizens have for years been familiar. In proof of this, and as a notable fact, it may be mentioned that in the municipal tax levy for the current year the highest valuation put upon any building, but one, in the whole city of New York, is placed upon a hotel that has enjoyed a world-wide fame for more than thirty years; and another curious fact is, that the two hotels bearing the highest assessed valuations are two of the oldest in the city, thus illustrating the high character maintained by the hotels of New York for many generations.

The spirit of fraternity and good-fellowship existing among the landlords of the United States is most remarkable when it is considered how directly they are brought into competition with one another. And yet this hearty coöperation has been an important factor in the rapid development and improved character of the business. There is a national association, embracing in its membership nearly all the leading hotels of the country. There are also State and city associations. These bodies exercise a potent influence on legislation affecting the relations of landlord and guest, as well as excise and other questions. As a result the laws regulating the liability of inn-keepers have been greatly modified in recent years.

Formerly the landlord was liable as an insurer for the property of his guest to an unlimited extent, and enormous judgments were obtained against hotel proprietors by persons claiming to have brought valuable property into the hotel, which afterwards disappeared. The manager was entirely at the mercy of a dishonest patron. This common-law rule has, however, been changed in recent years by the legislatures of the various States, in nearly all of which the present liability of the hotel proprietor is limited to the loss of goods and merchandise not exceeding five hundred dollars in value, where it appears that such loss occurred without the fault or negligence of the proprietor.

There is no longer any liability upon the landlord for the loss of money, jewels or ornaments, whenever a safe is provided and notice of the fact posted in the office and public rooms of the hotel, and the guest neglects to deposit them with the clerk ; in the State of New York the liability for property thus deposited is limited to two hundred and fifty dollars, unless a written contract is entered into between the guest and landlord in person. Other equally radical changes in the law have been made in which the aim has been to meet the changed conditions by affording protection to both the landlord and the guest.

Much has been written upon the relative merits of the American and European hotels, and the different modes of conducting them. Unfortunately, however, it too often occurs that those who enter upon the discussion of this subject possess only a superficial knowledge thereof and not infrequently exhibit unmistakable prejudices, which warp their judgment and render their testimony of little or no value. There is the Anglo-maniac who, after a brief European experience, mistakes novelty for superiority, and, flattered by the profuse attentions and obsequiousness of the continental landlord and his assistants, hastily pronounces in favor of the foreign article.

On the other hand, we have the American of the provincial type, who is unable to recognize merit anywhere outside the domain of Uncle Sam. But the consensus of opinion expressed by unbiassed travellers, both European and American, is clearly in favor of the American hotel, taken as a whole. In its appointments it is far in advance of the hotels of Europe. Until quite recently it was an admitted fact that the American *cuisine* was inferior to that of Europe. This is no longer true of our best city

establishments. On the contrary they now excel the hotels of Europe in the variety and, in many instances, in the quality of the viands.

A well-known writer recently observed that "the hotels of America are unquestionably the best and most splendid in the world, and their only approachable rivals some of the great hotels in Switzerland." The distinguished editor of the London *Morning Post*, in describing his recent trip to America, says:

"I shall never forget my feelings when a waiter bluntly placed before me for the first time a list of the food provided for breakfast—I cannot call it a *menu*—at one of the great hotels in New York, and asked what I would take. Being of an experimental turn of mind, and doubting, moreover, whether all these various dishes could exist anywhere but in the "catalogue," I used to amuse myself by testing the capabilities of the kitchen, but it never failed. The hotel is a magnificent, commanding structure of white marble, and is capable of accommodating a thousand guests. In every respect it is a first-class house. Its decorations and appointments are most sumptuous, and the service and cooking excellent. It is conducted on the American plan, as they call it, which is really very similar to the *pension* system at the Swiss hotels, though on a more expensive and luxurious scale."

The American hotels of to-day may be divided into three classes: (1) Those kept on the American plan, (2) those kept on the European plan, and (3) those in which those two methods are combined. In regard to these different plans each may be said to have its advantages. If you are in the city for a short time and have much running about to do, it is more advantageous to select a hotel on the European plan, as you thus save time and money by being able to take your meals wherever you may find it most convenient to do so, and in this case you have to pay only for what you get. In case of a more prolonged stay the hotel kept on the American plan is more economical, and therefore continues in favor with many people. In many of the more modern hotels both plans are adopted, so the guest may try one and then the other, and thus determine which pleases him most.

There is still another class of American hotels known as the "Summer Hotel," which seems to have deteriorated rather than advanced of late years. This is attributable to various causes; chief among them being a decided change in the popular taste from that which prevailed fifty years ago, when the large hotels of the summer resorts of America were the wonder of the old world, and formed a prominent feature in the tales of all travellers

who had crossed the Atlantic. Their enormous size, the perfection of their organization, the luxury of their furniture, the lavishness and excellence of their table were constant subjects of admiration in the European newspapers.

Of late years, however, these caravansaries have not been as popular as formerly, and the business of conducting a summer hotel has come to be regarded as precarious and unprofitable. This is largely due to the rapid increase of cottage life at the watering-places, and the habit, which has become so general, of going to Europe for vacation. Owing to the short season during which business can be done it has become very difficult to realize any profit from the large summer hotel properties, and hence their imperfect service, as compared with their more prosperous city rivals.

The custom of feeing the waiter has become as universal in America as it is in Europe. It excites the railing of the most accomplished masters of profanity, and is a target for the professional humorist of the newspaper. Nevertheless, the American waiter, "wrapt in his invulnerable armor of conscious power, demands his fees, as the tyrant of old demanded the submission and the goods of his subjects." He has the key to the situation, that is, of the dining-room and pantry, and through him alone are the flesh pots accessible.

It is perhaps impossible to devise any means of doing away with this custom of tipping the waiter. The American landlord cannot be held responsible for its existence. He pays his waiters good wages, which is not true of Europe, where many hotels do not pay any wages, but receive pay from the waiters for the privilege of serving the guests. Consequently the waiter must rely upon his *pourboire* for all that he receives. This robs him of the independence enjoyed by the American waiter, and doubtless accounts for the subserviency observable among European servants.

The American system has another advantage in that the guest is not expected to confer "tips" upon any but those who have rendered him actual service. That veteran journalist, G. W. Smalley, in a recent letter, in which he describes the hotels of Germany, says :

"The happiness of the guest, after leaving the hotel, consists in the reflection that he has made others happy. That he has feed the waiter who

brought him his coffee in the mornings, the chambermaid, or perhaps two chambermaids, the porter who brought up his trunks and the porter who carried them down, a third who put them on the cab, a fourth who looked on while it was loaded, a fifth who unstrapped his trunks and blacked his boots, the uniformed conductor of the rickety elevator, the head waiter in the restaurant, in addition to regular tips to the actual waiter, four small boys in silver-laced caps. Then he gives all the money he has left to the hall porter himself. The manager comes out to wish you, with a low bow, a good journey, and you rather wonder whether he, too, expects to be tipped."

Such a picture as this is enough to make the average American rejoice over the comparative immunity he enjoys from the *pourboire,* which is the bane of all European travellers.

It may be truly said, in conclusion, that there is no other feature of our municipal life that has given to our imperial city such world-wide fame as the magnificent hotels of which her citizens are justly proud. The stranger within our gates may find many subjects for adverse criticism, but he invariably admits that in the matter of hotels New York stands unrivalled among the cities of the world.

WILLIAM J. FANNING.

THE FRENCH PEASANTRY.

BY THE MARQUISE DE SAN CARLOS.

THE French working classes as a race may be divided into two distinct sets: the field laborers and the city workmen. A study of the latter, however brief, would carry us inevitably deep into the socialist question, aud we therefore prefer to dismiss it altogether and to limit our sketch to a rapid glimpse of the field laborer, the genuine country peasant.

We regret to say that a change for the worse has been observable of late years in this silent plodding econonomical kind-hearted race, which may be attributed to the abuse of spirits, the craze for city life and the new testamentary laws. The latter, issued during the French Revolution, decreed the division of every distinct species of property into equal shares among the inheritors. Their ostensible object was the enforcement of universal equality by preventing parental preferences while insuring to each child an equal share of his father's inheritance. But the real object was the breaking up of aristocratic preponderance by the ever-succeeding subdivision of its landed property and long-accumulated wealth. There is no longer the fear of disinheritance to keep within bounds the young scapegrace; there is no leaving the old homestead to the best manager on the condition of yearly instalments to other heirs. Everything must be broken up about once in thirty years and begun over again by new inexperienced hands. Many wait impatiently for the death of the old parents, then hurry off to the city where one out of a thousand succeeds, and one out of a hundred comes back to end his days as a menial in what was perhaps his father's house.

To avoid these endless subdivisions of his hard earned savings the simple-minded peasant has found no better expedient than

the suppression of heirs generally, and now cynically declares, like the noble millionnaire, that he cannot afford to have more than one child! In fact, were it not for the overflow of bordering nations, Spain, Germany, and especially Belgium, the want of hands in France would become a serious calamity.

Thus the law created to destroy castellated power and wealth has impoverished only the peasant, and produces, after several generations of this piece-mealing system, a nomad race that roam over the country at large or swarm together in populous cities, finding their new home in the liquor-saloon, where alone they are welcomed with outstretched arms.

The steady field laborer is very orderly in his habits and has a good dose of common sense. Each province has marked characteristics of its own. The Bretons, for instance, are staunch, enthusiastic Catholics and royalists, a stubborn race with a will of its own: excellent sailors, poor agriculturists and true patriots. The Provençal, on the other hand, has much of the Andalusian in his character; something too of the Irishman: witty, poetical, improvident, grandiloquent, hot-headed, smelling of garlic and personated in Daudet's inimitable *Tartarin de Tarascon*. The Norman peasant is suspicious, miserly, cautious, a good bargainer who has never yet been known to commit himself by a decided yea or nay. The Northern man is clearsighted in business matters and not overburdened with heart or imagination. He would let his house burn to the ground without caring to see the blaze provided it were insured.

Instead of branching off in search of the different shades which form the variegated moral coloring of each separate province, we will circumscribe our observations to the ever-widening zone that encircles Paris, and limit our sketch of French country folk to the village of "*X sur N*," situated at some fifty miles from the great throbbing heart of the country.

Like every French village, it has its *chateau* and its old stone church. Both are often historically or archæologically interesting. *Chateaux* vary much in size and splendor. Churches are all damp, dark and cold; and when not beautiful specimens of gothic architecture, as a whole, are sure to have, at least, some curious old altar or window, or perhaps even a transept or choir of marvellous grace and ornamentation. But in the village I have chosen I regret to say there exists but one curious Norman door worth

visiting, and the *chateau* itself is by no means a *monument historique,* but simply a charming, unpretentious specimen of Louis XIII. style. Its park, which covers some twenty acres, is surrounded by a high stone wall, and there are long rows of lindens, trimly cut, so as to form deeply-shaded avenues. The lawns and commons of this pretty little *chateau* are exactly like those of every other *chateau* that respects itself.

On the first Sunday after my arrival at *X sur N,* the mayor in a long frockcoat and monstrous chimney-pot, attended by two municipal councillors, came to pay me his respects. He was a wizened up little man, who had held his office for forty years. On week days this important personage wears the blue blouse, the insignia of the people, and may be seen ploughing his own fields in all the glory of honest labor and comfortable dirt. In rather hesitating flourishes the little man welcomed me to his commune, and told me that I might hang my bracelets on the trees without danger, for at *X sur N* there were no manufactories, and consequently no anarchists ; there were no poor, and consequently no criminals. Everybody owned his own homestead, be it a thatched hovel, or a spacious farm.

No manufactories, no mines, no railway station, no poor, no criminals ! Surely the village of *X sur N* must be an earthly paradise. Such, indeed, were my feelings as I awoke on the morrow and experienced the soothing influence of that delicious calm which belongs to early morning in the country. I threw open my windows and leaned on the wide, low sill, breathing in the fresh air. An old-fashioned vegetable garden, with borders of peonies and roses, lay before me ; to right and left soft expanses of greensward, enlivened by *parterres* of brilliantly-colored flowers. Sloping fields of wheat and rye waved in the distance ; pines and oak trees rose in clusters among undulating hillocks, and the village itself nestled cosily in the midst of the pretty picture. Its new brick cottages, telling of modern comforts for the poor, and its old thatched huts, poetically covered with rich green moss, were strung like the beads of a chaplet along the road. Birds were twittering in the bushes close by, a few sang out loudly in the trees and gradually the buzz of insects became more and more distinct, until at last it seemed as though I could hear the plants breathing in their upward growth and see them slowly rising in search of the warm golden sun. Presently I saw

a man dart through the garden with a raised cudgel and before I had time to cry out another human form fell bleeding to the ground. My God! could this be crime? Had I then forgotten that men and women lived in the quiet village of *X sur N*, and that there were no less than three drinking establishments corrupting and lowering the moral and physical condition of the two hundred souls that formed the population of this very small place.

Hurrying forth I met a woman also hastening to the spot. It was the old story: love, jealousy and drink! And as each humble neighbor told me of his or her life's sorrow—for the simple-minded are ever glad to find sympathetic listeners to their tales of woe—methinks I discovered as much misery in the quiet country village as I had left behind me in the great noisy city.

Yes, Mère Jeannette had left the place and gone to Paris when a girl of fourteen to follow a brilliant young count who used to come shooting in the neighborhood. Within a year Jeannette had sent home a baby boy to be brought up by her mother. Three others followed in rapid succession, and only twenty years after did the pretty Jeannette return herself, a worn and faded woman, to find her mother among the dead and her sons hardened against her. In her loneliness she married a handsome, good-for-nothing village drunkard, and is now spending the last days of her life quarrelling with her husband.

Then we have Mère Millet, who never misses mass of a Sunday, but who beats her children black and blue and is so universally hated that nothing will make the neighbors believe her husband died a natural death. Next door comes Mère Noirot. She is ninety years old and looks like a picture as she sits by her window from morning to night at her big-wheeled silk spindle. All French people are neat and orderly, but in neatness and order Mère Noirot surpasses everybody else. It is indeed a pleasant thing to watch her as she folds up her great silver skeins of shining silk, or stands before her carved oaken press counting over the treasures contained therein. Yet it is pleasanter still to see her watering her flowers of a morning or carrying them back into her kitchen if it be eventide and she fear a coming frost. When the light of day ceases, Mère Noirot goes to bed, be it ever so early.

I took a friend to visit the old peasant, just as I would have taken her to visit some curious ruin in the neighborhood. Fear-

ing that she had misunderstood my introduction, Mère Noirot repeated after me: "Madame, or Mademoiselle?" "Mademoiselle," I answered. "Well, it is time Mademoiselle thought about getting a man," replied the old woman bluntly. "No," I returned, "Mademoiselle prefers life without the encumbrance of a husband." "Ah! Mademoiselle is going to be a nun," continued Mère Noirot. "No," I returned again, "Mademoiselle is not going to be a nun. She paints all day long and she is very happy as she is."

Not to care to marry, unless one had a religious vocation, was indeed a thing neither Mère Noirot nor any other French woman had as yet considered a possibility. But there was such calm resolution in my friend's countenance, that, to my surprise, the peasant believed her, and after a few moments' silence she exclaimed with a sigh: "Well! I don't know but that Mademoiselle is right after all. I never had much comfort as long as my husband lived. Only nowadays, when night comes on and I have to stop working, I feel sore lonesome!"

The leading farmer of the neighborhood is a very rich man. He owns over a hundred acres of land, eighty sheep and twenty cows and half as many horses. His wife was educated at Dijon in a fashionable boarding school, and brought him eighty thousand francs dowry. Mulot has always from ten to twenty laborers at work on his farm, yet his wife keeps no servants. Madame Mulot cooks for the men, attends to the pigs and poultry and does all the milking and house-cleaning. Their only daughter is being carefully brought up in the city and is destined to finish her education in a still more expensive and fashionable boarding school than her mother's. But when Mademoiselle Virginie comes home, will she be quite as willing to work as her mother is? and if not, will she find a husband belonging to a higher station ready to marry her? It is a risk that may bring misfortune on the thrifty farmstead.

The field laborer lives principally on bread, lard and vegetables, with a bit of meat or a rabbit on Sundays. He never enters his hut without cutting off a chunk of stale bread with his pocket-knife, and, like all French people, he does not know what it is to taste pure water, but drinks home-made cider, beer or wine. His family has probably lived for six hundred years on the same bit of land! Ever tilling the same earth, planting and replanting

it, he has grown of the earth earthy. In days of trouble his family used to count on the lords of the land for assistance, but since the revolution the mighty have grown hardened towards the peasant and the peasant hates them back in return.

As to the girls, they are ever ready to cast away their pretty provincial *coiffe* for the sake of a bonnet, and with it go, as a rule, faith, honesty and female dignity. Still, let the French country girl turn out well and one cannot find a more thrifty, orderly housewife and clever business woman, nor a steadier, more earnest laborer than the French farmer who does not drink. Women, in the northern provinces especially, are more "courageous" at work, as the French say, than the men. In some parts of France they work in the fields like men. They share their husband's business or have some separate trade of their own.

In old times, a field laborer had little hopes of becoming rich, but nowadays young people often hear of some lucky chum who has turned up a trump in the city. They know there is no chance of finding in the fields a hen that lays golden eggs, so they never rest till they, too, get away. Some of these prodigals come home to die of broken health and spirits; many are never heard of again; a few return to live on their hardly earned savings and now and then to be supported by their "commune." It is a sad truth that the French peasant is changing into a hardened materialist. And it is by no means the Catholic cause I undertake to advocate. It is that of religion in the widest acceptation of the word. The Frenchman who gives up the faith of his fathers forfeits all faith, and consequently all moral restraint. It would be preferable to see him kneeling down every morning in the midst of his wheat fields to adore the rising sun, or stealing into the dark oak forest to worship the pale sweet goddess of the night—believing in something, if naught but the immortality of his own soul—rather than to find him a prey to the hard egotism which is dragging him down to the earth that has borne him, without consolation in sorrow, or hope for the future.

LOLA DE SAN CARLOS.

THE USELESS HOUSE OF LORDS.

BY JUSTIN McCARTHY, M. P.

THE House of Lords is the champion anomaly of the British constitution. Now, I do not by any means propose to make myself responsible for the dogma that an anomalous institution can never render good service to a state. It is quite conceivable that some institution which had long outlived its original and habitual use might nevertheless at various periods of public crisis come to play an important and even a saving part in the affairs of the nation. But the peculiarity of the English House of Lords is that it could not now by any possibility play such a part. The day of its destiny is over; the star of its fate has declined.

In former times there was indeed a grandiose and high-sounding Tory doctrine about the mission of the House of Lords. The theory was that the House of Lords was an institution of something very like heavenly origin, the function of which was to step in between a blinded and maddened nation and that nation's self-destruction. The nation, let us assume, is going mad. Inflamed by the frantic and hyperbolical rhetoric of some wicked and self-seeking Liberal—some Fox, or Grey, or Bright, or Gladstone—the maddened nation is rushing on its own doom. It is clamoring for some insane project of law—a reduced franchise, for instance, a system of taking vote by ballot, a throwing-open of the national universities to all persons without distinction of creed, or any of those wild revolutionary schemes, the accomplishment of which, as is well known, brings states to their instant downfall. Very well. Now here, according to the ancient theory, comes in the mission of the House of Lords. The House of Commons has failed in its duty and has passed a measure to admit workingmen to the franchise, or to protect the voting citizen by the ballot, or to allow Roman Catholics and Dissenters to win all the university honors they can. The House of Commons has done this, and the nation is lost if the House of Lords

does not step in to save it. So the House of Lords steps in and saves. It rejects the popular measure which the House of Commons had passed—and behold a rescued state!

This was undoubtedly the ancient Conservative theory concerning the business of the House of Lords. But the theory has fallen into sad disrepute of late years even among the Tories. The House of Lords interfered to save the state from Lord Grey's Reform Bill, and it had to pass the bill all the same. The only difference was that the bill might have been passed quietly but for the House of Lords, whereas it was passed because the storm of popular indignation rose so high as to frighten the poor peers into abject submission. It will never, perhaps, be known with any precision how near, how very near, England may have come to a terrible revolution while the House of Lords was trying to resist the passing of the Reform Bill. Well, but if the House of Lords has to give way whenever the people loudly and firmly demand anything, what is the particular use of the House of Lords? The part of a savior of society is no doubt a very responsible and a very noble part; but of what possible advantage is a constituted savior of society who cannot save? Nobody believes any more that the Lords can prevent the passing of any popular measure.

The House of Commons is slow enough, in all conscience, about measures of reform. Its natural inclination is to postpone everything, if not, indeed, to oppose everything, in the way of reform. The majority of the House of Commons is composed of steady-going, respectable men without two ideas in their heads. They are inclined to think every man a fanatic or a bore who has ideas of his own on public questions, or, most often, a fanatic and a bore combined. But the majority of the House of Commons are practical men and are responsible to their constituents, and they very soon find it borne in upon them that their constituents are really in earnest about some particular measure, and are determined to have it passed into law.

The familiar idea that the House of Commons is a reforming institution of its own motion and its own purpose is quite a mistake. The House of Commons is not naturally disposed to disturb itself much about measures of reform.

What could the American public think of an institution that has resisted and delayed every great reform proposed by English statesmanship? For that is not an exaggerated description of

the career of the House of Lords. Every measure carried by the Commons to extend the franchise, to protect the humble voter in his discharge of his electoral duty, to make education national, to make the transfer of land free, to release the tenant from actual servitude to his landlord, to introduce peace into Ireland by any process less stupid and brutal than that of a new coercion bill,—every such measure has been resisted in the first instance by the House of Lords. The House of Lords is a chamber composed almost exclusively of one class—the landlord class. Writing in the ordinary way, and expecting to be understood by reasonable human beings, one would be fairly warranted in describing the House of Lords as exclusively made up out of the landlord class. But, to anticipate small criticism on my own side of the water, I shall describe it as almost thus composed. Then, being a house of landlords, they are naturally a house interested in the maintenance of an Established Church with its system of presentation to livings as part of a landlord's personal property. Now, land reforms, franchise reforms, educational reforms, and reforms abolishing class privileges of any kind, are the main objects of English Liberal legislation. Therefore we have a House of Lords, a permanent institution of the state, with a very large majority of Tories in it, and a majority of landlords so great as to be absolutely overwhelming and to leave the tiny non-landlord minority of no account at all,—we have that House of Lords set up as a permanent tribunal to revise and reject the measures of the representative chamber, the House of Commons. I have already admitted that the Lords always have to give in to the House of Commons in the end. But this very fact is only one other argument to show the absurdity of such an institution. If the House of Lords must knuckle down at last to the House of Commons, what becomes of the theory of a saving upper chamber.

But, although the House of Lords cannot finally resist or reject, it can delay, it can obstruct, it can annoy and even exasperate, it can tamper with and mutilate and spoil good measures, and so make necessary the introduction of supplementary measures to repair the harm the Lords have done. Let us take some illustrations of this faculty which it undoubtedly possesses. I begin with the action of the House of Lords in regard to Mr. Gladstone's measure for the repeal of the paper duty.

The paper duty was simply a tax upon education. The paper

duty made it practically impossible for a cheap and popular newspaper to exist in Great Britain and Ireland. The working classes and the poor were by its operation cut off from the sight of a daily paper, for the regular price of a daily paper then was sixpence. Two venturous papers were started at a penny each shortly before 1860, but it did not appear possible that, under the conditions, they could be maintained. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1860, and he brought in a bill for the abolition of the duty on paper. The House of Lords threw out the bill. The country was immersed in some months of confusion, agitation, vexation. Lord Palmerston endeavored to make it easy for the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone denounced their conduct with outspoken eloquence. Lord Palmerston had it quietly conveyed to the Lords that they must pass the bill next session. The story used to go—and even if it be not true, it is characteristic of public opinion concerning the man—that Palmerston sent a message to the leading peers to the effect that what they had done was a very good joke for once, but that it must not be repeated. It was not repeated. The Lords passed the measure quietly and tacitly in the very next session. Yet those who heard the debate in the House of Lords in the session of 1860, when the bill was rejected, who listened as I did to the impassioned rhetoric of the late Lord Derby and to the lofty argument of the venerable Lord Lyndhurst, would have thought that the whole fate of England as a state depended on her maintaining the duty on paper. What had happened between that time and the next session—a few months—to revolutionize the opinion of the House of Lords? Nothing; but they saw the country was not with them, and that even their best friend, Lord Palmerston, was not prepared to back them up. They delayed for a few months a measure of vast national importance; they exasperated many persons and classes in the country—and that was all. What a part for a savior of society to play!

Let us come down a few years later. In 1869 Mr. Gladstone, being then Prime Minister, at the head of a powerful majority, carried his measure for the disendowment and disestablishment of the Irish State Church. The House of Lords did not venture actually to resist it. But when the measure came before them in committee, they so handled it and hacked it that they were enabled to secure a great portion of the plunder for the benefit of the disestablished church and to dodge the nation out of a large

part of its national property. The Irish Church—that is to say, the ecclesiastical staff—was disestablished altogether, but not by any means disendowed. The measure failed for this very reason to give full satisfaction in Ireland. But Mr. Gladstone naturally thought that it was better for the moment to be content with having secured the principle of disestablishment, and so let the Lords give away at their own sweet will a good many handfuls of the national property of Ireland.

Again, when Mr. Gladstone's government introduced the bill for the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army—a system for which the wit of man could invent no reasonable excuse—the House of Lords passed a resolution which would have practically defeated the measure of reform. Mr. Gladstone met this resistance by what I cannot help calling a political *coup d'état.* The system of purchase in the army was founded in old days by royal regulation. Mr. Gladstone advised the Queen to cancel the royal warrant which made the purchase of commissions legal. The Queen did so and the purchase system came to an end, and the House of Lords was left hopelessly in the lurch.

The measure introduced by Mr. Gladstone's government to establish the system of vote by ballot was rejected by the House of Lords on its first presentation, but it had to be accepted or swallowed by the peers in the very next session. It should be said that even in this second session the peers tried to spoil the measure and render it absolutely worthless as a protection to the voter. The House of Commons stood firm and the House of Lords had to give in. The measure to admit all lay students of whatever faith to the national universities on equal terms was carried by Mr. Gladstone in 1871, after a similar measure had been twice over carried by the House of Commons and twice over rejected by the House of Lords.

There is something provoking—I cannot find any better word to express what I mean—in the habitual policy of the House of Lords. It will pass anything the moment the country gets angry and makes a row. It will oppose or postpone, or mutilate or emasculate, any measure of genuine reform if it seems at all likely that such a course can be taken with impunity. Therefore one cannot even have the respect for the House of Lords which he might have for implacable and fearless fanaticism, or even implacable and fearless selfishness. The House of Lords will not

fight. It surrenders, but does not die. One session the peers through their majority give forth their *non possumus*. They cannot hear of the proposed change. Personal conscience and national honor alike forbid them. To pass such a bill would make them accomplices in the destruction of England's safety and England's glory. The voices of the past, the present, and the future alike forbid the House of Lords to sanction such legislation. The dead would arise from beneath their marble tombs and their monumental brasses to forbid such a sacrifice of all that English tradition holds most dear. So the heroic attitude is maintained for one session. Then the next session comes and the House of Lords will pass the very same bill without a murmur of serious dissent or objection—and will leave the illustrious dead to sleep beneath their marble tombs and their monumental brasses.

I firmly believe that the House of Lords is responsible directly for the worst disturbances that prevailed in Ireland during the years from 1881 to 1885. I think I can make my conviction clear and show that its reasons are good. Mr. Gladstone came back to power in the early part of 1880. He had been in opposition for six years. Every one on both sides of the House of Commons assumed that the first great and difficult subject he would attempt to deal with would be the Irish land system. He had begun to deal with this subject in 1870, but he had not made his measure of reform strong enough, or nearly strong enough, to cope with the difficulties of land-tenure reform. It was announced on his behalf that the government were determined to bring in a measure of a strong and comprehensive nature to deal with the land-tenure system of Ireland. But it was not possible to undertake the carrying of such a measure in an already shortened and overloaded session. The Irish National party admitted the difficulty, but asked the government to take in the meantime some steps to prevent the ruthless evictions.

The question of eviction was at the heart of the whole land controversy in Ireland. Shall the landlord, or shall he not, have the absolute right to turn the tenant out of the land which the tenant alone, utterly unhelped by the landlord, has converted from a worthless bog into a property ? Shall the landlord have the absolute right to exact a regularly increasing rent from the tenant because of the increasing value of the land, when that increase of value is due altogether to the tenant's own energy and

patience? If the tenant cannot pay the increased rent, shall the landlord have a right to turn him out and sell the product of his industry to another man? That was, in simple substance, the Irish land question. A bill was about to be introduced to give the Irish tenant for the first time the right to profit by his own industry. We asked the government not to allow the tenant to be swept off the land before the measure for his protection could be passed.

The government consented to our demand and brought in what was known as the Compensation-for-Disturbance Bill. The measure simply enacted that if a landlord chose to turn out a tenant he must at least repay him the value of any genuine improvements the tenant might have made in the land. This would be, in fact, to stop unjust eviction, for the landlords would not care to pay a money compensation however fairly earned. The government brought in their bill and succeeded in carrying it through the House of Commons. The House of Lords rejected it. A cry of despair went up from the Irish tenants. Even those who were well disposed to trust to Mr. Gladstone lost heart. "What is the good?" I heard many of them ask; "even if he really wishes to help us and to save us, the House of Lords won't let him." Then came violence and outrage, born of despair. I have never yet heard of any country in which despair did not lead to violence and to outrage. In the House of Commons, two years or more after that time, I myself described the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the Compensation-for-Disturbance Bill as the fountain and origin of all the troubles and the evils that followed; and I was glad to observe that Mr. Gladstone gave by voice and by gesture his most energetic assent to my declaration.

Of course Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill had to be passed in the end—and of course the end was not far off. It was passed in 1881. The Lords, as usual, had delayed wholesome legislation by one session only. But in this particular instance, as in some other instances, too, the delay interposed by the Lords brought on the country tumult and passion and despair, violence and the shedding of blood.

My short sketch of the manner in which the House of Lords dealt with the Irish land question at that time would be sadly incomplete if I did not add that the peers so mutilated some of

the clauses of Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill of 1881 as to make them utterly inoperative for the very objects to which they were intended to apply. The famous "Healy clause," for example, they cut and carved until it became a mere subject for vexatious legislation to prevent the tenant from obtaining his rights. It was a clause introduced for the tenant's protection. The House of Lords converted it into a mechanism for his further vexation.

I can imagine an American reader asking why any Liberal government allows the House of Lords to mutilate its good measures in this reckless and wholesale fashion? Why do not Liberal governments stand out and insist that measures which have been carried through the Commons shall not be mangled and spoiled in the House of Lords? The reason can be easily given, although I do not think the justification can be quite so easily found. Our over-incumbered system of legislation in our centralized Parliament at Westminster forces us to do everything in a hurry. We are always in a race against time. If a bill gets thrown out this session, it may be very hard, unless it is a measure of the most immediate importance, to find a place for it in the next session. Even if it is a measure of great importance, still there are various other measures of great importance waiting and pressing for their turn. Therefore the government will do almost anything for the sake of carrying the principle of a bill within the session during which it has been introduced.

The government, let us say, have brought in some measure to which they attach great importance and which has a distinct and a novel principle. Let it, for the sake of argument, be an Irish land bill. The measure, after much struggle, is carried intact through the House of Commons. By this time the session is far advanced. It goes up to the Lords, and the Lords, not daring to reject it, make such alterations in certain clauses as to render these clauses of no practical value. The bill comes down to the Commons again, and the Commons refuse to agree to the Lords' amendments. Then there are conferences between the two houses —and the time is running on. If an agreement cannot be found, the bill will have to stand over to another session. The government, therefore, feel driven to accept a compromise for the sake of affirming the principle of the measure; as was done in the case of the Irish Land Bill. The bill becomes law in its mutilated form and fails to give satisfaction, and has in course of time to

be restored to its original purpose by other acts of legislation. Time is lost, much difficulty is created, and great harm is done by the action of the House of Lords.

I think if I were a Liberal Prime Minister I would put my foot down, and refuse to allow any of my important measures to be tinkered and spoiled by the House of Lords. I think I would let the bill be postponed for once, and give the country clearly to understand why it was postponed. I would throw on the House of Lords the full responsibility for its postponemeut. A lesson of that kind would cure the House of Lords very soon of its passion for spoiling good measures.

Ireland has, of course, been always a happy hunting-ground for the House of Lords. It has been so much safer to spoil, or even altogether reject, a good bill for Ireland than to spoil or reject a good bill for England. Until within the last few years Ireland had hardly any strong friends in Parliament. The House of Lords might cut any capers it liked where merely Irish legislation was concerned. No outcry loud enough to reach the ears of the big British public could well be made over a rejected measure to improve the condition of the Irish laborers, or to establish in Ireland a satisfactory method for the registration of votes, or to amend the hideous defects and anomalies of the Irish grand-jury system. Therefore, the history of legislation records an unbroken succession of annual instances to show what the Lords have done with any and all attempts made by Irish members of Parliament to introduce domestic reforms into their own country.

There are reforms still unaccomplished for the Irish governing system which have been the subject of legislation during all the sessions of Parliament that I can remember. These measures were brought in every year as a matter of course—as a matter of duty. At first they were rejected by the majority in the House of Commons. Then, by iteration of fact and argument, they justified themselves and commended themselves, as every measure of genuine reform always does in the end, to the House of Commons—the representative assembly, which is compelled to be in touch with the nation. Then came another and a familiar stage in the movement. The measures accepted by the House of Commons were invariably rejected, year after year, by the House of Lords. Many of them remain in that position to this very day.

They were not important enough, in the imperial sense, to arouse a national enthusiasm and to provoke by their rejection a national clamor, and the peers did not care three straws for any outcry made by the Irish people.

But the Irish people have gained what Wordsworth calls "great allies" in England. They have carried the best English statesmanship with them, and, better even than that, they have won to their side the whole liberalism and radicalism and democracy of Great Britain—their allies are the people of England and Scotland and Wales. And Ireland will soon be free to settle her domestic legislation for herself.

It may be asked whether, then, I see no countervailing advantage to the country in the existence of the House of Lords. Admitting all the defects, are there actually no advantages? I only give my own opinion, and I say, No—none whatever. I am not now discussing the wider question as to the value of a second chamber in the legislation of a state. I am thinking merely of the House of Lords in its present form, or in any form like to that; and I can only say that I see in its existence much evil to the national interests and no good: no—none whatever.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

IN BEHALF OF PARENTS.

BY AGNES REPPLIER.

It is a thankless task to be a parent in these exacting days, and I wonder now and then at the temerity which prompts man or woman to assume such hazardous duties. Time was, indeed, when parents lifted their heads loftily in the world; when they were held to be, in the main, useful and responsible persons; when their authority, if unheeded, was at least unquestioned; and when one of the ten commandments was considered to indicate that especial reverence was their due. These simple and primitive convictions lingered on so long that some of us can perhaps remember when they were a part of our youthful creed, and when, in life and in literature, the lesson commonly taught was that the province of the parent is to direct and control, the privilege of the child is to obey, and to be exempt from the painful sense of responsibility which overtakes him in later years. In very old-fashioned books this point of view is strained to embrace some rather difficult conclusions. The attitude of Evelina to her worthless father, of Clarissa Harlowe to her tyrannical parents, seemed right and reasonable to the generations which first read these novels, while we of the present day are amazed at such unnatural submissiveness and loyalty. "It is hard," says Clarissa's mother, in answer to her daughter's despairing appeals, "if a father and mother, and uncles and aunts, all conjoined, cannot be allowed to direct your choice;" an argument to which the unhappy victim replies only with her tears. How one longs to offer Mrs. Harlowe some of those little manuals of advice which prove to us now so conclusively that even a young child is deeply wronged by subjection. "Looked at from the highest standpoint," says one of our modern mentors, "we have no more right to interfere with individual choice in our children

than we have to interfere with the choice of friends;" a statement which, applied as it is, not to marriageable young women, but to small boys and girls, defines matters explicitly, and does away at once and forever with all superannuated theories of obedience.

A short perusal of these text-books of training would lead the uninitiated to conclude that the children of to-day are a down-trodden race, deprived of their natural rights by the ruthless despotism of parents. It is also indicated with painful and humiliating distinctness that adults have no rights—at least none that children are bound to respect—and that we have hardened ourselves into selfishness by looking at things from a grown-up, and consequently erroneous, point of view. For example, to many of us it is an annoyance when a child wantonly destroys our property. This is ungenerous. "With anointed eyes we might often see in such a tendency a great power of analysis, that needs only to be understood to secure grand results;"—which reflection should make us prompt to welcome the somewhat disastrous results already secured. I once knew a little boy who, having been taken on a visit to some relatives, succeeded within half-an-hour in purloining the pendulums of three old family clocks, a passion for analysis which ought to have made him one of the first mechanics of his age, had not his genius, like that of the political agitator, stopped short at the portals of reconstruction.

It is hard to attune our minds to a correct appreciation of such incidents, when the clocks belong to us, and the child doesn't. It is hard to be told that our pendulums are a necessary element, which we do wrong to begrudge, in the training of a boy's observation. All modern writers upon children unite in denouncing the word "don't," as implying upon every occasion a censure which is often unmerited. But this protest reminds me of the little girl who, being told by her father she must not say "I won't," innocently inquired: "But, papa, what am I to say when I mean 'I won't'"? In the same spirit of uncertainty I would like to know what I am to say when I mean "don't." Auretta Roys Aldrich, who has written a book on *Children—Their Models and Critics*, in which she is rather severe upon adults, tells us a harrowing tale of a mother and a five-year-old boy, who sat near her one day on a railway train. The child thrust his head out of the window, whereupon the mother

said tersely: "Johnnie, stop putting your head out of the window!" That was all. No word of explanation or entreaty softened this ruthless command. Whether Johnnie obeyed or not is unrevealed, being a matter of no importance, but, "as they left the car," comments the author, "they left also an aching in my heart. I longed to clasp the mother in my arms, for she, too, had been the victim of misunderstanding, and show her, before it was too late, how she was missing the pure gold of life for herself and her little boy." Happily, before long, another mother entered, and her child also put his head as far as he could out of that troublesome window, which nobody seemed to have the sense to shut. Observing this, his wise parent sat down by his side, "made some pleasant remark about the outlook," and then gradually and persuasively revealed to him his danger, discussing the matter with "much candor and interest," until he was finally won over to her point of view, and consented of his own free will, and as a rational human being, to draw in his little head.

I think this double experience worth repeating, because it contrasts so pleasantly with the venerable anecdote which found its way into all the reading books when I was a small child, and illustrated the then popular theory of education. It was the story of a mother who sees her boy running rapidly down a steep hill, and knows that, almost at his feet, lies an abandoned quarry, half hidden by underbrush and weeds. Sure of his obedience, she calls sharply, "Stop, Willie!" and the child, with a violent effort, stays his steps at the very mouth of the pit. Had it been necessary to convince him first that her apprehensions were well-grounded, he would have broken his neck meanwhile, and our school books would have had one tale less to tell.

Still more astounding to the uninitiated is another little narrative told with enviable gravity by Mrs. Aldrich, and designed to show how easily and deeply we wound a child's inborn sense of justice. "A beautiful boy of four whose parents were unusually wise in dealing with him"—it is seldom that a parent wins this degree of approbation—possessed a wheel-barrow of his own, in which he carried the letters daily to and from the post-office. One morning he was tardy in returning, "for there was the world to be explored" on the way; and his mother, growing anxious, or perhaps desiring her mail, followed him to know what was the

matter. She met him at the post-office door, and seeing in the barrow an envelope directed to herself, she rashly picked it up and opened it. Edwin promptly "raised a vehement cry of protest." That letter, like all the rest, had been given to him to carry, and no one else was privileged to touch it. Swiftly and repentantly his mother returned the unfortunate missive, but in vain. "The wound was too deep, and he continued to cry 'Mamma, you ought not to have done it!' over and over again between his sobs." In fact he "refused to be comforted,"—comforted!—"and so was taken home as best he could be, and laid tenderly and lovingly in bed. After sleeping away *the sharpness of sorrow and disappointment*, and consequent exhaustion, the matter could be talked over; but while he was so tired, and keenly smarting under the sense of injustice done him, every word added fuel to the flame. . . . *His possessions had been taken away from him by sheer force, before which he was helpless.* That his indignation was not appeased by putting the letter back into his keeping showed that he was contending for a principle, and not for possession or any selfish interest."

Readers of George Eliot may be pleasantly reminded of that scene in *The Mill on the Floss* where Tom Tulliver unthinkingly withdraws a rattle with which he has been amusing baby Moss, "whereupon she, being a baby that knew her own mind with remarkable clearness, instantaneously expressed her sentiments in a piercing yell, and was not to be appeased even by the restoration of the rattle, feeling apparently that the original wrong of having it taken away from her remained in all its force." But to some of us the anecdote of Edwin and his wheel-barrow is more disheartening than droll. The revelation of such admirable motives underlying such inexcusable behavior puzzles and alarms us. If this four-year-old prig "contending for a principle and not for possession" be a real boy, what has become of all the dear, naughty, fighting, obstinate, self-willed, precious children whom we used to know; the children who contended joyously, not for principle, but for precedence, and to whom we could say "don't" a dozen times a day with ample justification. Little boys ought to be the most delightful things in the world, with the exception of little girls. It is as easy to love them when they are bad as to tolerate them when they are good. But what can we do with conscientious infants to whom

misbehavior is a moral obligation, and who scream in the public streets from an exalted sense of justice.

Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin, that ardent champion of Froebel, has also given to the world a book bearing the somewhat ominous title, *Children's Rights*, but which is for the most part as interesting as it is sane. Setting aside the question of kindergartens, concerning which there are at present many conflicting opinions, it is impossible not to agree with Mrs. Wiggin in much that she states so deftly, and maintains so vivaciously. There is little doubt that the rights of the parent do infringe occasionally on the rights of the child, and that, in the absence of any standard, the child becomes a creature of circumstance. He can be fed unwholesomely, kept up late at night, dressed like Lord Fauntleroy, dosed with pernicious drugs, and humored into selfish petulance at the discretion of his mother. Worse still, he can be suffered to waste away in fever pain and die, because his parents chance to be fanatics who reject the aid of medicines to trust exclusively in prayer. But granting all this, fathers and mothers have still their places in the world, and until we can fill these places with something better, it is worth while to call attention now and then to the useful part they play. It is perhaps a significant fact that mothers, simply because they are mothers, succeed better, as a rule, in bringing up their children than other women, equally loving and sensible, who are compelled to assume their duties. That old-fashioned plea "I know what is best for my child" may be derided as a relic of darkness; but there is an illuminating background to its gloom. I am not even sure that parents stand in absolute need of all the good advice they receive. I am quite sure that many trifles are not worth the serious counsels expended upon them. Reading or telling a story, for instance, has become as grave a matter as choosing a laureate, and many a mother must stand aghast at the conflicting admonitions bestowed upon her: Read fairy tales. Don't read fairy tales. Read about elves. Don't read about ogres. Read of heroic deeds. Don't read of bloody battles. Avoid too much instruction. Be as subtly instructive as you can. Make your stories long. Make your stories short. Work the moral in. Leave the moral out. Try and please the older children. Try and charm the younger ones. Study the tastes of boys. Follow the fancies of girls. By degrees the harassed parent who endeavors to obey these instruc-

tions will cease telling stories at all, confident that the task, which once seemed so simple and easy, must lie far beyond her limited intelligence.

All that Mrs. Wiggin has to say about children's books and playthings is both opportune and true. I wish indeed she would not speak of restoring toys "to their place in education," which has a dismal sound, though she does not mean it to be taken dismally. Toys are toys to her, not traps to erudition, and the costly inanities of our modern nurseries fill her with well-warranted aversion. We are doing our best to stunt the imaginations of children by over-loading them with illustrated story-books and elaborate playthings. Little John Ruskin, whose sole earthly possessions were a cart, a ball, and two boxes of wooden bricks, was infinitely better off than the small boy of to-day whose real engine drags a train of real cars over a miniature elevated railway, almost as ghastly as reality, and whose well-dressed soldiers can't fight until they are wound up with a key. "The law was that I should find my own amusement," says Ruskin, and he found it readily enough in the untrammelled use of his observation, his intelligence, and his fancy. I have known children to whom a dozen spools had a dozen distinct individualities; soldiers, priests, nuns and prisoners of war; and to whom every chair in the nursery was a well-tried steed, familiar alike with the race-course and the Holy Land, having its own name, and requiring to be carefully stabled at night after the heroic exertions of the day. The romances and dramas of infancy need no more setting than a Chinese play, and in that limitless dreamland the transformations are as easy as they are brilliant. But no child can successfully "make believe," when he is encumbered on every side by mechanical toys so odiously complete that they leave nothing for the imagination to supply.

In the matter of books, Mrs. Wiggin displays the same admirable conservatism, her modern instincts being checked and held in sway by the recollection of those few dear old volumes which little girls used to read over and over again, until they knew them by heart. Yet I hardly think that "naughty" is a kind word to apply to Miss Edgeworth's Rosamond, who is not very wise, I admit, and under no circumstances a prig, but always docile and charming and good. And why should the "red morocco housewife," which Rosamond, in one of her rare mo-

ments of discretion, chooses instead of a stone plum, be stigmatized as "hideous but useful." It may have been an exceedingly neat and pretty possession. We are told nothing to the contrary, and I had a brown one stamped with gold when I was a little girl, which, to my infant eyes, represented supreme artistic excellence. It also hurts my feelings very much to hear Casabianca dubbed an "inspired idiot," who lacked the sense to escape. Unless the Roman sentries found dead at their posts in Pompeii were also inspired idiots, there should be some kinder word for the blind heroism which subordinates reason to obedience. And I am by no means sure that this form of relentless nineteenth-century criticism does not do more to vulgarize a child's mind by destroying his simple ideals than do the frank old games which Mrs. Wiggin considers so boorish, and which fill her with "unspeakable shrinking and moral disgust." The coarseness of "Here come two ducks a-roving," which was once the blithest of pastorals, and of that curious relic of antiquity, "Green Gravel," is not of a hurtful kind, and some of these plays have a keen attraction for highly imaginative children. For my part, I do not believe that all the kindergarten games in Christendom, all the gentle joy of pretending you were a swallow and had your little baby swallows cuddled under your wing, can compare for an instant with the lost delight of playing "London Bridge" in the dusk of a summer evening, or in the dimly-lit schoolroom at bedtime. There was a mysterious fascination in the words whose meaning no one understood, and no one sought to understand:

> "Here comes a candle to light you to bed,
> And here comes a hatchet to cut off your head."

And then the sudden grasp of four strong little arms, and a pleasing thrill of terror at a danger which was no danger—only a shadow and a remembrance of some dim horror in the past, living for generations in the unbroken traditions of play.

I have wandered unduly from the wrongs of parents to the rights of children, an easy and agreeable step to take. But the children have many powerful advocates, and need no help from me. The parents stand undefended, and suffer grievous things in the way of counsel and reproach. It must surprise some of them occasionally to be warned so often against undue severity. It must amaze them to hear that their lazy little boys and girls

are suffering from overwork, and in danger of mental exhaustion. It must amuse them—if they have any sense of humor—to be told in the columns of a weekly paper "How to Reprove a Child," just as they are told "How to Make an Apple Pudding," and "How to Remove Grease Spots from Clothing." As for the discipline of the nursery, that has become a matter of supreme importance to all whom it does not concern, and the suggestions offered, the methods urged, are so varied and conflicting that the modern mother can be sure of one thing only—all that she does is wrong. The most popular theory appears to be that whenever a child is naughty it is his parent's fault, and she owes him prompt atonement for his misbehavior. "We should be astonished, if not appalled," says Mrs. Aldrich, "if we could see in figures the number of times the average child is unnecessarily censured during the first seven years of life." Punishment is altogether out of favor. Its apparent necessity arises from the ill-judged course of the father or mother in refusing to a child control over his own actions. This doctrine was expounded to us some years ago by Helen Hunt, who reasoned wisely that "needless denials" were responsible for most youthful naughtiness, and who was probably right. It would not perhaps be too much to say that if we could have what we wanted and do what we wanted all through life, we should, even as adults, be saved from a great deal of fretfulness and bad behavior.

Miss Nora Smith, who is Mrs. Wiggin's clever collaborateur, allows, however, what she terms "natural punishment," or "natural retribution," which appears to be something like the far-famed justice of the Mikado, and is represented as being absolutely satisfactory to the child. This is a gain over the old methods which the child, as a rule, disliked; and it is also a gain over the long-drawn tests so urgently commended by Helen Hunt, whose model mother shut herself up for two whole days with her four-year-old boy, until she succeeded, by moral suasion, in inducing him to say G. During these two days the model mother's equally model husband was content to eat his meals alone, and to spend his evenings in solitude, unless he went to his club, and all her social and domestic duties were cheerfully abandoned. Her principle was not to enforce obedience, but to persuade the child to overcome his own reluctance, to conquer his own will. With this view she pretended for forty-eight hours that he could not

pronounce the letter, and that she was there to help him to do it. The boy, baby though he was, knew better. He knew he was simply obstinate, and, with the delicious clear-sightedness of children, which ought to put all sentimental theorists to shame, he actually proposed to his parent that she should shut him in a closet and see if that would not "make him good!" Of course the unhallowed suggestion was not adopted; but what a tale it tells of childish acumen, and of that humorous grasp of a situation which is the endowment of infancy. The dear little sensible, open-eyed creatures! See them dealing out swift justice to their erring dolls, and you will learn their views upon the subject of retribution. I once knew a father who defended himself for frequently thrashing an only and idolized son—who amply merited each chastisement—by saying that Jack would think him an idiot if he didn't. That father was lamentably ignorant of much that it behooves a father now to acquire. He had probably never read a single book designed for the instruction and humiliation of parents. He was in a state of barbaric darkness concerning the latest theories of education. But he knew one thing perfectly, and that one thing, says Sir Francis Doyle, is slipping fast from the minds of men; namely, "The intention of the Almighty that there should exist for a certain time between childhood and manhood, the natural production known as a boy."

AGNES REPPLIER.

THE ISSUE OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

BY DR. JOSEPH H. SENNER, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

Duo quum faciunt idem, non est idem,—the same thing done by two persons is not the same thing. Bismarck dissolved the Reichstag but twice, first in the eleventh, secondly in the twentieth year of his régime as Chancellor. Caprivi was but at the beginning of the fourth year of his Chancellorship when he was forced to take the extraordinary step, that *ultima ratio* of a more or less constitutional modern State,—dissolution of Parliament. Bismarck, the Thunderer, acted on both occasions in his true lightning style—in 1878, when the Reichstag refused to pass the law against the Socialists, and in 1887 when the same majority of the Imperial Parliament, half liberal and half clerical, made provision for the military *état* for but three years, instead of for the seven years demanded. In his significant, resolute way Bismarck abruptly sent the self-styled representatives of the people home, at once entered upon a vigorous campaign, and succeeded each time in carrying out his wishes, by overwhelming majorities, within a few weeks after the opening of the new Reichstag. Emperor William II., who wanted to be his own Chancellor, and the well-disciplined, distinguished soldier whom he had detailed to the highest executive office of his Empire, wasted many months in futile bargaining for a majority, until at last a hostile decisive vote and the ensuing dissolution were rather enforced against their will. The electoral campaign then conducted was awkward, lifeless and inefficient, and resulted, as shown below, in the signal defeat of the government's plan. The difference between the Bismarckian statecraft and that of the New Era is marked. And yet precisely the same

leading idea guided the actions of both ; the same thing was done by the old and by the new Chancellor.

All who could read the signs of the times knew, or at least might have known, that the hour for a new election was as ill-chosen as was the issue of the government's campaign. No more unpopular issue could be presented to the German people than an increase of the military burdens ; and perhaps the most unpropitious time during the last decade for forcing that issue was the spring of 1893. The first septennate fixed the peace strength of the Army, for the years 1874-1881, at 401,659 privates and subalterns; the second (1881-1888), at 427,000 ; and the third (1887-1894), initiated by Bismarck before the expiration of the second, originally at 468,409, but that number was increased, in 1890, by amendment, to 486,983. Two years later Chancellor Caprivi, who had in 1890 solemnly affirmed the impracticability of a further increase, demanded that the fourth septennate, or rather quinquennate (October, 1893—March, 1899), be fixed at no less than 570,877 men yearly,—despite the fact that the Reichstag in 1890 granted the government's request only with the proviso, insisted upon by the famous Windthorst, that in future the peace strength as well as the expenditures for military purposes would be materially reduced. After that time the ordinary expenditures of the Empire, aside from the Army, were considerably increased, resulting in a large and serious addition to its federal debt, while the revenues from customs duties were cut down not a little by the commercial treaties of December, 1891. The net yearly expenditures for the army, subsequent to 1879, increased from 361 to 535 million marks, and the Federal debt, during the same period, rose from 139 to 1,755 million marks, with annual interest charges of 9,000,000 and 66,000,000 marks, respectively. How in the world, under such circumstances, could a further increase in the yearly expenditures of more than 60 millions (without counting the so-called extraordinary expenditures of more than 100 millions which were in fact moneys invested in the added armament) have been thought of as a popular issue ?

The Germans are patriotic. They are proud, and justly so, of the grand achievements of the old Emperor and his great Chancellor. In fact, Monsieur Chauvin, in the Fatherland as well as in France, has only too prolific an offspring willing to sacrifice important rights and liberties to the delusive glory of military

supremacy. But the people of the Fatherland, though valiant in war, are quite prone to economy in time of peace, and the greatest exponent of the German spirit, Prince Bismarck, was himself well aware that the renowned *furor teutonicus* must first be aroused. Now, the prospect of continued peace was certainly better at the time of the introduction and discussion of Caprivi's oppressively burdensome army bill than it had been for years. In France, Germany's traditional arch-enemy, the party of peace and order were seemingly in full power, and the Panama affair was claiming all of the nation's attention. Czar Alexander had apparently forsaken his ancient grudges, the product in his mind of the treacherous ingratitude of the Hohenzollerns and the crafty ambiguity of the House of Hapsburg. And even if excitable France should again suddenly become an easy prey to declamatory, heaven-aspiring revolutionists and ambitious, pompously-mounted generals, or if greedy Russia, flushed with self-confidence upon the completion of her great re-armament of deadly repeating rifles, should precipitately throw off the artful mask of self-restraint, of what avail was a plan of army re-organization, the effects of which could not be fully realized for ten or, perhaps, fifteen years? Hence, while the political optimists were able easily to ridicule the bugbear of a great war with two fronts, the pessimists might, with at least as much reason, reject as impracticable any scheme of thorough re-organization of the army in the face of menacing foes.

Then why, it may be asked, did William II. select that unfortunate issue? Young, energetic and self-confident as the Emperor is, no one will attribute to him such lack of intelligence as failure to understand the weakness and inconsistency of the arguments advanced, in behalf of an *Armeevorlage*, at that time, by the most eloquent orators and the most brilliant writers whom he could enlist in his service. And the Chancellor, though by no means a genius of the Bismarck type, should not be underrated, for many tests have shown him to be a general of excellent abilities and a statesman of more than average judgment. Neither Emperor William, nor Chancellor Caprivi, without apparent injustice to their sagacity, can be supposed to have entirely overlooked the unavoidable effects of such a military bill, its public discussion during no less than nine months, the wavering position of the government, the refusal by the latter to accept any

measure of compromise proposed by the Liberals, the final though overdue acceptance of such a measure when offered by an ultramontane aristocrat, the surprising rejection of the bill and of all compromise by a large majority, and the consequent dissolution of the Reichstag. Undoubtedly Germany's ruler was fully aware, in accord with public opinion, that a decisive governmental majority, if any, was not to be expected as the result of the approaching election, and that the campaign must necessarily lead to an augmentation of the socialistic vote and of its so-called conservative pendant, anti-semitism. Why then, it will be asked again, did William II. pursue such a course? To one well versed in German and Prussian history and their constitutions the answer is so obvious that I am surprised that the daily press seem to have missed it.

On paper both Prussia and Germany possess constitutions and enjoy, nominally, constitutional government. There is, indeed, a Prussian as well as a German Parliament. But no greater mistake could be made than to liken those constitutions and Parliaments to those of Great Britain. To perceive this clearly it is necessary but to recall the royal decree of January 4, 1882, evidently formulated by Bismarck:

"The right of the King to direct the government and the politics of Prussia, according to *His own will* has been restricted, by no means abrogated, by the Constitution. . . . The Prussian Constitution is but the expression of the monarchical traditions of the country, whose development is based on the eternal relations between the King and His people. . . . It is, therefore, My will, that both in Prussia *and in the legislative bodies of the Empire* no doubt shall be left about My, and My successors', constitutional right to *personally direct the policy of My government.*"

Bismarck once said, in a speech before Parliament, in his picturesque style of oratory:

"Prussian royalty has not yet fulfilled its mission; it is not yet ripe to be a purely ornamental decoration of the constitutional structure; it is not yet ripe to be inserted as a dead piece of machinery into the mechanism of parliamentary goverment."

Emperor William II., though he dismissed the teacher, is a true disciple of the Bismarckian doctrine. Even more than his illustrious grandfather, and certainly much more than his good father, young William II. is not satisfied to reign; he wants to govern, and in a manner and to a degree unthought of by any Prussian monarch since the inauguration of the constitution. With him it is not alone

a "constitutional right personally to direct the policy of His government," but first of all the divine prerogative of a king by the grace of God. He was in dead earnest when he resurrected the obsolete motto of Roman Cæsars : *Sic volo, sic jubeo ; sit pro ratione voluntas* (So I will, so I command ; My will takes the place of reasons). He revealed his inmost mind when he emphatically declared not long ago that he never could agree with people who responded to his command with a "Yes, but!" and that all he wanted was "Yes, so then!" His conception of loyalty may be measured by his appeal to his Brandenburgers to follow their Margrave blindly through thick and thin. His soul is filled with the ideals of a soldier, and it is but natural that he is extremely sensitive not only to the threatened loss of military supremacy for Germany but, perhaps even more, to the growing difficulty of finding a subservient Parliament.

And this difficulty is growing, rapidly and alarmingly. The spirit of the German, wherever found, is naturally independent. He bowed to the overawing genius and almost superhuman energy of Bismarck, though with great reluctance, gnashing of teeth and restiveness. But once liberated from the incubus, the old Germanic spirit of independence re-asserted itself, much to the surprise and chagrin of the young ruler in the so-called New Era. The Emperor in vain attempted to decoy one faction after the other. He abolished the severe anti-Socialistic law and tried to cajole the "little man"; he flattered the Poles and conceded to them some valuable rights ; he gave to the Liberals commercial treaties, and tried, but lamentably failed, to give to the Prussian Conservatives a school-law to satisfy their dearest wishes ; he delivered the Guelph treasure of 48 millions to the heirs of the dethroned King, and 16 millions of confiscated property to the Catholic clergy, and so on. But all in vain. A concession made to one faction served only to whet its appetite and to arouse the jealousy of all the other factions. The spirit of dissatisfaction grew and had as its basis the general desire to insist upon the people's right of self-government independent of the fluctuating wishes or whims of the ruler.

After all his small devices had been exhausted there remained but one issue on which the Emperor could hope to unite several factions in support of the government. Since the day of Sadowa that issue had never failed in the Old (Bismarckian) Era. There

was but one possibility of breaking the spirit of parliamentary independence, and that was by means of a new army bill appealing to the needs of self-protection and to the patriotic desire of preserving the achievements of bloody wars. Even though a new election might increase the votes of socialistic and anti-semitic peace-breakers, that, it was believed, should make the friends of law and order more desirous of a strong government. The fact that the proposal to increase the army coincided with the personal desires of the Emperor but strengthened the unfortunate line of arguments which led to the introduction of Caprivi's bill and its portentous consequences.

But the people of Germany did not accept the issue presented to them by an ill-advised and short-sighted government, and that is the key to the situation. The electoral battle was actually fought and decided on the issue of *Parliamentary* (*i. e., People's*) *rule against Emperor's rule*, and it was certainly not the latter which came forth with flying colors. The rulers of the New Era have ignominiously lost this battle. The defeat of the Emperor's *voluntas* is the one overshadowing result of the recent German elections. It marks an important phase, possibly the turning point, of the great struggle of the German nation for real constitutional government. In comparison with the paramount importance of this one result even the most interesting details of the election dwindle to the level of mere incidents. The apparent annihilation of the Richterites, the dismal failure of the government to disrupt the mighty party of the Centre, the growth of socialistic and anti-semitic votes, the strength developed by the Poles, the weakness of the Alsatian protest party, the defeat of the free-traders and the increasing contrast between North and South Germany, all these and other favorite topics of the daily press are simply products of temporary coincidences. The effects will not last long. But the victory of the people's right to assert their will in the policy of the government will and cannot fail to impress the future development of the German nation.

JOSEPH H. SENNER.

THE COMING EXTRA SESSION.

I.—A DEMOCRATIC VIEW.*

BY SENATOR G. G. VEST, OF MISSOURI.

THE President's proclamation calling Congress together in extraordinary session on August 7 has caused much inquiry and discussion.

Action upon tariff revision will necessarily be delayed by the Constitutional requirement that all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives, and some time must be consumed in formulating the details of such legislation.

It is certain that the financial situation will first receive the

* Since preparing the foregoing article the mints of India have been closed to the free coinage of silver by private owners. The fall in the price of silver changes, of course, the figures given in the article, but the argument for free coinage with a change of ratio is not affected. At the same time, the action of Great Britain places the question of mono-metallism or bi-metallism distinctly and sharply before Congress for its determination.

It is now boldly proclaimed by mono-metallists that silver is doomed as a money-metal, and that the United States must come at once to the gold standard.

While the action of Great Britain has unquestionably damaged bi-metallism and caused a heavy decline in the price of silver, it by no means follows that bi-metallism is doomed, or that this country is ready for mono-metallism.

The fall in the price of silver to sixty-two cents an ounce was the result of panic and of the sensational falsehood that silver had been entirely demonetized in India. The British Government has great power, and is devoted to the gold standard, but it could not successfully demonetize silver in the Indian Empire, nor would its statesmen contemplate a measure so ruinous. They have simply closed the mints of India to coinage by private citizens, reserving to the government a monopoly of silver coinage.

There may be a permanent fall in the price of silver, and this fact would necessitate a greater ratio; but the question still remains whether we shall have mono-metallism or bi-metallism in the United States.

The Sherman act will be repealed; but if this cannot be accomplished at once the result must be largely attributed to the mono-metallists, who now openly assert, in the face of the Constitution, the established policy of our Government since its foundation, and the solemn declarations of both the Republican and Democratic parties, that silver must be abandoned as a money metal. These ill-timed enthusiasts have stripped all concealment from the question, and have made certain, what has been long suspected, the design to make gold the only standard of value in this country.

It will be found when Congress assembles that the repeal of the Sherman act cannot be made a stalking-horse for mono-metallism.

G. G. V.

attention of Congress. The uneasy and distrustful feeling which prevades all classes and the want of confidence in existing and proposed investments require immediate consideration in order that a remedy may be found for the abnormal and threatening conditions confronting a people whose unequalled resources should make them strangers to financial disaster.

As a matter of course there will be much eloquence expended in diagnosing the disease and ascertaining its origin, but recent declarations by the fathers of the Sherman Act would seem to make prolonged inquiry unnecessary. They are vehemently bastardizing their own offspring, and the unanimity with which they assert that it never received their approval, even when they voted for it, causes honest and patriotic citizens unacquainted with the intricacies of legislation to wonder how a measure which had the approval of nobody could have become the law.

Some little light is thrown upon the matter by ex-Senator Edmunds, who says in a recent interview that the Republican party was "between the devil and the deep sea," and embraced the devil of Shermanism to escape the deep sea of free coinage. This is simply an attempt to gloss over the notorious fact that the Republican leaders advocated and voted for a bill which they believed to be wrong, and now denounce as the cause of our present financial troubles, in order to hold the silver-producing States in the Republican column.

The Sherman Act was passed by the Republicans against the solid Democratic opposition, and if a remedy cannot be found at the coming session for its malign effects the responsibility justly rests upon those who sacrificed their convictions of right to partisan expediency. They preferred the enactment of a bad law to having President Harrison confronted with the necessity of vetoing a free coinage bill, and the consequent loss of California, Oregon, Nevada and Colorado to their party.

The Sherman Act, spawned by political exigency in the womb of a party caucus, ought to be repealed. It degrades silver by making it a commodity to be stored in the Treasury warehouse, without coinage, until enormous accumulation constitutes a standing menace to bi-metallism throughout the world.

The birth of this distorted and disowned monstrosity was accompanied, however, by the repeal of the Bland-Allison law, and those Senators and Members of the House who believe there is not

enough gold to perform the functions of metallic money, and who construe the Constitution to mean that gold *and* silver shall both be used as full money metals, will never consent to the repeal of the Sherman Act without other legislation guaranteeing bi-metallism. They recognize the truth that the real conflict is between mono-metallism and bi-metallism, and that to give silver up to the tender mercies of the men who now urge the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act would be surrendering the lamb to a wolf whose ravenous caress means certain death.

The friends of silver have no hope that free and unlimited coinage at the present ratio can be had during the administration of Mr. Cleveland. They supported him for the Presidency knowing his position; for they had no hesitation in choosing between Cleveland and Harrison, when they agreed with the former on every issue except free coinage, while they agreed with the latter upon nothing. It is certain that the President would veto a bill providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio, and that the measure could not be passed over his veto. It is also certain that the Sherman Act cannot be repealed absolutely and unconditionally, notwithstanding the prophecies so lavishly made by those who hope for a different result.

The silver question must be settled by repealing the Sherman Act and reënacting the Bland-Allison law, or by repealing the Sherman Act and changing the legal ratio between gold and silver with free and unlimited coinage for silver.

The Bland-Allison law was the product of "the-devil-and-the-deep-sea" expediency which brought forth the Sherman Act. It was passed by the Senate as a substitute for the House bill which provided for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and like all makeshifts it has never had any real friends among either mono-metallists or bi-metallists.

On the other hand, the increase of the legal ratio between the two metals with free and unlimited coinage for silver furnishes the solution which meets to a large degree all conflicting opinions. It retains silver as a money metal and simply recognizes the fact that gold has increased in value since the present ratio was established.

Under existing law sixteen ounces of pure silver are declared equal to one ounce of pure gold; but in market overt it requires twenty-four and four-tenths ounces of silver to purchase an ounce

of gold. If the ratio should be increased to twenty-four for one the gold value of an ounce of pure silver would be 0.8613 instead of 1.2919 as at the present ratio. At twenty-three to one it would be 0.8987; at twenty-two to one, 0.9396; at twenty-one to one, 0.9843; at twenty to one, 1.0335.

It is possible that a majority of Congress will determine to change the ratio as has been done before by that body, and in view of the fact that free and unlimited coinage of silver must increase its commercial value the ratio of twenty to one may as a tentative proposition be fixed upon until actual experiment shall show that this ratio will not restore commercial parity.

It goes without saying that vigorous opposition will be made to this, as to any other compromise. The extremists who are determined to have free coinage at the present ratio, and the gold mono-metallists will unite in deprecating the enormous size of the silver dollar under the increased ratio, ignoring the fact that paper certificates can be used to represent the silver dollar of the future, and that the coinage of subsidiary silver can be increased with full legal-tender quality as under the Act of 1834.

One objection persistently urged by the enemies of silver will certainly be eliminated from the discussion by an increase of ratio. Foreign silver, including the mythical pots and pans of Senator Sherman, will not be brought to our mints at a loss of thirty cents an ounce besides the cost of transportation.

Whatever may be the result as to silver, it can be safely assumed that Congress will at its next session repeal those provisions of the McKinley tariff which increase the cost of necessaries and impose unjust taxes upon the consumer. This does not mean, as the advocates of the present law assert, that a cavalry charge will be made upon all protected interests, resulting in bankruptcy of manufacturers and the general reduction of wages; but it does mean that the existing system of tariff taxation, which makes a favored class partners with the government and creates trusts and monopolies, shall come to an end. The Democratic party is not controlled by anarchists nor socialists, and is as conservative and patriotic as its opponents, but it will proceed firmly yet cautiously to redeem the pledges for tariff reform which caused the overwhelming political triumph of last November.

Assailed by mercenary and unscrupulous adversaries, who are maddened by the loss of political power, and the prospective dim-

inution of exorbitant profits, the dominant party has before it the difficult task of reducing the taxation imposed on consumers by the McKinley tariff, without injuring the legitimate interests of either the manufacturer or wage-earner.

Whatever else may happen, it can be safely predicted that the import duties on raw materials for manufacture will be removed, and that coffee, tea and raw sugar will remain upon the free list. If, after repealing the provisions of the McKinley Act which give a bounty to sugar producers, and those which increase the duties upon clothing, hardware and other necessaries, there must be raised a large amount to defray governmental expenses, resort can be had to an increased tax upon whiskey and malt liquors, or to an income and succession tax.

That there will be stubborn and protracted opposition to the latter expedient, especially from the Northeastern States, cannot be doubted, but it is probable that debate and inquiry would strengthen the proposition. The opponents of an income tax habitually use the arguments that it is class legislation, productive of fraud and perjury, and that the law of 1863 was a failure. The first objection applies to all internal-revenue taxes, and to our entire National and State system of taxation. Special taxes are imposed by the United States and every State, and exemptions from taxation exist by Congressional and State legislation.

That fraud and perjury will attempt to avoid the tax is only stating what is an incident to all taxation, and it is a singular fact that this argument comes most frequently from those who systematically avoid the taxes upon their bonds and other securities, leaving the burthen of supporting the State and municipal governments to the unfortunate land-owner.

The income tax imposed by the Act of 1863, which continued until 1871, although collected during an era of loose administration and great disorder, placed in the Federal Treasury $363,000,000, or an average of $40,375,000 annually; and it is certain that with better methods of collection and the increase of wealth a much larger sum would be added to our revenues.

That it is a just tax based upon the fundamental equity that all property should contribute equally to the support of the government in return for the protection it receives was demonstrated by Sir Robert Peel years ago, and his argument has never been answered.

It is strange that those who defend the McKinley law, which taxes the poor man upon the clothes he wears more than is paid in import duties by the multi-millionaire, should find their acute sense of justice lacerated and bruised by a tax that makes the incomes from secreted bonds and mortgages bear a just proportion of the expense necessary to protect them in peace and war.

There are other important questions for the consideration of Congress at its next session, but around finances and tariff reform will ebb and flow the tide of parliamentary battle.

No one can exaggerate the importance of the coming session, for upon its results largely depend the fate of silver and tariff reform.

G. G. VEST.

II.—A REPUBLICAN VIEW.

BY SENATOR JOSEPH N. DOLPH, OF OREGON.

THE action of the President in calling a special session of Congress for August 7 has met with general approval. Leaving out of consideration the necessity for financial legislation, an early session of Congress was desirable. It would be well if every session of Congress were to meet not later than October 1. Under the present arrangement the long sessions are necessarily protracted into mid-summer, to the great discomfort and often at the expense of the health of members, and at every short session important measures, upon which much time and labor have been expended, fail to receive final consideration, and indispensable legislation, to the great detriment of the public interests, is often hurried through without sufficient examination and opportunity for discussion.

The next Congress will be one of the most important since the Civil War. For the first time in a third of a century the Democratic party is in full control of the legislative and executive departments of the Government. It is pledged to reverse the policy upon which the Government has been conducted for more than thirty years. The results of the changes which will no doubt be made in our tariff laws will greatly affect our varied industries and the prosperity of our people. The

party of protection confidently expect that any legislation in the direction of free trade will result, as it claims such legislation has always resulted in this country, in business stagnation, suspension of industries, financial disturbances, unemployed labor and general bankruptcy; while the Democratic party assert that the abandonment of the protective system will cause increased development of our resources and will promote national and individual prosperity.

One can only judge as to what legislatiou will be enacted during the next Congress by the record and official declarations of the party in power. That the Administration and the majority in Congress will be far more conservative than the country had reason to expect is already apparent. Responsibility produces conservatism.

There will be many questions of minor importance which will no doubt give rise to extended and possibly heated discussion in the next Congress. Among them may be enumerated the proposition to admit Utah, Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma as States of the Union, the immigration question, the Anti-Option measure and the proposed repeal of the Federal Elections law; but the absorbing questions upon which public interest will be centred and upon the correct decision of which the future prosperity of the country will largely depend are the tariff and financial questions.

Upon the tariff question the parties are squarely at issue. The general character of the tariff legislation of the next Congress may be predicted with certainty; but the extent to which the attack upon the protective system will be carried it is more difficult to foretell.

The declaration of the Chicago Convention upon the tariff question was radical enough to require the complete abrogation of the protective policy. The success of the party upon such a platform apparently indicates that the people have empowered the Democratic party to lay the axe at the root of the system; but it is evident that the Democratic leaders either lack confidence in the Democratic theory or courage to put that theory into practice.

Whatever tariff legislation is enacted will be in the direction of free trade. Duties upon many manufactured articles and probably on agricultural products will be decreased. What are

denominated by free-traders raw materials, including wool, lumber, coal, lead ore and similar articles, will be placed upon the free list. The sugar bounty will be removed, the tin-plate industry destroyed, and many articles now on the free list will be made dutiable. To satisfy Louisiana Democrats a duty will be placed on sugar, and to secure sufficient revenue resort will probably be had to increased internal taxation. Internal taxation is the most unpopular and burdensome of all taxation, and the proposition to impose an income tax will meet with opposition in both parties. Already a proposition for the abrogation of our reciprocity treaties, which will be necessary if sugar, tea and coffee are to be placed on the dutiable list, is being considered.

The financial question, in the estimation of the Administration, is the one upon which legislation is most urgent. The tariff question, which was placed foremost in the Presidential campaign, has been relegated to the rear. While upon proposed tariff legislation party lines will be strictly drawn, upon financial questions the case will be different. The President is in favor of a sound currency and of maintaining the gold basis. He is opposed to free coinage, in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law and discontinuing the purchase of silver. The majority of his party are in favor of the free coinage of silver. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Cleveland can control the Democratic majority and force them to his views.

Not every one who is opposed to the free coinage of silver will favor the repeal of the Sherman law. All do not look upon that law as the cause of all our financial troubles or upon its repeal as the remedy for all our financial ills. What effect the repeal of the Sherman law and the consequent depreciation of the price of silver bullion would have on our financial condition cannot be predicted with certainty; but it should be remembered that confidence in the ability of the Government to maintain the parity of value between the gold and silver dollar does not depend alone upon the volume of our silver currency as compared with the provision made for its redemption in gold, but depends also upon the relation between the intrinsic and par value of the silver dollar.

If the Sherman law is repealed it will be necessary to provide in some manner for an increase of the circulating medium. The unpopularity of the proposition to return to unsound State bank currency is so great that it is doubtful if, standing on its

own merits, the proposition would receive serious consideration in either branch of Congress; but if the issue of Treasury notes for the purchase of silver is discontinued the majority in Congress, in order to provide against a ruinous contraction of the r culating medium, may be compelled to adopt the expedient of State bank circulation.

It is probable that when the proposition to repeal the Sherman Act is introduced a substitute providing for the free coinage of silver will be offered. If there have not been recent conversions of free-coinage Senators, or if the recent suspension of the free coinage of silver in India does not greatly change the situation, such a provision will pass the Senate, and it may possibly pass the House; but it is not probable that a free-coinage bill would pass either branch of Congress over the President's veto.

There are sufficient causes other than the Sherman law for the present financial disturbances. With a blow to American industries pending in threatened tariff legislation, it is not to be wondered at that there has been a loss of confidence among business men, that importations have been diminished, that manufacturers have curtailed their operations and reduced their purchase of raw materials, that the market for labor has been impaired, and that there has been a general forcing of settlements, which has produced financial stringency, business failures, and the exportation of gold. The resources of this country are so great that the increase of our national obligations a few hundred millions or the decrease of the gold reserve in the Treasury a few millions is no cause for alarm. So long as the people have confidence in the intention of the government to maintain its currency, whether silver or paper, at par with gold, treasury notes and silver currency will pass current at their face. The fear of legislation hostile to our industries, or calculated to impair the credit of the government, has more to do with the business and financial condition of the country to-day than the purchase of silver, the condition of the Treasury or the volume of any kind of our currency.

The present financial disturbances are largely due to distrust of the Democratic party, and were precipitated by the predictions of the Democratic press and Democratic politicians after the late Presidential election of the disastrous results to follow from the Sherman law, made in a systematic effort to secure the repeal of that law under the Republican administration.

For years the Democratic party has been a negative party. It has opposed at one time or another nearly all legislation favored by the party in power. It has encouraged nearly every political-ism and all third-party movements which promised to create dissatisfaction with the dominant party. The election of Mr. Cleveland was the result of the wide-spread discontent caused largely by the persistent attacks of the Democratic party upon the party in power, and the continual magnifying of the ills or the supposed ills of the laboring and agricultural classes. It now finds itself embarrassed by its connection with third-party organization, and its real or supposed sympathy with their visionary theories. The division of political patronage with its allies is a matter of embarrassment, and the conservative course which the party will be compelled to adopt will drive the dissatisfied elements from its ranks.

It would have been better for the country if Congress had been convened immediately after March 4, and the financial and tariff measures proposed by the Administration laid before Congress and the people ; but with apparently no settled convictions on the part of the Democratic leaders as to what should be done, with a demand by the rank and file of the party for radical tariff legislation and a knowledge on the part of the Democratic leaders that this demand could not be satisfied, with conflicting views among the majority in Congress on the Silver question, perhaps, from a Democratic standpoint, the postponement of the meeting of Congress was a political necessity.

No factious opposition will be made by Republicans in either branch of Congress to the tariff or financial measures formulated by the majority. Time will be taken for thorough discussion and Republicans will place themselves before the country in opposition to every assault upon the protective system ; but they will recognize that the responsibility for legislation rests with the majority. They will not be oblivious either to the fact that the logic of the situation indicates that the masses can only be set right upon the tariff question by some experience under free-trade legislation.

J. N. DOLPH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE ANARCHISTS AND PUBLIC OPINION.

The "Volcano of Public Opinion" is popularly supposed to be in a perennially active condition, and all those whose acts and purposes are such as to render a position of sudden elevation not altogether desirable are supposed to be in mortal dread of its terrible crater. We are brought up to the idea that the disapproval of all good people is a far severer penalty than fine or imprisonment, and that when the disapproval intensifies to righteous indignation and abhorrence it is a worse fate than death itself.

For those whose instincts are honorable this is all true enough; there is for them no sting sharper than the contempt of their fellows, save that of self-contempt. But this is the class of men for whom the restraining and constraining force of public opinion is least necessary. The subjective penalties inflicted by their own consciences are generally sufficient—at least they are of all men least in need of objective penalties, whether moral or physical. The "terrible punishment of public reprobation" is often most keenly suffered by those who least deserve it. Its operation is like that of the much-discussed "ranking system" in schools, which bears most oppressively upon those who stand least in need of its stimulus. How many sensitive girls, and boys too, have been goaded to nervous invalidism by this cruel spur, which only tickles the thick hides, or thicker craniums, of those for whose benefit it is especially designed! And how many tender hearts have been broken, how many tender spirits have been crushed, by the overwhelming weight of public disapprobation, deserved or undeserved! Many a soul, otherwise strong and noble, will quail at the derisive hoot of a dirty ruffian who would laugh at hissing multitudes, so long as he were in no physical danger from their wrath and scorn.

For those who actually violate the statutes there still remain penalties other than mere public reprobation, though each succeeding generation sees them growing beautifully less. But for other evil-doers, who contrive to elude the technicalities of the law, it matters not how gross the wrong or how disastrous its consequences, there are generally only the cold shoulder and the finger of scorn—and not always even these; not infrequently their reward is the loud applause of multitudes, which utterly drowns the feeble hissing of the indignant few.

Americans were not satisfied, for instance, with mere disapproval of their erring brothers, the Chicago Anarchists. They actually punished their desperate attempt to overthrow the hospitable roof that sheltered them, and their fiendish slaughter of its gallant defenders, by hanging one in a thousand or so of the murderous ingrates and imprisoning a few more—a punishment which a representative of American executive justice thought too severe, and remitted so far as he was able. For a similar

offence in the early part of the eighteenth century François Ravaillac, a poor attorney, half-crazed by a long term of cruel confinement for debt, was punished by indignant France in the following manner. His right hand, with his assassin's knife bound to it, was put into a furnace of burning sulphur, "when it was in a most terrible manner consumed, at which he cast forth horrible cries, yet he would not confess anything; after which, the executioner having made pincers red hot in the same furnace, they did pinch the brawn of his arms and thighs, the calves of his legs, with other fleshy parts of his body; then they poured into the wounds scalding oil, rosin, pitch, and brimstone melted together; but to make the last act of his tragedy equal in torments to the test, they caused four strong horses to be brought to tear his body in pieces; . . . which done, the fury of the people was so great that they pulled his dismembered carcass out of the executioner's hands, which they dragged up and down the dirt, and, cutting off the flesh with their knives, the bones which remained were brought to the place of execution and there burnt. . . . By the same sentence all his goods were forfeited to the King and his parents banished the realm."*

We have omitted some of the most horrible details of this act of retributive justice out of consideration for the uncalloused sensibilities of the reader. If it was one of the extremes, are we not in this more enlightened age fast approaching the other? But are we prepared to go as far towards the other extreme as the "magnanimous," "independent," "courageous" Governor of Illinois? Some of us, it seems, are thus prepared. Amid the storm of public disapprobation (the only penalty to which Governor Altgeld has thus far been subjected) there is heard, here aud there, a voice of enthusiastic commendation, even outside the Anarchists' camp. A few of the eulogistic terms applied to him are quoted above. It is not certain, however, that he cares for these any more than for the more numerous objurgations—to which, he boasts, he is absolutely impervious. To Governor Altgeld, then, the "Volcano of Public Opinion" is no volcano at all, but a mere pyrotechnic display, which perhaps only entertains him.

I remember once being in a crowded theatre where, in the front row of orchestra chairs, sat a bull-necked individual with a pyramidal head terminating in an apex of obstinacy and self-esteem. Just as the curtain fell at the end of one of the acts something or other, no one knew what, won his stupid approval, and he began to applaud vigorously with both hands and feet. The fact that no one joined in his demonstration, instead of abashing him and reducing him to stillness, only piqued him to redoubled exertions. At first the audience were amused by his hardy effrontery, and rewarded it with good-natured laughter. Soon, however, they began to tire of it, and endeavored to suppress it by hissing. This only made matters worse; the louder they hissed the harder he of the pyramidal head stamped, until at last there was another revulsion, and his "independence" and "courage" were rewarded with renewed laughter, whereat, satisfied with his victory over some thousand, more or less, of American citizens, he consented to subside. Of course he might have been ignominously hustled into the street, but such action would not have been in keeping with the "freedom of thought, feeling and expression" which the spirit of our institutions accords to every citizen.

* From a volume published in 1728.

The American people, in general, are now in the stage of indignation with the Governor of Illinois and they are visiting upon him the (in his case) futile punishment of their stern disapproval. But a revulsion in his favor has begun and it is by no means improbable that in the end his "independence" and "courage" may win for him a complete victory over the entire sixty millions of us!

There is something grand and admirable in the spectacle of enormous power forbearing to use it upon insignificance and feebleness. When a regiment of warriors marches through a hostile mob, we admire the soldierly stoicism with which they endure the vilest insults and even minor physical assaults without offering to use the power they possess to drive their insulters shrieking with terror into their alley-ways and dives. When a fearless giant pays no attention to the gibes of a gang of cowardly hoodlums we approve his manly dignity. But when the mob begins to throw big stones and fire their revolvers, then our sense of justice and necessity demand of the lion-hearted colonel that he give the stern orders: "Make ready, aim, fire!" And if the hoodlums should transfer their insults from the giant to his wife, then something more is demanded of his manly dignity than cool indifference.

So long as the Anarchists only insult our country, our laws, and our institutions, with vile epithets and minacious fustian, perhaps the national dignity is best preserved by treating them with magnanimous contempt, but when they actually tear down our flag, put the torch to our houses and the knife to our throats, then it is time to apply a sterner penalty. But when the duly appointed representative of our self-protecting power uses his prerogative to remit the just penalty we inflict, and we find that the punishment we impose upon him, our severe disapprobation, only calls forth his derision, what are we "going to do about it?"

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

POSSIBILITIES OF PRAYER.

CONSIDERING how long prayer has been in use in the world and how much human energy it has engrossed, it seems a remarkable thing that there should continue to be such uncertainty about its effects. When a boy throws a ball over a wall, he cannot tell precisely where it is going to land, but he is sure it went over and that it will hit something. When a doctor gives medicine he cannot be certain of its effect until the patient has shown it, and he cannot always be sure then; nevertheless he knows the medicine was an actual force and that it did something, though other forces may have neutralized its action. But when a man of average sentiments prays, he is not sure whether or not anything has gone out from him which has had any effect outside of his own range of perception. He is sure that his own mind has worked in a certain manner. If other persons have heard him pray, he may be convinced that his uttered sentiments have affected their minds, but beyond that everything is foggy and uncertain.

That is an unsatisfactory state of things, with which prayerful persons ought not to be satisfied. If prayer is worth using at all, and great numbers of intelligent people are convinced that it is, it is worth using with the utmost intelligence and the highest attainable skill. The kind of prayer in which the petitioner asks for everything he can think of, in the hope that some of his supplications may reach the mark, is as much out of date as

those doses affected by doctors of the last generation, in which a lot of drugs were mixed, not for their combined effect, but in the hope that the right one might be among them, and might find its way to the right spot in the patient. Perhaps clumsy doctors do that way still. Not so the masters of medicine. Their diagnoses make plain to them what they want to do; then if they use a drug at all, it is sent to accomplish that particular purpose. So, in this enlightened generation, the prayers of the great prayer-masters should be rifle shots sent by an understood force at an ascertained mark, Whether they hit or miss should depend upon comprehensible conditions. If a savage fires at the moon with a rifle, he may be surprised at not hitting it; but a man who understands about rifles is not surprised. He knows what may be expected of them. So it would seem it should be possible to understand prayer.

There are forces of nature which used to be mysterious, but which the men of our day can use and control, because they have learned how. If there are natural forces which can be reached or directed by prayer, it is not unimaginable that human intelligence may gain a more definite use, and some measure of control of them also. Men pray to God, but there is no natural force that the idea of God does not include. The more rational idea of prayer would seem to be not an argument or entreaty which influences the sentiments of the Deity, but a force which acts directly on some force which is included in God. Of prayer so considered it is as obvious a necessity that the results it seeks should accord with God's will as that the results expected from the control of other natural forces should accord with the laws of nature. Men do not expect water to run up hill and turn a mill wheel. They have found out that water runs down hill. But if the use of water was still in the experimental stage, they might put their mill wheels at various points to see what results they got. Until they learned the laws of nature as they affect water, water-power would continue to be a mysterious and uncertain force.

Prayer is still in the experimental stage. We know that it is of no use as a force, except so far as it conforms to the will of God. Yet many of us believe that it brings things to pass which would not happen without it. Electricity works in accordance with the will of God when it hauls a street car, but it would not haul the car except for the interposition of the will of man. So we constantly use prayer as though it were an objective force, subject to the will of man in accordance with the will of God. We are pretty sure that the will of God, including and regulating all natural forces, is invariable, not subject to whims or open to argument or entreaty. When we pray, then, we do not hope to alter God's will, but rather for the application to a special case of some force whose existence is suspected rather than understood, which is included, as are all natural forces, in God, but which, like other forces, is subject to our will in proportion as we understand the laws that govern it. But we don't seem to know enough about prayer yet to adapt our methods with any certainty to its possibilities. We set up our mill wheels and wait to see which way the force tends, and whether or not it will turn them. We string our wires, but don't quite know how to get the electricity into them. We cannot gear our wants by prayer to the great central force so as to get our necessities satisfied. When we have more nearly perfected our knowledge of prayer, and of the will of God, we will, perhaps, be able to do that very thing. Then, when we see a comet coming our way we may be able to pray our planet out of its course

as easily as we steer a ship out of the course of another and avoid a collision. Then, when we are in such a predicament as were the passengers of the disabled "Spree," we can count with some certainty upon calm seas and succor from the nearest ship.

Man is not the supreme force of the Universe, but he is akin to it. He shares its quality. All things are possible to him if only he can learn how. If he can ever bceome the reverent master of scientific prayer, we may expect to see the rate of his progress indefinitely accelerated. The incurable will be cured then; the impracticable will be done; the secret of perpetual motion will be revealed; the fountain of youth will gush out. The millennium will have come then, but only for those who have learned to know it.

EDWARD S. MARTIN.

OUR COMING RIVAL.

IT WILL probably be conceded by everyone that the present prosperity of the United States as a nation is caused mainly by our having a large surplus of food products which Europe requires, and from the fact that we do not need their manufactures. We can get along without them, and we do our best to keep them out. These two things or conditions combined with an inter-state trade entirely free have built up great wealth for the country, but it has been done too much at the expense of the farmer and laborer. They have also shared in the general prosperity, but not in proportion with others. It is scarcely credible that the most enthusiastic friends of our present tariff really believe that the farmer is benefited by it. One thing alone shows clearly that he is a victim. He sells his products for less than European prices, while almost everyone else gets more than European prices for his time or produce.

This is bad, but the future seems to have worse in store for the farmer, and it seems as if the present system might before long spoil the farmers' foreign market, and swamp the laborer with a sea of forced immigration. There is at present only one country in the world that looms up as a serious rival to the United States in food products. Almost without commercial railroad facilities, without farm machinery, without decent cultivation, without any country banks to move crops, and with her magnificent wheat fields hardly touched, Russia has been close after the United States in the markets of the world. If this is conceded and it cannot be denied, what might we not expect of her with our advantages?

Russia possesses both in Europe and in Asia the largest and most excellent regions of wheat land yet untouched on the face of the earth, requiring nothing but capital, cultivation and railroad facilities to produce a surplus sufficient to feed Europe without calling on America for a single bushel of wheat. The Russian oil fields rival those of Pennsylvania, and the great plains can feed millions of horses and cattle. England has been looking at Russia through green spectacles for over a century, and Russia has been trying to overreach her at every opportunity. Each nation has done and is doing all it can to thwart and injure the other at all times and in all places. How much this is done is not generally known. As it is now, the British capitalist would rather invest anywhere than in Russia, and the Russian diplomatist never finds one of his Eastern schemes countermined without blaming his English brother. Only intense mutual jealousy could

have prevented the two nations so long from seeing that each was the natural complement of the other—that each had what the other lacked, and that, working in harmony, each could expand to an unlimited extent without interfering with the other. As it is, England stands in the way of Russian progress. She seems unable to realize that it is as futile to try to prevent a great people from reaching the sea as it would be to stop an Alaska glacier on its way to the Pacific Ocean.

It has not yet occurred to England that Russia can have all she really wants without harming the British Empire. Russia doesn't want India, but she does want Constantinople, and a free outlet through the Bosphorus. She also wants her own sea-board on the Persian Gulf, and she threatens India as the most effective way to gain these points. Suppose our present attitude on the tariff question should rub the scales from their eyes and should develop an English statesman able to look at things as they are, and not as he has them pictured from the traditions and prejudices of his fathers, and he should say to Russia: "You take Constantinople and Persia; we will keep Egypt and India. We will furnish capital to build your railroads and open up your wheat and oil fields. We will take your produce and give you our manufactures in exchange." That would, indeed, be a great combination and it would soon embrace more than these two nations. England could make no better bargain than this. She would be in no wise injured by giving Russia what she wanted, and with Russia as her ally would possess her own Oriental realms in peace and quiet. Russia having secured the needed outlets, and having secured a large infusion of English blood, brains and money, would surprise the world with her wonderful growth and output. This would be stealing our thunder and improving on our special patent "reciprocity," but who shall say that we may not see this thing done? If it is, the future for our farmer is worse than the present.

Our farmer sells on the basis of Liverpool prices in the market of the world. He buys home productions at a protected price, and thus he is hit both ways. The manufacturer sells his goods at his own-protected price, and, as a matter of fact, no matter how it may be glossed over, hires his laborer in the markets of the world as cheaply as possible, and thus he profits on both sides. It would appear certain from these consideratlons that the farmer is not the man benefited by the tariff, and the ordinary laborer is nearly as much the victim as the farmer, for the very protection that excludes foreign products from our shores forces the foreign worker to emigrate here when labor is already in excess, and adds to the army of the unemployed, and reduces the pay of those employed.

Our English customer and consumer who was living there comfortably, using our products and paying for them, now gets out of work and comes over here to live in, or on, this country as best he may. The home market that the tariff-makers boast of is increased by the addition of men who, at home, were buying our products and paying for them just as much and even more than they do if they come here.

It appears to be a clear proposition that the farmer, to say the least of it, is contributing more than his share towards the national prosperity. If it be true that it is better that a hundred guilty men should escape rather than that one innocent man should suffer, it is surely unjust that one class, and that the largest in the land, should suffer for the general weal; but how much greater is the injustice, if it is not for the general good. The best

friends of our present tariff do not deny that it is supremely selfish, and in fact they boast of that phase of it. They appear to forget that there is an enlightened selfishness, and a selfishness that defeats its own ends. Our present tariff has antagonized Eastern Europe. It is the old adage: "Might makes right." We don't really need their products, and we have pretty nearly closed the door on them; but they must have our wheat, beef and oil, so we are not afraid of reprisals, and we act as if we thought that this condition of things would be eternal. England in particular would rather trade with us and put her money into enterprises here than anywhere else, but when we say to her, we don't want your wares, but you must take our products, can we expect that a great and wealthy nation will quietly accept the situation, close its factories and build new poor-houses? It is not in the nature of things that such should be the case. It may be all right just at present, but some combination will be formed to equalize things, and if so, what will be the consequence to our farmers? It is at least possible that we are sacrificing the future for the sake of present gain. The Golden Rule is out of fashion in these days, but it is generally a broad, far-sighted and paying plan to follow it.

WILLIAM SELBIE.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

BY EX-SPEAKER REED.

It is a very unfortunate thing for the country that the Democratic party, in its inexperience of responsibilities, should continue its custom, born of thirty years' of exile, of charging to the Republican party all the things which happen. It would seem as if the people could do nothing to fix responsibilities. Not even a three-to-one majority in the House can confer upon these partisans any freedom from the idea that all things that are done are still done by the Republicans. Even the visible presence of a majority of 145, almost twice as large as the whole Republican force, has not prevented the New England Democrat from charging the non-repeal of the act, called the Sherman act, to his party enemies in the House. They do this even at the time when the commonest dictates of good sense demand that they should behave with a little decency towards opponents whose help they are asking. It is most unfortunate that the difficulties of this country should be made more afflictive by attempts to make party capital, when the real wealth of the country is in jeopardy. If the Sherman act has not proved a remedy for the situation of 1890, or rather having been the solution of the impending questions of that perplexing time, has ceased to be for the good of the coun-

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try, why not examine it in the light of all the conditions and try to find out what ought to be done? Why spend time in being extra-wise after an event, when the real question is of being moderately-wise at the present time? The one fact that John Sherman deemed the act of 1890 the wisest act which could be passed in 1890 is an important and controlling fact. It is of course not wonderful that men of utterly unknown names criticise Mr. Sherman's action. Men with unknown names attacked the public virtue of George Washington and taught finance to Alexander Hamilton. But the plain people must remember that in finance the great historic figure of our day is John Sherman of Ohio. To his steadfastness more than to the steadfastness of any other man do we owe the resumption of specie payments, that great financial act of the century. While Mr. Sherman was arranging the terms of the act of 1890 the very men who now confuse the issue by blame of him either applauded or assumed the indifference of irresponsibility. What we ought to be having now is not discussion of the causes of the Sherman act, but discussions as to the causes of the present condition of affairs. It matters as little to charge one party with passing the act, as it does to charge the other party with such vehement championship of free silver and such combination with its advocates as necessitated the compromise which is now complained of.

Another misfortune to the country is the attempt, also in the interest of partisanship, to saddle upon this one act all the events which are now in the process of happening. Just ask yourselves for a moment what ought to be the effect of the possession of the country from top to bottom by a party made up of the slowly gathered opposition of thirty years after a successful fight on a platform which demands Free Trade and State Banks and in general a complete reversal of the national policy of three decades. Let us suppose further that the victory was not a decision on the merits carefully matured and gradually approached, but the result of vague undefined dissatisfaction with a hundred things. Add to this the other fact, sometimes forgotten, that the leaders of the new occupation of the legislative halls were known free silver men, whose clamorous demand for unlimited coinage made any limitation seem a harbor of refuge only three years ago. Let it be further supposed that the only hope of reforming these gentlemen by a virtuous President, su-

perior to his party, was in the distribution of Federal patronage on that system of merit which regards a congressional vote as unassailable by money, but open to the proper distribution of office. With all this before the country what in the world would a sensible man expect? Would he expect that business would run smoothly with its finances in the hands of men who have adopted every vagary of currency that has ever been promulgated? Would he expect that manufacturers would calmly go on manufacturing goods when changes in the tariff might convert the storehouse of product into a magazine of disaster? Would he suppose that manufacturers would put stock into their mills to be worked into cloth which could be undersold? Would not the sensible man do just what he is doing—curtail his manufactures and diminish his business. If he would not of himself, the banks would soon teach him the lesson. Diminished credits and the hoarding of bank notes by scared citizens would soon cut off his resources.

Do not let this picture be accused of exaggeration or of party bias. Let it be admitted that the Democratic party in office will be better than its declarations out of office. That could easily be true. Everybody knows that responsibility steadies even the most flighty, that a Secretary who voted for free coinage in the Senate may be a sound money man in the Treasury Department, and that the legislator is always wiser than the stump orator. Supposing the Democratic party cannot achieve free trade, and that there are even suspicions that it never meant to do so, even though that doctrine be in the platform with all the power of the most definite human language; platforms are not statutes, and the people still rule, even after election. Make your utmost deduction for the conservatism of office and responsibility; make it also in due measure for the lying nature of platforms and promises, and you yet have the most powerful residuum of distrust ever left to harass a nation.

Perhaps not one-half of the industries of the nation will be attacked. Granted. But which half? and how much? There is the secret of the condition of business affairs to-day. No human being, not even the Democratic party itself, can tell what that party will do; hence, all that business can do is to call a halt. I am aware that any allusion to the tariff, or suggestion that the attitude of the victors towards the tariff is one of the causes at the bottom of

our present distress, will seem, to the unthinking, to show a disposition to call up party questions, and to renew an old and threadbare discussion. But such is by no means the fact. Whether free trade be right or wrong, whether protection be a sound system or a base and inexcusable tax on the poor, makes no difference whatever as to the bearing of the question upon our present condition. The Democratic party has come into power under solemn pledge, put into the amplest language, to abolish protection. Now, it so happens that the greater part of the business of this country for the last thirty years has been based upon protection. Men have differed as to the degree of protection, acts and amendments have varied the schedules, but protection has been the ruling thought and the ruling practice in this country for thirty years.

The Democratic party has, by a large majority, in convention assembled rejected any compromise, and ordered the system of protection to the rear. The house we have lived in for thirty years has been ordered to be demolished. Is there any wonder that there is commotion, that everybody is moving out his furniture and having his baggage strapped? To add to the confusion, the President announced in his inaugural that due attack would also be made on those aggregations of capital which the progress of modern business has united under the influence of competition and the demand for cheaper prices. Whether such an announcement was a patriotic one or not is not, in the least, in question. If a system is in the process of establishment by the natural course of business, and all kinds of business are adopting it, such a declaration by the Executive, even if made without full consideration or definite purpose, could produce only one result. Another element of distrust was thereby visibly introduced. It is true that a great Democratic newspaper demanded of the Attorney-General action against these corporations by name, and it is equally true that the Attorney-General maintained a dogged silence. If the Democratic newspaper did not know the difference between an inaugural and legal proceedings, the Attorney-General did. Nevertheless, all this added to the general confusion and made its mark and did its work at a time when no one dreamed of the widespread demoralization which was to follow. Clamors of this kind might have had their uses if they could have been confined in their effects to the objects aimed at. But nobody knows

what point an avalanche, once started, will reach. Where our avalanche, started in November of last year, will go, we do not yet know.

Let us look, also, a little bit into that future which we hope the present state of affairs has discounted. It is one of the great good fortunes of the human race that the future can be anticipated, even if it be in disaster and sorrow. This country ought now to be at its lowest ebb of misfortune. If wise measures are adopted, it must from now grow into better condition. But there must be wise measures, and in order to have wise measures taken we must know what is the matter with us. It will not do, under the guise of rising above party, to ignore the questions which have been for years agitating this country. Why have these questions been before the people? Surely, because they vitally concern the people. Therefore, any attempt to state this case and leave out the vital question would be as silly as to talk about a dying man's complexion and ignore the gaping wound.

All the periods of depression which we have had since 1873 have been short-lived and have involved the people but very little. Rich men have lost and won, but work has been abundant, banks have remained sound and savings-banks have been unassailed. Now it is far otherwise. Banks in great numbers with large aggregate capital have failed. Weeks ago they numbered three hundred and the total capital was between thirty and forty millions. The Comptroller of the Currency hastened to say that only one hundred of these were national banks, a tribute to the stability of national banks which is doubly grateful from Democratic sources, for it shows that the election of last year may have one good result, and that is the conversion into friends of some of the enemies of our minor institutions. But the disaster has not been confined to the dealers in money. The dealers in merchandise and labor are equally affected. Mills are stopping all over the country. This is very serious. When the Amoskeag Mills, in Manchester, ceased to run they ceased also to afford sustenance to 3,000 operatives. When 3,000 operatives cease to have wages they cease to spend wages, and when they cease to spend wages the shop-keeper ceases to buy the things the operatives used to purchase, and the manufacturer ceases to make just so many goods and his workmen go on short wages or he shuts down. What can the mills do but shut down? The object of running

mills is to make money. Sometimes, however, mills run without making money for the moment for reasons connected with the making of money in the future. Mill owners dislike to shut down for any length of time because it breaks up their organization. With each man in his proper place and all understanding each other and working together the best results come about, and the largest output for the least expenditure can be had. Naturally, therefore, the mill is reluctant to shut down. It would much rather slow down, or even go on at a slight loss. This it can do when the prospect ahead shows favorably, and the difficulty then existing seems only temporary, and the return of favorable conditions is seen in the near future. But the situation now is far different. What the future will be no one knows. It is true that the Democratic platform declares for free trade pure and simple, and denounces as robbery the system now in use in the country. It is equally true that Mr. Watterson, in Kentucky, and Governor Stone, in Missouri, are clamoring for the fulfilment of the promises thus definitely given to the country generally, and to them specially. They and their friends demand that no financial question shall keep them from the just rewards of their toil and victory. On the face of it, they seem to have right on their side. The platform devised by Mr. Watterson, or at least vigorously engineered by him, is all that free trade could demand or foreign producers desire. It was passed by an overwhelming majority, and Mr. Watterson may well argue that if anything Democratic was approved by the people, that was. Nevertheless, it would be wild to claim that the Democratic platform, in its full amplitude of meaning, will ever become law. Democratic platforms never do. They are not made for that purpose. There are also many Democratic States like Connecticut, to which the tariff is vital. The race of Democrats like the late Hon. Samuel J. Randall, though for the moment driven out of sight by the pressure of the Southern Democracy, is not yet dead and will show itself in the present exigency, backed up by many business Democrats who realize what free trade would be for this country. Moreover, some of those who have been using language which meant free trade are appalled by the darkness of the shadow now upon them, and are endeavoring to mitigate the results of the blows of their own bludgeons. I saw the other day in one of those newspapers which are too good to

be Republican, and not good enough to be Democratic, a long editorial showing how tariff reform could be drawn so mild that it would hurt nobody. Then realizing that that would not be comforting to the rabid free trade brother the editorial soothed him with the hope of amputating another finger next year, and perhaps a leg next Congress. Nevertheless, giving all the heed you can to the change of sentiment thus manifested, giving all the weight you can to the plain impossibility of Free Trade as Henry Watterson wants it, you yet have left in all its disturbing force the impending change in the system established thirty years ago, under which this country has had unexampled prosperity. Next to the fact that a change of some sort is to be made, the worst thing is that the change is to be made by the enemies of the system. If they cannot destroy it they will do their best to mangle. Already the air is thick with that class of reformers whose business education is mostly confined to their tongues, and who openly avow that their new tariff will lead to great importations the first year and still greater in the future, that our supplies will be manufactured abroad, while our workmen stand idle at home. Nevertheless, baleful as the influence of these gentlemen will be, it is not to be expected that they will be entirely in control. However much the administration may endeavor to take out of the hands of the inexperienced Democratic members of Congress the making of the tariff, one would have to despair of free institutions if he did not believe that the people would make themselves heard and felt on this subject, so vital to their interest and business success.

But after you have made all the deductions you can make from the demands of the Democratic platform; after you have made all the allowances you can make for change of heart resulting from the "object lesson," and all the changes which will result from the effect of the action of business men or their representatives, there still remains the great cause of the present depression and the disasters which are to follow. The great cause of the present depression is that nobody knows what will happen to the business interests of the country. Not even the Democrats of the highest caste know. From one end of the country to the other there is only ignorance of the future and distrust.

Even if you grant that the demand of Watterson and other earnest men that the party shall stand by its pledges, shall carry

out the platform adopted after full discussion by so great a majority, will never be acceded to, however resonant and vociferous the Kentucky statesman may be, there yet remains the fact that nobody knows how much he and his followers may do. In other words, the manufacturers of this country do not know what is going to happen to them. Nothing but uncertainty is their lot, and uncertainty is the great paralyzer of business. Nothing the Democratic party can do is half so bad as the state of not knowing what they are going to do. No manufacturer can know whether it is safe to buy his raw material. Every manufacturer knows that it is unsafe for him to manufacture beyond his orders. The manufacturer also knows that he has got to deal anew with the question of the price of labor. Labor is the prime element of cost in most manufactures. The price of labor has steadily gone up until a year ago it was higher than ever before. If the manufacturer's goods are to come into competition mainly with the goods of other manufacturers of this country, then the wages of this country may be safely maintained; but if the goods are to compete with those goods which are made where the price of labor is much less, then there must be a readjustment of the price of labor here or the manufacture must cease. This is another reason for shutting down mills; for the question of labor can better be readjusted from a closed mill than from one running. This uncertainty of the price of labor is the worst element in our unfortunate situation and the one which will create the most distress and unhappiness. Men and women measure the happiness of each moment by the happiness which has been meted out to them in the past, and while no change is probable that will relegate the laboring man back to where he was in 1860, or make him endure more than his father did, yet he will miss many a luxury, become almost a necessity, before he gets out of the troubles resulting from the elections of 1892. It would have been better to let well enough alone. This prophecy as to the result of the present condition of things upon wages is not mine. It belongs to the *Evening Post*, a journal which has always fairly admitted both the increase of wages since 1860, and the decrease of the prices of commodities, and which now prophesies what seems inevitable—a reduction of wages of skilled and unskilled labor.

The fact of the attitude of the party in power towards the

tariff is one which was persistently ignored at the commencement of this downfall of prices. All sorts of events had prominence, but never that. People have almost forgotten that we were in great agitation because the gold in the treasury had got below the $100,000,000 mark. "No free gold in the treasury" was then the cry. To-day that is entirely forgotten. No newspaper even publishes the item except in its place with the rest of the treasury exhibit. Doubtless the issue of bonds and the assurance that all moneys of the government should be kept on a level would have done us good and lessened a little the swiftness of the fall, but it would have been only a palliative, So, too, with the Sherman Act so called. Unquestionably our financial situation is not a good one, but the greatest misfortune connected with it has been the determination of the Democratic party to fasten upon that act all the misfortunes of the entire situation. The clamor made over that has so filled our ears that we seem incapable of hearing more important sounds. This is said without the slightest sense or feeling that the Republican party will be better or worse for having aided to pass that law, or that the law is either better or worse from having been passed by a Republican Congress. It was passed in obedience to the logic of the state of affairs then existing. The silver men had been at work and their opponents had been idle. Mr. Cleveland's attack on silver eight years ago and the failure of all his prophecies had discredited the opposition to silver coinage very greatly. The entire Democratic party in the Senate with only two or three exceptions, and these exceptions did not include the present Secretary of the Treasury, voted for free coinage of silver. Every Democratic leader, including the present Speaker, Mr. Crisp, including Mr. Mills and Mr. Springer, with Judge Holman and all the rest, was loudly for free coinage of silver. They left no stone unturned in their endeavors. In all the preliminary stages, but one Democrat, Mr. Tracy, of New York, refused to vote with his leaders. After the fight was over the Northern Democracy and the Southern Democracy both voted together against the compromise. Had the Northern Democracy then and there done their duty by their country instead of trying to make party capital there would have been a different story to tell to-day. Nevertheless, this is all ancient history, recurred to only because no misrepresentation ought to go uncontradicted which seems still liable to mislead honest people.

But we are not only in bad shape on account of the silver act, but there are threatening dangers of a financial as well as economical character from the Democratic possession of power. Their platform contains a positive promise to repeal the tax on State Bank circulation. To repeal the Silver Act of 1890 and put in the place of National Banks a set of State Banks would be a wretched substitution. New York might thrive and the money changers generally; but this country at large would be pretty badly off. One result of the war, which all judicious persons were rejoicing over, was a national currency which was interrupted in its flow by no State boundaries and subject to no local vicissitudes. With a country growing more compact by the aid of railroads and telegraphs and with business disregarding more and more every day all barriers of State lines a system of finance the same for all has become more and more a necessity. To return again to local banks unregulated by central authority and to securities which have no standing at the great money centres is probably impossible and yet the Democratic party is thereunto solemnly pledged, and there is great reason to fear that that pledge, if impossible of liberal fulfilment, may be a lever by which any victory for sound money may be twisted into a virtual defeat.

We have now to face whatever is before us and prepare for the future. If our efforts now should result in a system of banking and currency which would divorce the monetary system of this country from the politics of parties, what we have suffered for the last four months might not be too high a price to pay for it.

The danger to which our present system exposes us is well illustrated by our recent history. The President, from motives which are not to be questioned, urged upon the last Congress the repeal of the purchase clause as the one paramount duty. He sent agents to Washington for that purpose. All this was well known and was calculated to call the attention of foreigners in a most emphatic manner to the questions raised. When distrust began to manifest itself the party newspapers began with one accord for party purposes to put the whole blame on that act. Of that act there was but little defence on the other side, because, having been but a makeshift, it had never been approved except as a temporary action. Hence this issue has obscured all others. When it has been disposed of, and the whole country

hopes it will be, even before this article gets into print, the other questions which have been alluded to already will take their proper position of importance before the community.

It has seemed to me proper to call attention to these matters now because the people must soon be face to face with them. If I have not dwelt at length upon the repeal of the purchase clause it is because of the hope that the special session of Congress will have, one way or the other, disposed of that issue before this article appears. When that is disposed of we must in like manner dispose of the uncertainties of our banking system, our currency, and our economic basis of living. In order to do that satisfactorily we must have a vigorous participation on the part of the people. Let no individual believe that at the last election he finished his duty to his country. If every man still continues to exert upon those who represent him his full measure of influence, even a victorious party may be made to refrain from deeds which the awakened sense of the people deems would be injurious to the country.

THOMAS B. REED.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN SIAM.

I—.AN ENGLISH VIEW.

BY THE HON. GEORGE N. CURZON, M. P., LATELY BRITISH UNDER SECRETARY FOR INDIA.

THE editor of this REVIEW has asked me to summarize for the benefit of his readers the why and wherefore of the trouble in Siam with which the columns of the newspapers have lately been filled. I returned to England myself from Bangkok only in March last, having previously travelled through the French dominions of Indo-China. Already the storm was brewing; and one needed no particular command of political meteorology to foresee that it soon must burst. The information which I had obtained from both parties in the impending dispute, the French and the Siamese, has induced me to follow its progress with peculiar interest, and not perhaps without some appreciation of the views of both combatants. I will also explain the point at which British interests become involved, and the bearing of the issue upon the fortunes both of British commerce and empire.

In its larger aspect the imbroglio has illustrated no more uncommon phenomenon than the impingement upon a somewhat feeble Asiatic state of the masterful and expanding force of a first-rate European power. It is the experience of history that where a petty Oriental dominion, whose borders are not precisely defined and which does not exercise a firm grip upon the confines of its jurisdiction, comes into contact with the more highly-organized civilizations and the military systems of the West, frontier disputes arise, claims upon doubtful territory are made and contested, and the tendency of the stronger power is to advance at the expense of the weaker. There are two methods, however, by which this result can be attained. The

first is by diplomatic agreement or pressure, or through the intermediate form of some sort of protectorate. The second is by forcible seizure and aggression; and it is from the fact that the French have in this case deliberately adopted the latter method that the dramatic interest of the conflict has arisen, and that the ethics of their action have been so generally impugned.

It is only thirty years since the French, reviving the dream which throughout this century had never entirely faded from their imaginations, of a French Asiatic Empire that should both plant their eagles in a continent where they had once come so near to greatness, and should balance the ever-swelling significance of the British Empire in Hindustan, established themselves upon the eastern confines of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, in the dominions, once subordinate to China, but latterly enjoying a precarious and tottering independence, of the Emperor of Annam. Between the years 1860 and 1885 Cochin China, Cambodia, Annam proper, and Tongking were successively attacked, and either partially swallowed or completely absorbed. On the land side, however, of these possessions, and on the middle and upper courses of the great Mekong River, whose lower channel and delta were now in French territory, lay the still independent kingdom of Siam. The desire to possess this great river basin, and thereby to divert to French counters the trade of the Laos states through which it flows and, ultimately, the still undeveloped commerce of the populous provinces of Southwest China, notably Yunnan, induced the newcomers to send the famous exploring expedition of De Lagrée, Garnier, De Carné and others up the Mekong in 1866–68, and not even the unfavorable report which was made by them upon the navigability of the stream has ever expelled from French brains the political ambitions which these hyperpatriotic and gallant pioneers in their published works did their best to encourage. The doubtful fortunes of French administration in Tongking, which has been consistently bungled from the start, and has suggested the belief that the French genius is inadequate to the task of dealing with conquered Eastern peoples, still further stimulated a desire for the acquisition of fresh military laurels, which the humiliation of the German war had not unnaturally implanted in French bosoms. Siam had the impertinence or the misfortune to stand in the way of these martial ambitions; and while I was in Tongking last winter, the colonial press, which is

even more Chauvinistic than the Parisian, was engaged in manufacturing causes of possible offence against the predestined enemy, and in clamoring loudly for his subjugation and doom. Claims on behalf of French subjects who were alleged to have been harshly treated by the Siamese Government, or had been expelled from Siamese territory for carrying on political intrigue under the innocent guise of trade, were put forward ; the presence of Siamese military or customs posts in territory that was only separated by a range of mountains from the French Protectorate of Annam was represented as an unwarrantable insult, and when the Siamese Government commenced the execution of a railway in a northeasterly direction from the capital, Bangkok, to the plateau of Korat, with the intention of ultimately prolonging it to the Mekong—a measure which would have insured to all time the westward drift of Laos and Yunnan trade—it was felt by French patriotism that the hour for action had struck. The fact that the elections were impending in France and that a weak Government, called to power by an accident, was in need of some cry upon which to appeal to the electorate, was an additional incentive to a forward policy ; while in the background lurked the comfortable feeling that the power whose Eastern prestige would be the most detrimentally affected by the punishment or detrition of Siam would be the hereditary enemy, England.

Siam, for her part, was not ignorant of what was impending, and sought to make friends with her formidable antagonist while she was in the way with him. The utmost that was known of the immediate French claims was the statement of various French ministers that the minimum of their pretensions was the left bank of the Mekong ; but whether this foreshadowed wholesale territorial appropriation or the creation of a sphere of influence was never explained ; while the sole attempt at justification ever made by a French statesman (and repeated *totidem verbis* in the subsequent *ultimatum*) was the assertion that these claims reposed upon the historical rights of Annam and Cambodia. As against these undefined, undemonstrated and undemonstrable rights, Siam could point to the facts : (1) That the territory in dispute between the Mekong River and the Annamite border mountains had been conquered by her over one hundred years ago, and had been administered by Siamese subject-princes, commissioners, or governors, ever since ; (2) that it was inhabited by

tribes belonging to the Siamese and not the Annamite stock; (3) that the French maps themselves acknowledged it to be Siamese by their coloring—the famous map of Garnier, the explorer, in particular, first published in 1873 and reissued without alteration in 1885, having drawn the Siamese frontier along the mountain crest, and far to the east of the river; and (4) that the recent French explorations in those regions, which it now appeared were only the prelude to violent seizure, had only been accomplished by the formal invocation and grant of Siamese aid.

Nevertheless, a feeble State brought face to face with a great power already in a temper of exasperation, and with a mind set on mischief, does well not to rely upon rights alone, however incontestable; and hence it arose that in the early months of the present year the Siamese Government, anxious to avoid a conflict from which it could not but suffer, but at the same time exhibiting a dignity which has throughout been in striking contrast to the peremptory curtness of its antagonist, successively proposed to the French Minister at Bangkok the retention of the *status quo* pending the examination of rival claims, the *pro tem.* creation of a neutral zone from which both parties should withdraw their posts, the initiation of diplomatic *pourparlers* preliminary to delimitation, and reference to arbitration upon contested points. M. Pavie, the French representative at Bangkok, and a gentleman of great ability and courtesy, was not unwilling to negotiate upon these bases. But such an issue would not have suited either the fire-eaters of the Parisian boulevards, or the colonial filibusters who were already mixing their war paint in Saigon; and early in April the wires conveyed to the astonished ears of Siam and of Europe the intelligence that French troops were advancing rapidly to seize the territory in dispute.

To such a conflict there could be but one issue. The Siamese detachments, ill equipped and badly officered, could make but little headway against forces led by Europeans and furnished with modern rifles and ammunition. Here and there a brave stand was made, and it is probable that the French, who are unsuited to such warfare, have gained a more expensive and less certain success than their own reports aver. One by one, however, the Siamese posts on the left bank of the Mekong River, on the islands in its channel, and in the strip of territory between the river and the Annamite mountains were expelled, although even as I write

the news of continued fighting shows that the process is not yet complete.

In the course of these engagements, however, a French captain was taken prisoner, and not immediately surrendered, and a French militia inspector was either assassinated or slain. Although in the event of the former of these hypotheses proving correct, the Siamese Government at once offered ample reparation, the opportunity for more decisive action was too good to be lost, and the news reached Europe that the French fleet had been ordered to Bangkok. British susceptibilities were not unnaturally aroused at the danger that was threatened, either by a local outbreak or by foreign bombardment to a city which contains many thousand British subjects, where the principal mercantile houses are British, and where ninety-three per cent. of the import and eighty-five per cent. of the export trade are carried in British vessels. Inquiries in the House of Commons elicited the reply that the news was premature and that the French Government had promised to give to London prior notice of any such movement. A few days later, however, came the surprising intelligence that on July 13 two French gunboats had taken the Siamese by surprise, had forced the ascent of the Menam River, silencing the fire of the Siamese forts, and were anchored in a menacing attitude off the city. Various and conflicting explanations were subsequently given of this proceeding, which, according to the point of view from which it was regarded, appeared either as a regrettable incident or as a wanton outrage. The French premier asserted that his orders to the admiral not to cross the bar had not arrived in time. But it is certain that M. Pavie's instructions to the same effect had duly reached the too impetuous commander, whilst no one could deny that the step was in open violation both of the pledge that had been given to Downing Street, and of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1856, by which no French vessels were permitted to ascend the river beyond Paknam at its mouth, without the consent of the Siamese authorities. The well-timed indifference of subordinate officers serving in foreign parts to orders from home is, however, now so common a feature in Asiatic warfare as to be unable to divest itself of the air of calculation ; and when the peccant French commander was immediately placed upon the list for promotion,

while the presence of the offending warship at Bangkok was utilized to hold a pistol in the shape of an ultimatum at the head of the Siamese king, it became obvious that the transgression was regarded with a not too censorious official eye at Paris.

The ascending scale of the unexpected had, however, not yet reached its zenith. When the contents of the ultimatum were made known, it was found that the French, emboldened by their success, and encouraged by the pacific assurances of Lord Rosebery, which they interpreted to mean that under no circumstances would England intervene in a quarrel between France and Siam, demanded not merely a pecuniary indemnity for the injuries inflicted upon French subjects in the course of the recent proceedings, which injuries they chivalrously appraised at a total of 3,000,000 francs, but also "the recognition of the rights of Annam and Cambodia to the territory on the left bank of the Mekong"—a phrase which was not only obscure, since nobody had any idea what those rights were or whence they arose, but which might portend, according to its geographical interpretation, either the cession of the region between the middle Mekong and the Annamite mountains, a territory some three hundred and sixty miles long by one hundred broad, or an area of thirty-six thousand square miles, or the surrender of the entire left bank of the river up to the Chinese frontier, including the important Siamese feudatory state of Luang Prabang, and a wide extent of country, amounting to some sixty thousand square miles, over which neither Annam nor Cambodia had ever exercised the most remote or transient of pretensions. The rights of *la force majeure* might explain, though they could hardly excuse, the minor spoliation; but the larger hypothesis of plunder seemed incompatible either with the slenderest show of reason, or with the assurances of respect for the independence and integrity of Siam, which the French Foreign Minister, M. Develle, had repeatedly given to Lord Rosebery, and continued to shower from the tribune.

Such also was the view taken by the Siamese Government. In a reply characterized by great dignity, the King expressed himself as ready to yield to "the pressure of circumstances," both in the matter of the pecuniary indemnity, and of the territorial cession, understanding the latter in its more limited sense, as applying to the trans-Mekong regions below the eighteenth parallel of latitude, over which alone could either Annam or Cam-

bodia be said to have exercised even the most disputable of rights. The region further to the north he declined to cede, in so far as it included his vassal kingdom of Luang Prabang, or was unable to cede, in the case of the more northerly states of Chieng Hong and Chieng Kheng which belonged to Great Britain as part of the heritage of the Upper Burma, and had lately been offered by her to China and Siam respectively on condition of their not being subsequently handed over to any other power.

It might have been thought that the conquerors would be satisfied with these ample rewards for an aggression which there was no longer any call either to argue or to defend. But the impending elections in France, the consciousness of superior local strength, and the apparent indifference of England, encouraged an appetite which had already been whetted by the preliminary spoils. The reply of the Siamese Government was regarded as a refusal of the ultimatum, and at the expiration of the forty-eight hours named in the original demand M. Pavie hauled down his flag and left Bangkok, while a blockade of the entire Siamese coast was declared, not the least of the pleasures resulting therefrom to French ideas being the fact that if enforced against the ships of neutral states the only country that would suffer in any serious degree would be Great Britain, which enjoyed 87 per cent., or almost a monopoly, of the carrying trade of the port of Bangkok, as against a 7 per cent. German and a 3 per cent. French proportion.

Terrified at these new reprisals, unable to procure from England anything but advice, and fearful of still further dismemberment if she persisted in a hopeless struggle, Siam now capitulated, yielding the full terms of the ultimatum, or in other words handing over to France the important vassal-state of Luang Prabang at the angle of the second great westerly bend of the Upper Mekong and its subsidiary districts, which had been occupied for years by Siamese posts. This was a surrender of territory as large again as the belt which it was understood that France had at first demanded, and which in his first reply the King of Siam had expressed his willingness to concede ; and it planted the French at the principal point of their ambition, viz., Luang Prabang, which is regarded as the strategic centre of the Upper Mekong basin.

Once more, however, the Siamese were made to pay a price for their short-lived resistance, the temporary cession of their

Southern port of Chantabun and the permanent prohibition to keep either armed vessels on the Mekong and on the Talé Sap or Great Lake; or military forces within a certain distance of their own bank of the Mekong and in the provinces adjoining the lake, being the last pound of flesh cut out by the French carving knife from the helpless victim.

Meanwhile negotiations had been proceeding at Paris between the English and French governments, the former, defining their stake in the so-called Burmese Shan states higher up the river, which Great Britain had only recently ceded to China and Siam, upon a guarantee that their integrity should be preserved. These negotiations resulted in the acceptance by both parties of the principle of a neutral zone, to separate their respective dominions in Indo-China, it being generally recognized that a coterminous frontier would entail increased military expenditure, as well as liability to friction and panic, upon both parties. What will be the exact limits of this buffer state have not yet been revealed, as I write; and it would, therefore, be premature to pronounce how far it will serve its purpose as an instrument of peace; whether it will resist the pressure which the expanding colonial ambitions of France are not unlikely, as time goes on, to apply to it, and what effect it will have upon the commercial enterprises of the two powers. In these respects we must hope for the best, though personally I should be reluctant to predicate durability of any such compromise.

Such is the history of the Franco-Siamese imbroglio, and of the latest stride towards that new ideal which is to compensate for the rude collapse of European ambitions by the colonial expansion of France. Without much effort, with no great loss of men and no enormous outlay, she has succeeded in humiliating her petty Asiatic neighbor, has extorted from his exchequer £120,000 for damages which would have been exorbitantly assessed at one-tenth of that total, and has stripped his dominion of some 70,000 square miles. I do not say much about the morality of the proceeding, partly because no two opinions can be held concerning it; partly because morality seems to be out of vogue in international politics, and because I shall be told that all nations are tarred with the same brush, and that it is Pharisaism or hypocrisy to protest against a course which can hardly be wicked when it is so popular. In passing I will only say, with reference to the annex-

ation by England of Upper Burma in 1885, to which the French retort that their present proceeding is strictly parallel (forgetting that they have never ceased to denounce the English for so rare an example of perfidy)—that in Burma a bloody and rapacious potentate had brought his country to the verge of ruin by oppression and misrule, which can hardly be said of the present enlightened monarch of Siam; that British interests in Burma, commercial, political and imperial, were overwhelming, while French interests in Siam are practically *nil;* and that France herself was openly intriguing with King Thibau to our injury, while not the wildest French Chauvinist has been able to prove one act of British unfriendliness to the swelling colonial ambitions of the Republic.

Let me discuss, however, what is the positive gain to France, other than the mere pride of predatory triumph, resulting from her acquisitions. There will undoubtedly be some accretion of that mysterious appanage of prestige, which in the East attends the conquerer, without reference to the motives or methods of conquest, and which in parts of the world upon whose intelligence the law of nations has never dawned, is the conscious homage paid by weakness to strength. Siam will be even more afraid of her powerful neighbor than she was before, and may find it difficult, without assistance, to avert or to resist yet further encroachments upon her own independence. But as regards the territory itself of which the French have become the masters, I doubt very much whether it will repay them even the slight trouble of appropriation; still more whether it will meet the costs of administration; most of all whether it will secure for them the main and ultimate objects which have inspired its seizure. The districts in question are largely covered with stunted forest or pathless jungle; they admit of but little cultivation, and they are only sparsely populated by wild and uncivilized tribes. The climate in many parts is unsuited to European constitutions, and I tremble for the fate of the French conscript who may find himself condemned to the cheerless and malarial solitude of a Laotian outpost. The usual horde of French functionaries, for whose employment her colonies appear chiefly to subsist, will probably appear upon the scene; but their salaries are far more likely to be drawn from the home exchequer than they are from the scanty resources which they will themselves dispense.

The main object, however, with which the French have embarked upon this enterprise, has been the hope of diverting from Bangkok and securing for Saigon the trade of the Mekong valley, and in the last resort of winning for France, and snatching from England, the commercial spoils of Yunnan. In this expectation I believe that they will be cruelly disappointed. It has been the unanimous verdict of all travellers, of whatever nationality, that the Mekong River, by reason of its numerous rapids, is utterly unfitted for continuous or lucrative navigation by steam power, whilst there is not a town of any importance upon its banks but Luang Prabang. As for the trade with China, what the French, who are deficient in commercial aptitudes, have failed to do from the vantage ground and vicinity of Tongking, they are hardly likely to effect over the elongated and costly line of river communication from Cochin China.

I doubt, therefore, whether the French will see any interest for many years to come upon the immense capital which they are now pledging with so light a heart in the interior recesses of Further Asia. After ten years Tongking is not yet pacified; and the new and vastly extended border will invite fresh enemies, will require additional guards, and will exact more lives. Within the past year the French Chamber, notoriously fickle, and, except in its jingo mood, suspicious of colonial enterprise, has supported by a majority of only twenty odd votes the retention of Tongking; and a serious local disaster might at any time evoke from the French electorate, whose temper is not to be judged from the French newspapers, a cry for retreat or evacuation. Furthermore, if obeying the inevitable law of advance, the French, not satisfied with their present acquisitions, attempt still further encroachments upon the integrity of Siam, they are not unlikely to find themselves brought into conflict with both China and Great Britain. The former, who has already sufficient cause for distrust and hostility in the memories of Tongking and of the war of 1885, would not welcome the French as neighbors upon a new frontier, or as competitors in old markets. Possessed of an enormous latent force, she can make her antagonism felt in manifold and clandestine ways, as the story of the Black Flags in Tongking conclusively shows. England, for her part, cannot acquiesce in any further advance that would have the effect of squeezing the buffer

state of Siam out of existence, and of planting herself and France face to face in Indo-China. Siam has been humbled and mutilated; we could not be equally indifferent to her extinction. No country can escape the advantages or disadvantages of its geographical position. Did Siam lie altogether outside the radius of Indian interests, we might afford to sit still whilst the French gobbled it up piece by piece. But possessing, as it does, a coterminous frontier with India many hundred miles long in the Malay Peninsula, in Tenasserim, in Lower and Upper Burma, and in the Shan States, and situated, as it therefore is, upon the slope of the Indian glacis, we cannot be careless of its destiny. The enormous preponderance of British commercial interests is an additional ground of concern. England need feel no jealousy of the Asiatic ambitions of France so long as they are confined within an area that involves no positive menace to her own Asiatic dominion. There is ample room for both powers in the Asian continent, and each has work enough, and to spare, within its existing borders. If the Siamese incident produces any such conviction on the part of the French it will have had one result that can be spoken of with satisfaction. But if successful cupidity provokes the desire for more, I can only foresee friction and trouble in the future between the two great powers whose common interest it is to remain friends.

GEORGE N. CURZON.

II.—A FRENCH VIEW.

BY MADAME ADAM.

IF I recognize the greatness of old England in a liberal organ of free America, it is not because I dream, after the fashion of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, of a union between my country and perfidious Albion, but to prove that that greatness is due to a large extent to our want of foresight, to our weakness, to our indifference to the snares laid for us, and also to our excessive chivalry and self-denial. I shall not refer to past centuries, nor to the wars between England and France. The soil of France has so often been trampled under foot by the Englishman, so many events have been interfered with in our country by the intrigues of English diplomacy, that entire volumes would be required to

establish the measure of England's responsibility for the most distressing events in our national life.

Whenever France has had a difficulty, England has either produced, intensified, maintained it, or prevented its being overcome. She has ever been the enemy of France and owes her power to her not forgetting that fact for a moment. A sinister law—discovered or, rather, formulated by one of the bold thinkers of England—governs, and will increasingly govern, the relations of English and French national life. This law is the struggle for existence!

We both have our dreams, our near neighbors and ourselves: an England ever greater on the one hand—a France ever greater on the other. By what superior right do they arrogate to themselves more than we? Their superiority lies solely in their desire. But we now want to have desires of our own, too! You will never find, no matter how far you look through the past, a single statesman in England that has not made political capital out of his anti-French sentiments, and I envy England the innumerable company of all the men who have either opposed or seduced or deceived us. I only desire that in future France may act with respect to her Republican policy as England does with regard to her Imperial policy, and that every Frenchman may be as good a Frenchman as every Englishman is a good Englishman.

I said that I shall not go far back in the common history of perfidious Albion and France, but, as the questions obtaining just now between England and ourselves are, above all, colonial, my readers will, I hope, allow me to revert at least to Louis XIV. and Colbert. The motives which prompted them to establish the East India Company were the same as induced England to conquer Hindustan. "We must," said the great minister of the great king, "go to India because the density of the population and the richness of the soil will at once increase our commerce, and there are products in India of which France is absolutely in need." If Colbert's work in India has been ruined to the advantage of England, which now carries on a commerce of several millions, and enjoys a budget equivalent to that of France, it is not only the fault of Louis XV., but that of the directors and stockholders who abandoned Dupleix and paved the way for Clive's success.

While France and England were contending for India, they planted their banners, the one in the valley of the Mekong, and

the other in the valley of the Irawaddy. One of the terms of the law of the struggle for existence among the nations who colonize is "advance or disappear." This Indo-Chinese question is not one of the present only. Colbert was the first pioneer of Tonquin, and of our Indo-Chinese empire. Clive was the pioneer of Burmah. Ever since the end of the 18th century they said at Calcutta: "We must have Burmah because it contains the teak-forests indispensable to our marine, because it will enable us to weld India and Southern China together, and to prevent any other European nations from getting hold of a better commercial route to China." Louis XIV. concluded, about 1783, an advantageous treaty with the King of Annam, because it was said at Versailles: "We must establish ourselves in the Mekong Valley to counterbalance England in India, to provide for the victualling of our fleet, to increase our prestige in the Far East, and to reach the rich markets of Southern China, to which Indo-China is the gate." Such was the situation a century ago, when neither England nor France yet thought of Shanghai, of Canton, or Han Kow. The entire attention of the two rivals was then concentrated on Indo-China, that appendage of the Celestial Empire. Their objective points were Yunnan and Tchung-King. France had, however, preceded England. The French flag appeared there the first, and we signed, at Versailles, on the eve of our great Revolution, in 1789, a treaty as a base of our work in Indo-China.

At the time of our conquest of Annam, and its western rampart, the Mekong valley, England was not yet firmly established in the Irawaddy valley. The French missionaries—let it be said to their credit—were the first to initiate our advance. They said to Louis XIV.: "Rely upon the Court of Annam, and you will push Colbert's work farther east." France has, therefore, the first place, the place of honor, in Indo-China, as it had in India. The causes which determined France and England, in the first part of this century, to occupy Rangoon and Tourane had other motives than those which led to the occupation of Lower Burmah. Since the English banner has floated at Rangoon and the French banner at Saigon, the rival camps demanded a "march forward!" It was plainly perceived, both at Rangoon and at Saigon, that there was something else in Indo-China besides the commerce of those valleys and besides Mandalay, Hué and

Hanoï. They said at Rangoon: "Let us seek the best commercial route to Yunnanfou, Kueyanfou, and Tchung-King." They said at Saigon: "Southern and Western China are not inaccessible to France; all things lead us there—our treaties and nature." Is Tonkin not a dependency of Annam, then, and does the Red River not place Haïphon in communication with Laokaï, the gate to China? They obeyed these considerations fifty years ago, both at Rangoon and at Saigon, when commercial expeditions were organized towards the markets of Yunnan. We recall, on our side, the great and memorable "mission of Mekong" in 1868, the modest and glorious chief of which, Captain Doudart de Lagree, succumbed to fever in Yunnan.

The question to-day has entered on a new phase. For a century the two rivals had been confined to their respective valleys, of the Irawaddy and Mekong. France and England are now touching one another, and both nations bring to the encounter their respective temperaments, characters, and morals. England does not hesitate a moment. "I want a part of the Mekong valley," she says, "and I shall get the right bank, which does not belong to me, by tenacity, efforts, intrigues." France hesitates. "If I contented myself with the left bank," thinks she, "this concession may bring about a favorable *modus vivendi.*"

And this is how, since 1886, since the annexation of Upper Burmah was officially announced by Lord Dufferin, England has acted boldly while France has timidly, not to say indifferently, remained inert. As a matter of fact what opposition have we made in Tonquin to Lord Lamington? What have we done to prove to Mandalay that Burmah proper does not include the Shans Trans-Salouens that were not comprised in the act of cession in 1886? What did we do at Tonquin and Paris to take possession of the Shan principalities while England was busying herself in suppressing brigandage in Burmah proper? And because we have done nothing our implacable rival declares impertinently that since we did not occupy the right bank of the Mekong it belongs to her. But would the Siamese, too, have been authorized on that ground to take from us the right and left banks of the Lower Mekong?

We are confronted with an accomplished fact in the valley of the Upper Mekong, but, indeed, our rival's march to the East is actually becoming singularly threatening. If we had, in 1886,

gone as far as Salouen, who could have stopped us? Suppose we had done to Mandalay what Mandalay does now to Hué? Would the army of Upper Burmah have arrested our advance to the East? It was at that time occupied in the valley of the Irawaddy and suffered daily serious losses.

It is because of our negligence that the right bank of the Mekong has been occupied. Is it not to ask of us too much blindness to our interests; is it not to demand too much self-effacement of a proud people that knows its rights, to expect that we should live on good terms of neighborhood with a people who act in such a way? And it is astonishing how from age to age it is always the same defiance on our side, while on the other side of the Channel it is always the same policy of intimidation and monopolization. The rights which England pretends to have over Ava on the right bank of the Mekong are shadowy enough, but how haughtily does she affirm them! How unscrupulous and contrary to both history and nature it is to demand such a partition of the Mekong valley, as England aims at!

France has an immense interest in occupying the right bank of the Mekong. The law of the history of Upper Laos, as well as the indications supplied by nature, compel us to regulate the question of Upper Laos according to our very precise rights.

But how many plots had to be frustrated, how many traps to be shunned; what an activity (already too slow) had to be shown to stop the slowly and surely accomplished progress of the Siamese, who, guided by England, daily encroached upon our Indo-Chinese Empire! We have so allowed them to act for some years that to-day the Siamese posts are at the gates of Hué, at the distance of a few days from Hanoï.

The attack is so threatening that it awakes us, and we are now, it would seem, ready to resist. But how much time do we lose and what leisure do we leave to the Siamese to arm themselves! Always the same French slowness in face of English boldness!

Lord Lamington said plainly in the House of Lords that "England has more interest than all the other European nations in establishing herself in Siam." To which we simply reply: "France has more interest than all the other European nations in establishing herself in Siam." Before formulating among the peers the complaints of England against France, Lord Lam-

ington had indicated them in a sensational article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he stated that the French in Siam would not be permitted to increase their forces in Siam ; that *the commerce at Bangkok is principally in the hands of the English,* and that there is a numerous population of several millions of Malays, Indians and Chinese under English protection.

Bear in mind that "the Indians of Siam" are under the "protection of England" and that she is to a certain extent responsible for their acts. We shall have to recall it later in connection with the question of slavery in Siam. The French have, then, according to Lord Lamington, in the *Pall Mall Gazette,* not any right to Siam! And the English proclaim Siam's neutrality, tempered, it is true, by an occasional protectorate over a certain part of a population recruited by them, and say the French do not have the right in any case to add to their forces ; and we read in the *Globe* of June 30 :

"It is satisfactory to know that the government has recognized, according to the reply of Sir E. Grey, the possibility of a serious popular disturbance in the population of Bangkok."

But, may it not be, O *Globe,* among the thousands of Malays, Indians and Chinese protected by England, that this satisfactory and serious disturbance occurs? "But," continues the journal, "orders have been given to reinforce the 'Swift' with another war-ship, and to keep a third vessel ready to join them at the first request."

Are not Albion's perfidy and haughty indifference to injustice fully displayed in these incidents of her policy? We are blind, yes, blind, to hesitate in face of such an infatuation of "absolute and exclusive" right? How would England have treated a race of inferior civilization, she, who proclaims herself to be the superior race?

"It is time," says the *Globe* (June 7), "that Lord Rosebery put an end to the piratical proceedings of the French, and the sooner, the better." The same article pities the unfortunate Siamese who are "compelled to evacuate their positions by the French filibusters." What would the English press say if one of our great journals were to speak of the English in Egypt, Madagascar, Siam or wherever we are in contact with them, as "pirates" and "filibusters"? But the Englishman does, acts

and speaks as he pleases. Wherever he sojourns, he imposes his life, his manners and habits, his tastes and his productions. He claims respect and expects admiration.

Is it possible, in this age of struggle for existence, to resist Old England's triumphant, superb and enviable resources of aggression otherwise than by aggression of the same kind? Francis Garnier wrote almost a quarter of a century ago, regarding the English intrigues at Bangkok, in prophetic words, from which I borrow an admirable quotation from the brochure of Dr. Pichon of Shangai:

"We have, unfortunately, thus far subordinated our policy to that of England. Accustomed to undervalue our distant interests, we have always sacrificed them to the necessities of an *entente cordiale*. These sacrifices have been without return. The more we effaced our policy before that of our allies, the less they have considered us. We should in future follow an opposite line of conduct. That policy which employs all honor and skill in obtaining the prevalence of national interests is alone fruitful, as it is alone sincere."

We want more than fine words of the tribune; we want the political procedure advised by Garnier—and yet, we recommence the same mistakes we made in China. We allow ourselves to spend weeks in a siege in the Island of Khong, instead of going to speak plainly at Bangkok. We shall certainly do the latter in the long run, but only when Siam will have enough cannon and torpedoes to kill our soldiers and wreck our vessels.

But, it is said, if you resist the English, you will force them to the Triple Alliance, and this argument has always the same importance to unthinking minds. Whatever France may do—if she is resolved on considering the Russian interests as complementary to her own—she will always find the English interests antagonistic to her and her allies. We must, therefore, choose. And this is so true that the triumphant and clever chief of the German Socialists, Liebknecht, said in one of his latest speeches in the Reichstag on the Army Bill: "Germany would, in case of war with France, in which Russia would also take part, be just as sure of England as she is now of Italy and Austria." What useless apprehensions are conjured up to stop us in asserting our rights in the face of England, whose policy is the policy of exclusive interest always well understood, studied and meditated on. This policy assures us that in fact, if not in form, the Foreign Office will "do neither less nor more," whether we reso-

lutely oppose the excessive demands of England or slavishly submit to them. If we resist, there is a chance; if we submit, there is none. England is convinced that we are unfit for colonizing and powerless to establish a colonial policy. Let us prove to her the contrary and compel her to respect us a little more, even if she cannot love us less.

But let us return to Siam—and to our necessity of struggling there until we obtain the integral possession of our rights. Let us not forget that, in Asia just as in Africa, if we permit our adversaries to withdraw one stone from the base of our edifice the whole work is doomed. The Siamese question is not merely an Asiatic question. It touches (as I have often written) on the great problems of Central Asia, the progressive solution of which might assure the peace of the world, from an economical, political and social point of view. Russia, whose ally we desire to be, does not alone endeavor to obtain a political suzerainty in Asia. When thanks to the cotton of Fergana and elsewhere she will have created mills and merchandise enough to inundate China and all Asiatic Russia, from Samarkand to Vladivostock, she shall have gained a battle which will render futile all the armaments of India in the Chitral. We are, therefore, working for the peace of the world by solving the Siamese question in conformity with our honor, traditions, rights and interests.

I should here have closed this article if I had not thought that another question would interest our American readers—the question of slavery, which in Indo-China is quite as crying as in Africa. England and France will show which of them will side in both these countries with the slave-traders. Thanks to a communication from one of our ex-residents at Hué, I can certify to the truth of the following statement:

"I have examined that question closely," said M. Rheinart. "I know of what unheard-of evils it is the source. When travelling up the Mekong in 1869, I have seen troops of slaves forced to the hardest work; I have seen convoys of them driven by Siamese to their slave-markets. I have seen unfortunate beings become unable to work, left utterly abandoned on the public roads—reduced to die of starvation if charity failed them. I have seen Annamites become slaves after they had been carried off by savage tribes who find a profitable outlet for this traffic in the territory of Siam. The gravest event occurred about 1876. It will be found recorded in the archives of the government at Saigon and in the Bangkok Consulate.

"Under the pretext of pursuing bands of Hos, pillaging bands of Chinese—remnants of the Black Flags—the Siamese invaded Tran-ninh and

destroyed everything. Those inhabitants who could not escape in time were made prisoners and led into slavery. There were several thousand of them, among them two or three Annamite officials who were on duty in that region. All these unfortunate persons were dragged to the banks of the Menam and packed on floats, to be brought to Bangkok. As a result of the fatigues, privations and miseries of all kinds, hundreds of them perished miserably during this march, and other hundreds on the floats. By the number of victims, this barbarous razzia surpasses in horror all we know of the brutalities of the African slave trade; so much so that the consular staff at Bangkok was so deeply moved that they determined to visit the floats; but it was too late—death had done its work and thinned the ranks. As to the victims who marked the route followed towards Laos, not one of them survived. The officials were sent back to Hué and some presents followed them shortly afterwards as a peace-offering to the Annam government. [Rheinart transported the chests containing those presents.] But the Tran-ninh remained uninhabited and ravaged."

Here the statement of our resident ends. I add to it, that the Siamese are a lazy people; and that their public service is made up in large part of Indians—English *protégés*. They do not seem to be prepossessed in favor of suppressing slavery. The very opposite.

JULIETTE ADAM.

POLAR PROBABILITIES OF 1894.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. W. GREELY, CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER U. S. A.

On October 27, 1876, there anchored at Queenstown Her Majesty's ship "Alert," its sides of oak scarred by many an ice-floe and its heart of oak sore at the unpropitious end of its polar quest; for under the Irish Sea and across the fields of England flashed to the British Admiralty a brief message declaring that the "pole was impracticable." This outcome of an expedition formed of the flower of the Royal Navy, organized under the auspices of Arctic experts and equipped with a lavishness hitherto unknown, gave rise to a widespread belief that the days of polar explorations were past, and that the dreadful waste of human energy and life in the Arctic regions had ceased, unless, as in whaling cruises, there was heard "the jingling of the guinea which helps the hurt that honor feels."

The restless energy and unbounded ambition of the English-speaking peoples were factors not taken into consideration by these prophets of inaction and acquiescence, for no sooner is a fortune acquired or leisure obtained than time and money are given without stint to find a missionary in the wilds of Africa, to determine the currents of mid-ocean, to deport almost an entire oppressed nation to new climes, or to such other scheme, quixotic or practical, as appeals to the modern Crœsus.

In Arctic as in other labors failure oft stimulates to success, and the British expedition of 1876 furnished in its mail-tender, the "Pandora," a ship for the next North-Polar voyage, which, rechristened as the "Jeannette," carried the fortunes of De Long and his brave comrades. In later years Arctic expeditions have been so common as to excite only local comment, and there are

not half a dozen men in this country who can name two out of three of the many voyages of the last fifteen years.

It is not inappropriate, then, that the three important expeditions of this year should be briefly discussed, since all three have for their end and aim the attainment of the farthest north—the reaching of the North Pole. Over what route and by what means these explorers hope to pass the unequalled northing made by Lockwood, of my own expedition, will now be considered. These voyages are not only made under the auspices of three different nations, but follow three widely-separated routes in their lines of operation. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian, goes by the New Siberian Islands or the Asiatic route; Mr. C. R. Jackson, the Englishman, by Franz Josef Land, or the European pathway; while our own countryman, the gallant and successful Peary, continues in the distinctively American route, through Baffin Bay, with the west coast of Greenland as his base of supplies.

Nansen's project has undergone material modifications since it was made public in 1891. In brief, it contemplates, as its author says, the utilization of nature's forces, by means of a drift voyage with the main ice-pack of the Siberian Ocean across, or in the neighborhood of, the pole. Its ultimate success depends on the absolute correctness of Nansen's conjecture that a constant current sets from Bering Sea across the polar ocean to the north of Franz Josef Land, whence it turns southward between Spitzbergen and Greenland. Nansen originally proposed to follow De Long's route through Bering Sea, thence along the north coast of Asia to the neighborhood of the New Siberian Islands, when, boldly pushing his vessel into the middle of the polar pack, he expects, in the course of three or four years, to drift across the pole to Greenland. He has, however, changed his itinerary, and, in his voyage to the New Siberian Islands, has followed the route made famous by Nordenskiold in his circumnavigation of Asia, through the seas of Barent and Kara and around Cape Cheliuskin, the northernmost point of Asia. The means and methods as announced by Nansen are as follows:

"1. To build a strong ship, so strong that it can withstand the pressure of the ice, and, living in this ship, to float across (or near the pole) with the ice-pack. Or, 2d, to take only boats along and camp on the ice floes and live there while floating across."

Both methods are to be followed. His ship "Fram,"

just large enough to carry provisions and fuel for twelve men for five or six years, is to be supplemented by two peculiar flat-bottomed, decked boats, in which the crew will be housed during their journey of two or three years, in case the "Fram" is lost.

At an Arctic meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in November, 1892, Nansen set forth his plan in detail, and it was discussed by the leading polar commanders of Great Britain, including McClintock, Nares, Inglefield, Young, Richards and Hooker. While admiring the courage of Nansen, not one of these experienced officers commended his plan. Melville views it with marked disfavor, and no word of commendation has been made by Nordenskiold, Koldewey, Payer, Holm or Hovgaard.

Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock, the famous Arctic traveller, does not conceal his fears as to the great dangers to which Nansen proposes to expose himself, and considers that under any pressure by the ice during the winter months the probability of the vessel's sliding up on the ice is very remote. He points out that Nansen's boats are too large and will be difficult to handle among the polar floes, which frequently rush against each other without warning, so that ice which is safe at one moment may in half an hour be extremely dangerous.

While complimenting his pluck, Sir George Nares shows that Nansen disregards every adopted axiom of successful navigation of the polar regions, and deliberately intrusts himself to a perilous drift with the natural movements of the polar ice ; this, too, solely on a hypothetical idea of ocean currents concerning which nothing is definitely known. Apart from the well-known danger of besetment by the polar pack, Nares questions gravely the direction of the drift, and he quotes from De Long to show that the only currents experienced by the "Jeannette" in this very region were those caused by the prevailing wind.

Sir Allen Young believes there is land in nearly every direction near the pole, and considers it extremely dangerous for a ship to drift with the pack, since it might impinge on land, and be kept for years, in which case he fully agrees with McClintock that Nansen's large boats would not be manageable, in case of disaster, for retreat to open water. Admiral Sir George Richards speaks most uncompromisingly against the project, saying that any one speaking with authority ought to speak out when so much was at

stake. Sir Joseph Hooker, from his Antarctic service, believes that no ship of whatever build could long resist destruction if committed to the moving ice pack. If thrown upon a new coast, he thought that the enfeebled and probably reduced ship's company would have no prospect of safe retreat. Hooker points out the possibility of scurvy, the depressing influence upon the crew which must result from long confinement in close quarters during many months of darkness, extreme cold, inaction, ennui, constant peril, and from harassing doubts as to the future. While not considering the journey impossible, he considers it impracticable.

Nansen believes that his vessel is so strong and is constructed on such lines that it can scarcely be crushed by the ice if properly handled, but that, under all circumstances, under pressure of the polar pack, the ship will simply be lifted out by the ice. No non-professional man can properly criticise Nansen's ideas as to his ice-proof ship, the "Fram," but fortunately two men of extended Arctic experience have spoken clearly on this point. They are Admiral Sir George Nares, whose works on seamanship are authority in Great Britain, and Chief Engineer George W. Melville, whose abilities have contributed so largely to the late splendid successes of our navy, as exemplified in its magnificent ships. Nares points out that when once frozen in the polar pack, the form of the vessel goes for nothing, and that there is no record of a vessel frozen in the polar pack having been disconnected from the ice so as to be capable of rising under pressure as a separate body detached from the ice-floe, even in the height of summer.

In 1884, Melville, commenting on criticisms from non-experts as to the shape, strength and material of a perfect Arctic ship, wrote as follows :

"Suppose a ship constructed in the shape of a parabolic spindle, its greatest transverse diameter thirty feet, its length two hundred feet. This would give a body of fine lines, good rising power if nipped below its greatest diameter, and for speed and strength be an acknowledged model. Now build this spindle solid of buoyant material, hooping it like a mast with iron or steel bands, so arranged with reference to weight that the spindle will float like ice, one-eighth part above water. Yet even this pattern of strength would be an egg-shell in the power of the mighty masses of ice, never at rest, but always grinding, like the everlasting gods, . . . even the granite hills and islands."

The experiences of previous expeditions indicate clearly the probabilities of success in Nansen's drift journey.

McClintock, in his *Voyage of the Fox*, when his ship was beset in Baffin Bay, records: "Feb. 15, 1858. Daylight reveals evidences of vast ice movements during the dark months when we fancied all was quiet; and we now see how greatly we have been favored, what innumerable chances of destruction we have unconsciously escaped." He describes on two occasions ice disruptions near the "Fox" on calm nights, when the actions and sounds of the uprising polar pack were appalling. In speaking of ice movements, March 18, he adds: "No one in his senses could avoid reflecting upon the inevitable fate of a ship if exposed to such fearful pressure." Elsewhere, he "can understand how men's hair has turned gray in a few hours"; and, despite boats and sledges ready for use, states: "Had our vessel been destroyed after the ice broke up, there remained no hope for us."

The "Polaris," in Smith Sound, according to the official narrative, "was raised up bodily and thrown over on her port side," "the great floe itself (to which the 'Polaris' had been anchored for two months) had cracked in several places," and later disrupted so suddenly that nineteen men were cut off from the ship and never regained it. The eventful drift-voyage of thirteen hundred miles, under Captain Tyson, indicates the coming experiences of Nansen, save that the Norwegian has four to five months of continuous darkness to endure. In the "Polaris" ice-drift there is constant reference in the official narrative to the anxiety and danger from ice disruption. To emphasize the suddenness of such movements of the polar pack, and the impossibility of foreseeing or guarding against the separation of the party, reference is made to April 5, 1873, when before daylight the main floe broke into four pieces, one piece carrying away one of the huts so suddenly that the inmates barely escaped with only a part of their effects. The next day, fortunately in daylight, the floe again split with a great noise, cutting the hunter's hut in two. At midnight of March 8, the floe broke between the tent and boat, which were so close together that there was not space to walk between them. Had the break been a few feet to one side the entire tent party would have fallen into the sea, but as it was, the kayak, the boat, and their astronomer were carried away, and it almost seemed an intervention of Divine Providence that, after seven hours of terrible effort, they rescued the frozen and nearly dead comrade and the boats on which the lives of the

whole party depended. The mental condition of these hardy men is clearly set forth :

"For those who attempted to rest the body there was no repose for the mind. One after another would spring up from his sleeping-bag and make a wild dash forward, as if to avoid some sudden danger."

The experiences of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition on September 28, 1883, when drifting *a la Nansen*, is reproduced from my notes :

"The gale increased in violence, causing such conflict between the heavy floes as it is beyond the power of language to describe. Our own floe was from forty to fifty feet in thickness, and yet it tumbled and cracked like chalk under the tremendous pressure of the surrounding floes. As the edges of these immense masses of ice ground against each other, with terrible groaning and almost irresistible force, their margins were covered for several rods with thousands of tons of broken ice. . . . Just as the whaleboat party quitted their snow-house a shock of unusual violence split our floe again, and a wide crack, running through the abandoned house, speedily swallowed up a portion of it. Even as we rapidly rolled up the tepee, a narrow crack formed under our feet."

Fortunately, it was daylight, and the jam of paleocrystic floes continued long enough to permit the bold men to rush boats, sledges and baggage in desperation across an unstable bridge of small rubble ice, held together by pressure, which opened as the last man passed and nearly dropped him into the sea.

It is unnecessary to quote from Back's experiences in the "Terror;" of Koldewey, first in the "Hansa," and, after she was crushed, in boats off the east coast of Greenland; of Weyprecht in the "Tegethoff," or of De Long in the "Jeannette;" they all testify to the tremendous force of the disruption of the main ice-pack, both in storm and in perfect calm, and concur that no vessel can escape save almost by miracle. It is significant that no vessel ever beset in the main pack of the Siberian ocean has escaped therefrom.

Nansen has against him, as illustrated by the experiences of his predecessors, the certainty that his ship is not ice proof; the impractibility of handling his large boats when his ship sinks; the possibility of the polar pack suddenly disrupting and separating the party and its materials; the probability that in three years disease or accident will break down his party physically,

and the almost absolute certainty that the Arctic night, with its unbroken darkness of four to five months and its accompanying life of monotony, inactivity, cold, limited quarters and restricted diet, will impair the mental and moral energies of his men.

Assuming, as is fairly probable, that the general direction of the ice-drift is correctly surmised by Nansen, yet it is largely dominated by the wind. The prevailing winds depend entirely on the relative distribution of atmospheric pressures, and while the polar pressures are comparatively constant, yet they are liable to extraordinary changes from year to year, thus introducing an element of great uncertainty in the most important factor of Nansen's success, the direction of the drift.

In my opinion the scheme is unwise, impracticable and is little short of suicidal. If an almost miraculous escape, similar to that of the "Polaris" drift-party, spares these daring and determined men it will in no wise prove its wisdom or advisability.

The objects in view by Mr. Jackson in his polar expedition to Franz Josef Land and towards the North Pole are summarized by him under two heads as follows:

"1. The general exploration of Franz Josef Land, and, in particular, the discovery and mapping of its northern regions; the observation of the climatic conditions encountered; the recording of such geological evidence as is met with, and the general investigation of the geological conditions of the country.

"2. An advance in a northerly direction which shall be so far continued as to bring me within the immediate locality of the North Pole, and an endeavor, by all means in my power, to observe the geographical conditions at that mathematical point."

The route followed by Jackson presents the most promising field for reaching either the North Pole or a very high latitude. Franz Josef Land was discovered by Weyprecht and Payer in 1873–4, during the voyage of the "Teghetoff," which ship, beset within two days of its starting, drifted northeastward to the new land, on the shores of which it was abandoned by the crew, who safely returned by way of Nova Zembla. Apart from the besetment of his ship, Payer considered this land the true route to the pole, as well he might, since with a small party he reached latitude 82° 05′ N., a latitude exceeded on land only by Meyer in 1871, by Aldrich in 1876 and by Lockwood in 1882. Payer's most northerly point was 124 geographical miles to the northward of his ship.

It remained for a gallant and adventurous Englishman, Mr. Leigh Smith, to extend very considerably the limits of Franz Josef Land, to prove its easy accessibility and demonstrate its fitness as the true route to the North Pole. Smith avoided the main ice-pack of Barent Sea, and skirting its western limit easily reached the western shores of this land and in latitude 80° N., longitude 48° E., discovered a safe harbor named Eira, after his ship; during this and later voyages he made such extensive discoveries that his name has been fittingly placed upon this new coast. In one voyage, losing his ship by an unfortunate accident, Smith wintered at Eira harbor, where game proved sufficiently abundant to supply his party with meat.

Jackson intends landing at Eira Harbor, or at the most northerly suitable and accessible point on the west coast of Leigh Smith Land. His main party will consist of ten men, and the northward journey will be made by dog sledges as far as possible, and, when land fails, by whale boats. It is expected that the main journey will be made during the summer of 1894, and that Mr. Jackson will return in no event later than 1895 with such results as will prove whether the pole is practicable or not by the way of Franz Josef Land. Detailed information is wanting as to Jackson's equipment for field travel—a most important matter, since its lightness and fitness always forms an important factor in the success of Arctic exploration. The English explorer, however, while working quietly and modestly, has apparently considered his journey in all its bearings, and it is probable that his party has been well selected and has been equipped with the most modern and most approved methods; in which case there will be good reason to expect from Jackson's efforts quite extensive additions to our knowledge of Arctic lands, and possibly the attainment of an unprecedentedly high latitude.

The extraordinary journey of Robert E. Peary, civil engineer in the United States Navy, across the inland ice of Greenland, had made this young officer famous and his name known to every intelligent American. His second journey, on practically the same lines and over the same route as in 1891, has excited very general interest, especially as he is the third explorer now striving for the honors of the farthest north. His base of operations will be Inglefield Gulf, on the west coast of Greenland, 77.5° north

latitude, 71° west longitude. The outlines of Peary's plans are derived from Mr. Cyrus C. Adams, one of the leading geographers of the country, who has taken a lively interest in the organization and success of the expedition. The dog teams of previous years will be supplemented by donkeys as pack animals, and with these motors Peary will travel across the ice-cap direct from his home station to Independence Bay, 81° 35' N., 33° W., with five or six men. Half of the party will then return southward and, tracing the eastern edge of the inland ice to the vicinity of Cape Bismarck, regain Inglefield Gulf by the easiest route. Peary will turn northwards to explore the archipelago discovered by Lockwood, and, if necessary, he contemplates wintering at Independence Bay, living in stone or snow huts and subsisting on the game of the country—musk-oxen, hares and seals. It is not denied that both Peary's observations and Lockwood's explorations far to the northwest prove that the archipelago is not ice clad, and it is frankly admitted that as travel beyond Independence Bay must be by sledge along shore, unfavorable conditions of coast and ice would make the advance journey arduous and dangerous. The possible extension of Peary's work towards the pole is touched on, and the admission made that should the polar pack be favorable it is not improbable that the land will be left for a sea journey.

The exact object in view must be known to intelligently forecast or determine the degree of success of his expedition. This difficulty which presents itself in passing upon the success of Peary's first expedition still exists. On April 4, 1891, under his own hand Peary wrote to the National Geographical Society: "The advance party will push on . . . to the head of De Long Fiord, establish a depot, thence to the northern terminus of Greenland." He did not reach De Long Fiord or come within 70 miles of it, and the northern terminus of Greenland instead of being to the north of De Long Fiord was found to be where I placed it in 1882, near the 82d parallel.

The following letter of April, 1891, forecast that journey and it applies equally to the present voyage:

"I have no doubt that you will be able to make a remarkable journey on the inland ice. I have no faith, however, in your being able to go beyond either Sherard Osborn Fiord or possibly Victoria or Nordenskiold inlet.

There is the strongest possible circumstantial evidence to prove that one of these fiords separates the northern part of Greenland, and you will look in vain in any of the reports of Arctic travellers for indications of the inland ice to the northward of the eighty-first degree. Doubtless the ice does extend further north in the interior of Greenland, and in such case you would reach the northern extremity of it and doubtless be able to skirt it.

"It seems to me it would be worth your while rather to reach the vicinity of the east Greenland coast to the north of Cape Bismarck. There is no doubt the farther north you go the better chances you would have for travelling over good snow."

There are not ten men in the country, including Peary's entire party, who can to-day, without consulting Peary's account in the New York *Sun*, describe as accurately what Peary did as I foretold prior to the journey. While Peary failed in his ultimate object, yet his journey across Greenland to Independence Bay was a magnificent piece of work, which fully justified Melville's confidence in glacier travelling set forth in 1884, and my own view given in the above-mentioned letter.

In my opinion the party will trace the inland ice southward from Independence Bay to the vicinity of Cape Bismarck, but I do not believe it will ever travel one hundred miles to the northeastward of Independence Bay.

The inland ice and Peary's travelling outfit are like the smooth roads of Central Park and the light carriages used therein, but when the wretched, heavy roads of winter are reached in the open country heavy wagons are needful, so the distorted icefoot and broken floes of the polar seas demand special sledges. Listen to Peary's own description of a twelve miles' journey without baggage after leaving the icefoot :

"My feet were on the sharp chaos-strewn rocks which cover the icefoot borders of this land of rock. . . . My mountains seemed to recede as I advanced, and it was eight hours before I reached the summit. . . . I was strongly tempted to go on, but my foot-gear precluded it; the soles of both kamiks (mocassins) were cut through and the edges of sharp rocks had cut my feet. It was even questionable whether I could fix up my foot-gear in order to get back without serious injury to my feet."

Obliged to use his sealskin mittens, his cap and part of his garments to protect his feet, he speaks of the excruciating pain which marked this journey of twenty-four miles in thirteen hours. As to the reserve powers for a longer journey, it need only be said that of sixteen dogs only four returned to Whale Sound. It thus seems impossible to accumulate stores at Inde-

pendence Bay, and a winter camp with its hundred and forty days of continuous darkness, appears little short of madness to a party expecting to live on the scanty and migratory game of the country.

In his sketch map (New York *Sun*, October 31, 1892) Peary extends the northern coast of Independence Bay some fifty miles eastward, to about 25° west longitude. This easterly extension of bold, high, ice-free land, with intervening water, whereon the ice was in the process of disintegration, makes it exceedingly doubtful if a very high northing can be made on that coast, with Inglefield gulf as a base.

The endurance, determination and skill of Lieutenant Peary are beyond question and his moderate success most probable, but as to his attaining the farthest north and mapping out the north-eastern boundaries of the archipelago discovered by Lockwood his chances of success are inconsiderable, say one in ten. In any event we bid God-speed and wish entire success to the hardy, adventurous American who, having once beaten the Norwegian on his chosen ground over the inland ice of Greenland, now strives to outstrip the persistent Nansen in a race for the Pole.

A. W. GREELY.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE HOME RULE BILL.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE, K. C. M. G.

It is now practically a certainty that the Home Rule Bill will pass the third-reading stage in the House of Commons, and a very few weeks after these lines are penned the House of Lords will be called upon to play an all-important part in the political history of the century. It will therefore be of interest to many independent observers to study the question at issue in its aspect of to-day, having regard to the influences which that aspect may bring to bear upon the House while forming its decision.

It is not altogether surprising that considerable misapprehension should exist in many quarters as to the actual position and amount of authority which the House of Lords holds in the composition of Parliament. A common error seems to prevail, and it is not confined to England alone, that, for the purposes of any great constitutional or legislative change, the House of Commons is all-powerful, and that in no matter of any great moment, even though it involves a complete revolution in our mode of government, an entire and experimental reconstruction of those safeguards for the property and personal liberty of a large class of the Queen's subjects which have their foundation in the common law of the land, is its judgment and verdict to be gainsaid or questioned. The error is the more widespread, as it has of late been sedulously fostered and promulgated for party purposes, so that by its constant reiteration in various forms, either of denunciation, or threat, or warning, people have been led in many cases to believe that the House of Lords is in reality nothing more than a chamber for the registration and approval of the decrees of the other House, the latter holding the absolute power to loose or to bind as it pleases. But without entering into the merits or demerits of the system upon which the Parlia-

mentary machinery of the United Kingdom is constituted, let us consider the actual state of things as it stands. Parliament is of course supreme. Ours, perhaps to our misfortune, is not a Constitution of clauses; it is based upon the common law, and upon tradition, and there is no limit, save that of the patriotism and wisdom of those who rule its councils, to the powers of Parliament. But what is Parliament, as defined by authority?

"The Commons are not the Parliament, neither are the Lords, nor the Crown; but the three 'Estates,' united in their triple capacity, constitut the High Court of Parliament, and exercise the legislative functions of the realm. A Peer is as much a Member of Parliament as a Commoner; the King, Lords, and Commons in their united character exercise none but the legislative functions; taken together they are the Parliament, and there can be no Act of Parliament in which they do not concur. The power of Parliament is said to be transcendent, and subject to no limitation whatever."

As of the whole, so of the parts. There is not a word which suggests for either House anything but an equal authority, and that authority is for each and either of them "transcendent and subject to no limitation whatever." In the absence of a written Constitution we have in the independence of the two Houses the only safeguard against hasty or ill-considered legislation which might otherwise be forced upon the country, on the top of a passing wave of popular feeling, and in moments of temporary excitement, or against the absolutism of any Minister who might command an obedient majority, no matter how small, in the Lower House.

And yet it would puzzle the most inveterately hostile critic of the House of Lords to find a single case from the Reform Bill of 1832 to the present time when that assembly has hesitated to adapt itself to the will of the people, clearly and solidly expressed by the votes of its representatives in the House of Commons. It did so, to quote more recent instances, in the case of the Irish Church Act, of the Land Act of 1870 and of the Land Act of 1881, a measure, by the way, which, had it been passed in Washington, could have been annulled by the Supreme Court of the United States as an infringement upon free contract. The only occasion within the last thirty years where it refused to give way was when the present Prime Minister, in his last Government but one, endeavored to force the last Reform Bill through Parliament without a corresponding measure for the redistribution of

seats. It stood firm to the principle that extension of the franchise and redistribution must go hand in hand. The struggle was short, but sharp. A considerable amount of menace and abuse, not confined only to the rank and file of the Radical party, was showered upon the House of Lords, but it eventually carried its point, and affirmed the constitutional principle for which it was contending, amid general acclamation and concurrence.

Such being the view that has been held by the House of Lords as to the grave Parliamentary functions it is called upon to exercise, when any question of high political significance comes before it, indorsed with the approval of the representatives of the nation, we are irresistibly brought face to face with a consideration of the particular case. Is the present situation one which on the face of it permits the House of Lords to adhere to its usual attitude of acquiescence, with due regard for its prestige, its high constitutional position and its undoubted and unlimited authority? That the present issue, involving as it does a complete change in the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, far transcends in importance any that have previously been submitted to the Upper House under similar conditions, will not be contradicted.

Between Home Rule as an abstract proposition and Home Rule in legislative form there is a wide gulf fixed, and even were it admitted, which is not the case, that a mandate went forth to Parliament to deal with the question, it can by no means be taken as applying to Mr. Gladstone's present proposals. Home Rule as an abstract proposition may mean anything, from the most limited local self-government to actual independence, but its very promoters by all their public utterances have hedged in, by anticipation, such legislative proposals as they vaguely foreshadowed with every sort of safeguard and proviso. The absolute supremacy of the Imperial Parliament and the adequate protection of minorities were to be rigidly secured, while Ireland was to have the full power of managing its own local affairs. Whatever scheme the Prime Minister may have had in his mind at the time, he kept to himself and his more intimate colleagues, and we have it on record that among the more prominent members of the Cabinet there was literally no agreement as to the basis of the expected proposals. In Lord Rosebery's estimation, the bill of 1886 was dead. "No incubator or hatching machine could revive" a project

whose condemnation Parliament had pronounced and whose fate a general election had ratified. According to Lord Spencer, "The policy of Mr. Gladstone in 1886 was still to the front," except in some small details. Such were the divergent views expressed before the general election, and it is upon the vague abstract proposition alone, coupled with the assurance of the introduction of provisions for the supremacy of the British Parliament and the protection of minorities, a subject, as Mr. Gladstone once stated, which went down to the very roots and foundations of our whole civil and political Constitution, that the verdict was pronounced, a verdict distinctly adverse in the cases of England and Great Britain. The policy of secrecy, concealment, and mystification was then more or less in its infancy, and the justification for it is to be found in a speech of Mr. Dillon's delivered on the 24th August, 1892, dealing with the universal inquiry for details then being urged.

> "And I say this further, that had we yielded to all this clamor, and had we been silly and wicked enough to make these foolish and ridiculous demands upon Mr. Gladstone before the election took place, the verdict of England would probably be given, not for home rule, but against it."

This enthusiastic ally of Her Majesty's Government would appear to have permitted his zeal to carry him rather too far, for he has most effectually disposed of the doctrine of a mandate of the people to Parliament, in the case of the present Home Rule Bill. Nor can it be supposed that in casting their votes upon the general principle then before them the Electorate had in view the desirability of directing Parliament to saddle them with extra taxation to the extent of considerably more than a million and a half a year, for the purpose of enabling the Irish Nationalist party to run a Parliament of their own in Dublin at the cost and charges of the British taxpayer. Such, however, is now clearly proved to be the effect of the Home Rule scheme, and, as it involves a question relating to taxation, it is a matter in which the House of Lords has no power to make alterations or amendments upon the proposals of the House of Commons.

But we are now given to understand that the bill of to-day is based upon the former project of 1886. We have it on the authority of Mr. Gladstone, who, writing to the *Times* in November, 1890, stated "that for him to propose any measure except on the

lines which he had already laid down would be fatuity as regarded himself, and treachery to the Irish people." The material difference between the present bill, on its introduction, and the older measure consists in the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. This was a detail, Mr. Gladstone told us, upon which the government had no decided or fixed opinion, but upon which it would adopt any arrangement that commended itself to the majority of the House of Commons. And yet this detail, this trivial matter, fit only for consideration and moulding into shape in committee, suggests in itself a most important modification in the principle of the scheme of 1886 by changing it at once from a provincial to a federal constitution, two entirely and wholly different things. So at the very outset, upon entering upon the discussion of the second reading, the House of Commons found itself face to face with a very serious change of front, and one which, according to previous utterances of many Radical members, and notably of Mr. Labouchere, should have been fatal to the bill. However, the principle of the original bill was affirmed by the House of Commons on the second reading. Since then we have witnessed a complete somersault on the part of the Government, both as regards the financial clauses, and the further development of the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, and the scope of the functions they are to be called upon to exercise in the British Parliament. Now, in the last days of the committee, not the second, but the third, home rule bill submitted to Parliament is under discussion. The original scheme of finance had to be abandoned, all the machinery contained in the first edition for the establishment of an Irish exchequer and the collection of taxes reserved to and to be created in Ireland by the Irish Executive, have gone by the board. All three matters are to remain as before in the hands of the English exchequer for a period of six years, while at the same time eighty Irish members are to be retained at Westminster, with full powers to take part in all discussions and vote upon all questions that may arise. The character of the bill is no longer final, but temporary, the right of Ireland to manage her own affairs in the matter of finance is taken away from her, the original principle of the measure has been entirely changed during the committee stage, and a mine has been sprung upon the public and Parlia-

ment, by the substitution, by a side wind, of principles entirely novel and unexpected in their nature.

"To free the British Parliament from the incubus of Irish affairs, and to make room for legislation upon subjects affecting the United Kingdom," was not the least impressive argument adduced in support of Home Rule. Here, at least, the mandate of the people, if it ever existed, has been disregarded. There can be no hope of finality in any project in which it has been necessary to recast for the second time the original scheme of finance, and side by side with its adoption to announce the nomination of a royal commission to inquire into the whole subject. This is, in itself, an admission of the necessity of postponement, and of the impossibility of devising any solution without the fullest discussion and investigation. Even if the doctrine that the majority, no matter what its number, nature and composition may be, must prevail in the long run is correct, we have now ample proof that a majority is powerless to evolve any equitable, feasible or workable proposition under a mode of procedure which curtails free discussion. The enforcement of the closure in compartments can only result in a tinkering of the Constitution, and the creation of a state of things of which it is impossible to foresee the end or the consequences. No precedent can justify its application in the present case. The falsity of the analogy of the Crimes Act of 1887 is clear. On the one occasion Parliament was dealing with a question of administration, on the other it is treating of a radical change in the Constitution of the United Kingdom. In 1887 a powerful government with a commanding majority was resisting the obstructive tactics of a small section of the House of Commons. In 1893 a weak government, supported by a diminishing majority, is closing the mouth of a united opposition, scarcely inferior in numbers, and which claims that the all-important issues at stake shall be fully laid before the country. In this regard the closure of to-day is but the natural development of the policy of secrecy and mystification that has been faithfully pursued since 1886, and that has been stamped with the approval of Mr. Dillon. The country must be told as little as possible until the bill is through, and the House of Commons is to ratify in silence the proposals of its leader, proposals which have been and are daily liable to reconstruction, and alteration of principle, to suit

the exigencies of the moment, and to secure for the occasion as far as possible the cohesion of the heterogeneous elements of the Ministerial party. A study of a comparative table of the divisions in 1887 and 1893 from March to June will demonstrate the difference between the two cases.

Crimes Act, 1887.	Unionist Government majority.
March 25—Introduction of bill.	89
April 1—First reading.....	108
April 18—Second reading.....	101
April 28—Order for committee.	101
May 17—First clause.....	92
May 23—Second clause.....	132
June 7—Third clause.....	125
June 9—Fourth clause.....	104
June 13—Fifth clause.....	114
June 17—Sixth clause.....	169
June 10—Mr. Smith's closure rules.....	152

Home Rule Bill, 1893.	Gladstonian Government majority.
No division.	
April 21—Second reading.....	43
May 15—First clause.....	42
May 17—Second clause.....	62
June 12—Third clause.....	37
June 23—Fourth clause.....	42
June 28—Fifth clause.....	31
June 29—Suspension of 12 o'clock rule.....	31
June 30—Mr. Gladstone's closure rules.....	32

In 1887, taking the normal majority of the Government of the day at ninety, there is a steady increase up to the time of the adoption of the closure, pointing to the determination of the House to carry the measure in the face of obstruction. In 1893, allowing that the Government commands an average of forty votes, the figures are pretty equal, though diminishing, a clear proof, with our knowledge of its composition, of the mechanical principle as applied by the majority in the present case. And this suppression of discussion by means of the closure has resulted, as events have proved, in a clear breach of faith on the part of the Government. The invariable procedure in the committee stage is to postpone the preamble of any bill, and to proceed immediately to the discussion of the clauses one by one, the preamble being reserved until the conclusion of the committee. It has happened, as was inevitable during the debate, that in the case of many amendments the Government have refused to agree to their actual wording, while recognizing the principles contained in those amendments. To make these principles clear, Ministers in charge of the bill have repeatedly undertaken to bring up words at a later opportunity in committee, words which should naturally lead to debate. A most prominent place among such amendments must be awarded to those by which the opposition have endeavored to secure a clear and adequate definition of that absolute supremacy of the British Parliament which had been distinctly laid down as vital to any Home Rule scheme during and

before the late election campaign. Various propositions were put forward with this object, and urged with the greatest force and conviction. Yet they have been invariably met by one argument —their cogency has hardly been disputed—that the place for the discussion of the question of supremacy is not the clauses, but the preamble of the bill. It is clear that no discussion can possibly take place upon the preamble, and of this the members of the Cabinet must have been perfectly cognizant while framing the form and manner in which the closure should be proposed to the House. No statement could be more deliberately made for the purpose of hoodwinking Parliament, and the bill will now leave the House of Commons with this most vital point and others of almost equal importance completely undebated. The land question alone, which has required no less than two land acts and several purchase acts to bring it to its present position, is not to be discussed at all, but is to be left in a sort of dormant condition for three years and is then to pass out of the ken of the British Parliament, which has hitherto dealt with it in all its details. In dealing with questions of such enormous magnitude and importance as those now before the country, the argument as to lapse of time can have no validity whatever, when weighed and set in the balance against the vital considerations and interests involved.

It requires more than a superficial study of events during the late electoral campaign to be able to appreciate the actual position assigned to the Home Rule question among other proposals in the Government programme, but to the careful observer there has been nothing more remarkable than the various and varying degrees of importance with which it was invested in different localities and constituencies. In many it was hardly mentioned at all, or only in the most cursory terms, in others it was put in the forefront of the battle, but in every case it was associated with one or several of the numerous items promised so lavishly in the Newcastle programme, by the mere foreshadowing of which it was confidently expected to secure a sweeping majority in the United Kingdom. The result of the general election is before us, and Mr. Gladstone and his party find themselves tied and bound by their unofficial declarations as regards Ireland, and under the imperious necessity of devoting themselves to the service of their Irish allies, who are the arbiters of their fate. These must be conciliated and kept f dly if possible, in view of

that future development of the Radical policy which is unattainable without their support. To secure this the majority in the House of Commons are prepared to carry any scheme, just or unjust, perfect or imperfect, final or temporary, with or without discussion, in the firm conviction that it will be negatived by the House of Lords. No appeal to the country will be allowed; no opportunity will be given to the constituencies to pronounce judgment upon the Government they returned to power upon false representations, until at least a few other issues can be conjoined with Home Rule for the purpose of again confusing and misleading the electorate, and concealing the most vital and important questions before it. It is the common talk of the lobby. It is admitted on all hands that the solidity of the Ministerial majority is secured by the certainty that the Upper House will reject the measure. Were it otherwise, the position would become interesting. Retributive justice might justify the acceptance of Home Rule in its present form by the House of Lords, and as a matter of party tactics such a course undoubtedly shows some advantages. But, as matters stand, the House of Lords has but one course open to it—to reject a proposal which has never received the sanction of the nation, and which its authors and supporters never intended should be passed into law.

DONOUGHMORE.

THE WEALTH OF NEW YORK.

PART I.

BY THE HON. THOMAS F. GILROY, MAYOR OF NEW YORK.

It is a common saying that it is impossible for a rich man to tell, or to know, how rich he is. There may be exceptions to this rule, but it is hard to see how there can be any, unless the circumstances are in some way very extraordinary. As a man accumulates property he becomes the owner of such a great variety of things that an exact and complete inventory of them all becomes almost an impossibility. Practically it is an impossibility in most cases, and even if the value of every item of his possessions on a given day could be ascertained, and all the items on the list added together, the sum obtained would not be likely to represent his wealth a week later, for the reason that the values of most things in the world are continually changing. In the case of a rich man who owns real estate to any considerable extent, especially if the real estate is improved property, it is manifestly impossible to tell exactly how much he owns, or rather the money value in the public market of what he owns, until the moment he sells it. And even if a man should sell his entire estate at a single sale, he would almost certainly have some odds and ends of personal property remaining which it would be difficult to appraise.

It is for this reason that the extent of individual fortunes is always stated in "round numbers" when it is attempted to make any statement whatever. Thus we say that So-and-So is worth a million, or a hundred thousand, as it may be—never that he is worth $103,742.86, or any such precise sum. This being true, and it is true, with regard to even small private fortunes, it will readily be seen that it is an utter impossibility to make any-

thing like an exact statement of the corporate wealth of any large community.

The items of real estate alone are usually of such a nature that even a close estimate is impracticable. A public park, for example, is not to be appraised according to the sum of all the moneys that have been expended in purchasing and improving the ground, even if that sum be known, and it is generally very difficult to trace all the items expended in its improvement when they are continued through a series of years. Neither can a park be appraised at the sum which it would realize at public or private sale if it should be cut up into building lots, for it has a distinct money value to the corporation, outside of its availability for building sites. It affects the taxable valuation of all the surrounding property, and so, directly, affects the pocket of the taxpayer. And the same thing may be said of a bridge, or a public building, or of street pavement, or any one of the uncounted, almost countless, improvements in which the money of the corporation has been invested.

For all these reasons, and many more that will be apparent after a little reflection, it is entirely out of the question to undertake any exact statement of the wealth of a city. And when the city is one containing two millions of people, and having the accumulated improvements of centuries, to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands of items of perishable property that are essential to the daily management of municipal affairs, it becomes impossible to make even a general estimate of the total which will be worthy of careful study.

Nevertheless, it is interesting and valuable to consider the question of the wealth of New York city, even, although it can only be studied by partial estimates, taking no account whatever of the enormous belongings that are difficult of enumeration, and probably impossible to appraise. These belongings by themselves would foot up an amount sufficient to enrich a smaller community, but they may be left out of the present consideration, not only because of the difficulty of treating them, but because they will not be missed in reckoning up the enormous wealth of the metropolis of the Western World.

Before undertaking the estimate, it is well to recall the nature of that proprietary right which a city enjoys in its municipal property. A city, under our laws, is a corporation, char-

tered by the legislature of the State as a private corporation is chartered. It is an individual in the eyes of the law, having the right to sue and to be sued, and to hold property to an extent only limited by its power and disposition to acquire and pay for such property. But it is possessed of no sovereign power, such as is enjoyed by the State, and by the general government of the United States, to hold its property at its own discretion and will, against claimants, for it is not, as is the State, the judge of disputes to which it may be a party. Its courts are created by the sovereign power of the State, and the powers of those courts are delegated by that same power which charters the municipality. Because of this fact it becomes true that all the property of a city is held subject to execution, which may be obtained against it, precisely as it may be against any other individual. In other words, whatever it owns could be seized and sold, in satisfaction of any debt which it should contract and fail to liquidate. Consequently, the credit of a city in the money market, as gauged by its ability to borrow money, will not depend entirely on the promptness and good faith with which it discharges its obligations. It does not even depend mainly on those two important factors in the problem, for, no matter how high the personal character of a borrower may be, or how enviable his reputation for promptness and good faith, it will be difficult for him to get accommodation in the money market unless he can show available assets to deposit as security for the loan he desires. And if this be true, as it is, concerning a single individual, it is still more certainly to be predicated of a corporation. The financial credit of a community, then, depends not only on its reputation as a prompt and just payer, but in still greater degree upon the extent and availability of its visible and materialized belongings—these being an infallible proof of the way in which it has husbanded and increased its actual property.

Taking this as a test, New York is probably the richest community on earth. It is said, and, I believe, truthfully, that there is no other city that can borrow money in the open market as cheaply as New York can do. This of itself is the best practical answer to those critics who maintain, either ignorantly or in bad faith, that the affairs of the city are unwisely or dishonestly administered. There are such critics, it is true, but they are not to be found among well-informed persons who have

given any attention whatever to the real facts of the case. If the government of the city of New York were what it is asserted to be by the political opponents of the party now in power, it would be impossible to place our bonds at the low rate of interest which they command. This is almost a truism, and will appear to be such to those who have really studied the subject. There is no quicker or more accurate test of the pecuniary and moral standing of any individual or any corporation than his or its ability to borrow money at low rates.

But these assertions are easily made, and may possibly carry no weight with the reader. What, then, are the facts? It is true that a dozen years ago, long before Tammany Hall regained its prestige, New York was paying interest on its indebtedness at the rate of from four to seven per cent. per annum. In 1880 we were paying six per cent. on $56,613,378, and seven per cent. on $46,563,496. In other words, something like seven millions of dollars a year was spent in interest alone out of the city treasury, by the people who now denounce Tammany Hall, making a profession of denunciation, and who assume that the present city government is corrupt because Tammany is in power.

Contrast these figures with those of the present day, Tammany having now been in power for five years, and see what the contrast means. We are now getting the bulk of our money—that is of the city's indebtedness, at less than four per cent. per annum; higher rates than that being only paid on outstanding bonds that are not yet redeemable, which the owners prefer holding rather than to sell them, even at the premium which is offered for them in the market. In 1891 we had outstanding $51,539,851 of bonds bearing only three per cent. interest, and $14,246,137 on which the rate was as low as two and one-half per cent. And as if this were not enough to show the confidence of the financial world in our solvency, a small amount of revenue bonds redeemable at the end of the year was floated in that same year (1891) at the unprecedented rate of two per cent.

Certainly the fluctuations of the money market have, and must have, something to do with the rate of interest that must be paid by any borrower, even one of such impeccable reputation as the city of New York. It is, therefore, unquestionably true that we have to pay more at one time than at another for our money. The decrease in the average rate, however, has been steady and

continuous for the last five years, while the money market has had its ups and downs.

It is not, then, because money is more plentiful that we can get it more easily. It is because we are richer and our good faith is unquestioned and unquestionable.

How much richer are we? It is impossible to say with even approximate exactness, but something may be said that will indicate it. In the first place we can tell exactly what we owe. That is known to a cent, and the best statement of it is the full official report issued by the Comptroller, showing that portion of the city's balance sheet on May 31, 1893. It is as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE CITY DEBT AS REPRESENTED IN BONDS AND STOCKS OUTSTANDING MAY 31, 1893.

Classification of debt.	December 31, 1892.	April 30, 1893.	May 31, 1893.
1. Bonds payable from the Sinking Fund under ordinances of the Common Council	$4,267,200.00	$4,267,200.00	$4,267,200.00
2. Bonds payable from the Sinking Fund, under provisions of section 6, chapter 383, Laws of 1878	9,700,000.00	9,700,000.00	9,700,000.00
3. Bonds payable from the Sinking Fund, under provisions of section 8, chapter 383, Laws of 1878	43,843,024.95	44,892,758.65	45,137,342.00
4. Bonds payable from the Sinking Fund, under provisions of chapter 79, Laws of 1889 (New Parks)	9,803,000.00	9,803,000.00	9,806,000.00
5. Bonds payable from the Sinking Fund, under provisions of the Constitutional Amendment adopted November 4, 1884	28,250,000.00	28,750,000.00	29,065,000.00
6. Bonds payable from Taxation, under provisions of chapter 490, Laws of 1883	445,000.00	445,000.00	445,000.00
7. Bonds payable from Taxation, under the several statutes authorizing their issue	52,494,946.05	52,462,946.05	52,406,346.05
8. Bonds issued for Local Improvements after June 9, 1880	5,817,802.90	6,019,084.76	6,078,084.76
9. Bonds of the Annexed Territory of Westchester County, assumed by the Corporation	541,000.00	528,000.00	524,500.00
Total Funded Debt	$155,161,973.90	$156,867,989.46	$157,429,472.81
Deduct Sinking Funds for the Redemption of the City Debt (investments and cash)	56,532,406.58	57,660,237.07	58,877,650.91
Net Funded Debt	$98,629,567.32	$99,207,752.39	$98,551,821.87
Temporary Debt—Revenue Bonds—			
Issued under special laws	$358,483.92	$365,271.79	$541,857.12
" in anticipation of Taxes, 1892	7,600.00	7,600.00	.....
" " " 1893	.....	3,363,200.00	8,228,800.00
Total Revenue Bonds	$366,083.92	$3,736,071.79	$8,770,657.12

Cash—City Treasury Account	$1,245,034.70
Sinking Fund for the Redemption of the City Debt, No. 1	456,865.14
Sinking Fund for the Redemption of the City Debt, No. 2	542,206.88
Sinking Fund for the Payment of Interest on the City Debt	205,761.49
Total Cash	$2,449,868.21

The city is therefore under obligations to pay about $166,000,000, and has on hand with which to pay, either in cash or its equivalent, something over $61,000,000. A considerable amount, however, is properly called a floating or temporary debt, being the anticipation by a few days, or weeks as may be, of money actually due to the city and certain to be paid on time. It is therefore accurate to say that in round numbers the city of New York has a debt of a hundred millions of dollars. It is, as the statement shows, a little less than ninety-nine millions.

This is by no means a trifle. On the contrary it is a large debt. Larger than it ought to be, and larger than it would have been if the government of the city had always been administered as it now is. Large as it is, however, it is not nearly as large as it has been in times past. It is smaller, by considerable, than it was, for example, at the close of each year from 1873 to 1882. On December 31, 1873, the net indebtedness (corresponding to the figures $98,551,821.87 in the report given above) amounted to $107,028,471.07. Just a year later, at the close of 1874, it was $114,979,969.99. And in 1876 it reached the highest point it ever did reach, when the Comptroller's report showed us that we owed $119,811,310.39 or $21,259,488.52 more than the amount of the present debt, notwithstanding the great expenditures made since then for permanent public improvements which will be referred to later on in this article.

But how can it be said that a community in which the municipal debt amounts to about $50 per capita is an enormously wealthy corporation. To answer this we have to consider two things. First, what income does the city enjoy with which to defray its expenses and discharge its obligations, and, secondly, what permanent property has it? The first of these two can be told with almost as much exactitude as the debt, though there are numerous small items which it would not be worth while to state with fulness of detail in an article like this.

The main resource of the city for such income is, of course, the direct taxation on real estate. There are also the taxes on personal property, rents, fees, water rates, licenses, interest accounts, forfeited recognizances, receipts from railroad and other franchises, fines and numerous other minor items. As the tax on real estate and personal property, however, is the principal item of its annual receipts, it is well to look into that somewhat

carefully. A table showing the yearly rates of taxation for the past eleven years is interesting and instructive.

In 1882 the rate was	.0225	In 1888	.0222
1883	.0229	1889	.0195
1884	.0225	1890	.0197
1885	.0210	1891	.0190
1886	.0229	1892	.0185
1887	.0216		

This rate of taxation being now steadily on the decrease (a further reduction is likely to be made for the year 1893), it is evident that either the amount of taxable property must be increasing or the incoming receipts from this source must be decreasing. The former is the truth, and to demonstrate it, it is only necessary to compare the amount of the tax levy for 1885, which was $31,047,105.79, with that of 1892, which was $33,224,793. This comparison serves still another valuable end in disproving the charges made by certain irresponsible political critics, to the effect that although the rate of taxation has decreased the assessments have been increased on individual pieces of property.

That such a statement is idle and unfounded appears at once on a comparison of the two last-mentioned amounts. Surely, thirty-three and a quarter millions are no heavier a burden on the city now than thirty-one millions and odd were eight years ago. This becomes self-evident when the enormous increase in property improvements is considered. The valuation last year was nearly two thousand millions—$1,828,264,275, to be exact—and this is no more burdensome a valuation for the individual taxpayer than he has been accustomed to for many years. There are many cases, unquestionably, in which the valuation of a specific piece of property has been increased, but that occurs because the actual market value of the property has increased. This statement defies contradiction.

These are facts that are tolerably well known to most New Yorkers, and yet there may be many persons, even among our own well-informed citizens, who do not fully appreciate them.

An increase in valuation from something like $1,300,000,000 in 1880 to $1,800,000,000 in 1892 is certainly not due to the normal growth in value of such property as remains in the same state of improvement that it was in 1880. There is unquestionable a greater value now than there was then, even to such property as this, but the enormous increase of $50,000,000 a year (which

is about the average) in our real estate valuation is mainly the result of the constant and extensive building operations that are in progress. New Yorkers will readily recall the tall office buildings recently erected in the lower part of the city, especially in the First Ward, and the many blocks of new and handsome residences, some of them elegant and costly, which adorn the upper districts, notably those of the Twelfth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second wards. It is because of these additions, and not because of the occasional increase in a piece of property that has benefitted by the betterment of the neighborhood in which it is located, that the increased valuation has come about.

This subject, however, deserves even a more careful examination, because of the fact that political arguments are continually advanced, having for a basis the old cry of increased taxation—a cry that is not easily answered without an analysis of the whole matter, and that will not be silenced by any answer whatever, no matter how comprehensive and conclusive it may be.

THOMAS F. GILROY.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND SCIENTIFIC FREEDOM.

BY THE REV. J. A. ZAHM, C. S. C.

OURS is preëminently an age of intellectual activity. Nowhere is this activity more marked than in the domain of the inductive sciences, especially the newer sciences of biology, geology, anthropology and prehistoric archæology. During the last few decades, particularly, these branches of knowledge have been invested with a human interest that is not possessed by any of the other natural sciences. The reason is obvious. Their conclusions have a more direct bearing on the traditional teachings of Christianity, whilst their tendencies are supposed, by many at least, to be the reverse of those of faith and dogma. We are even informed that we must now choose as our guide, either Science or the Church. We cannot, it is averred, follow the teaching of both, because, we are assured, they are hopelessly irreconcilable. We are told, furthermore, that Christian believers, who would devote themselves to the pursuit of science, are necessarily so hampered by scriptural restrictions and forms of dogma that they do not and cannot enjoy the same freedom of thought in investigating nature as those who have rejected all forms of religious teaching.

This is a question that will bear examination, and if it shall appear that the impression, now so prevalent, is false and unfounded, it will necessitate a revision of views that have been so long current regarding the attitude of science towards religious beliefs. And if it shall be evinced that the Catholic, who is usually reputed to be the most enthralled by faith and dogma, enjoys the highest degree of intellectual freedom, then we may safely assume that all Christian communicants enjoy the same liberty of thought as far as revealed truth is concerned, and that

the intellectual thralldom we hear so much of is the veriest chimera.

I purpose in this paper briefly to consider the attitude of the Church towards the pursuit of science, as evidenced by the ordinary magisterium of the Pontiffs and Doctors of the Church, and by the declarations and labors of those of her children who have devoted their lives to the study of nature, and whose splendid achievements in every department of science constitute a most valuable portion of the patrimony of our race.

It is scarcely necessary to premise that all orthodox Christians deny even the possibility of a conflict between science and revelation. It is impossible that revealed and demonstrated truths should not agree, because it is impossible that God should contradict Himself. All truths of the natural as well as of the supernatural order proceed from Him, and a conflict, therefore, can never be more than apparent. It may not always be possible at a given time to show their agreement, but it can never be demonstrated that they are contradictory. It may happen, and occasionally does happen, that the conclusions of science appear to contravene certain articles of faith, but in reality the apparent discord is due entirely to misapprehension of the teachings of faith or to a misinterpretation of the facts of nature. In such cases the difficulty is but temporary and is sure to disappear with a better understanding of the facts involved.

Regarding questions of philosophy and science, that have no direct bearing on dogma, the Church has always permitted the greatest liberty of thought and freedom of discussion. We have most striking instances of this in the works of the early fathers and doctors regarding questions that long ages ago were the occasion of as much study and controversy as they are now. Among these much mooted questions were those that referred to the Mosaic cosmogony, the Noachian Deluge, the chronology of the Bible and the age of the human race.

According to the allegorical system of the Alexandrian school of which Origen, Athanasius, and Clement of Alexandria were the most distinguished exponents, all things were created simultaneously, by the fiat of Omnipotence, and the days of creation mentioned in Genesis are to be taken, not in a literal, but in a metaphorical sense. The Syrian School, represented by St. Ephrem and St. John Chrysostom, advocated the literal interpre-

tation of Genesis, and maintained that the Genesiac days were days of twenty-four hours each.

The celebrated Greek doctors, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, and his brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, taught that matter was first created in its primal, elementary condition, and that it was afterwards, during the six days, which were understood in a literal sense, fashioned into various forms as recorded in Genesis. This opinion was subsequently adopted by the great Latin doctors, Sts. Ambrose and Gregory the Great.

What will surprise those who are wont to regard all great scientific conceptions as being of modern date, we find in the *Hexameron* of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the germs of the celebrated nebular hypothesis of Laplace. Indeed, the whole of his great work on Genesis is based on the truth of this assumption. But the masterly work of the renowned Latin Doctor St. Augustine, on the days of creation,—*De Genesi ad Literam*,—is by far the most complete and comprehensive treatise on the subject that the early Church has given us. He admits the simultaneous creation of the Alexandrians, but repudiates the Syrian and Cappadocian interpretation of the six days. Instead of days he demands indeterminate intervals of time—*volumnia sæculorum*. His interpretation is essentially the same as that given by modern exegesis, of which he may justly be regarded as the prophet and precursor. A knowledge of geology and astronomy, as now understood, would have furnished him with a key to many difficulties that in his day were insuperable. But he was aware that something was lacking to complete his view of the work of creation, and he was willing to leave to the future the development of the ideas to which he had given twenty-five of the best years of his life.

The diversity of views entertained by the various schools and authorities just named, regarding the interpretation of the Mosaic days of creation, admirably illustrates the liberty of thought which the Church has always permitted her children in matters not connected with faith and morals. The same freedom of thought and discussion has likewise been allowed regarding the Noachian Deluge, the chronology of the Bible, the age of the human race, and similar questions which come within the purview of profane science.

The illustrious Fathers and Doctors just named not only show

by their writings that they enjoyed full liberty of thought in all questions of science, but they tell us so in words that cannot be misunderstood. The angel of the schools, St. Thomas Aquinas, indicates the spirit which should animate all who treat such debatable questions as those just mentioned. "As," he says, "Holy Writ may be explained in many ways, no one should cling so tenaciously to any particular explanation as to venture to maintain it, when, by any conclusive argument—*certa ratione*—it is evident that what one thought to be the sense of Scripture is false." In the language of the great bishop of Hippo, we must always be on our guard against "the seductive loquacity of a false philosophy, and the timid superstition of a false religion."

The teaching of Popes and Councils has been one with that of Fathers and Doctors. The words of the Council of the Vatican, to go no further, are so explicit on this point as to need no commentary. "The Church," it declares, "does not forbid the human sciences to make use of, each in its own domain, their own principles and methods." In his admirable encyclical *Æterni Patris*, Leo XIII. makes the same statement in almost identical terms. "In those points of doctrine," writes the illustrious Pontiff, "which the human intelligence is able to apprehend by its natural powers, it is right that philosophy should be left to its own methods and principles and arguments, provided, however, that it do not audaciously withdraw itself from divine authority." In his encyclical on *Human Liberty* the same enlightened head of the Church observes that "It is not to be forgotten that there is an immense field for the free exercise of the activity and of the minds of men in those things, namely, which have no necessary relation to the teachings of faith and Christian morals, or concerning which the Church, without using her authority, leaves the judgment of the learned entire and free." Pius IX., Benedict XIV., and other Popes, whom it were easy to quote, if necessary, safeguard the liberty of thought of the children of faith in language equally clear and decisive.

But the Roman Pontiffs are not satisfied with words. They show by their actions, by the encouragement they have given to men of science in their researches, that they not only permit, but favor the fullest exercise of freedom of thought and inquiry. And what is more, they have encouraged this liberty of thought and investigation in matters which those not in sympathy with

the Church would have us believe she is afraid to examine, or to have examined by others. A few instances—many similar ones might be adduced—will illustrate the truth of this statement.

When Champollion's discovery of the Egyptian hieroglyphics was announced in Europe, "timid minds," says Cardinal Wiseman, "took alarm and reprobated it as tending to lead men to dangerous investigations. It was feared, apparently, that the early Egyptian history, thus brought to light, would be employed as that of the Chaldeans and Assyrians had been in the last century, for the purpose of impugning the Mosaic annals." But the then reigning Pontiff, Leo XII., did not share these fears. On the contrary, he invited the distinguished savant to prepare a work relative to the obelisks of Rome, which was printed and engraved at the Pope's expense. In referring to this matter, in a letter to his friend, Cardinal Wiseman, Champollion writes: "It is a real service which his Holiness renders to science, and I shall be happy if you will be good enough to place at his feet the homage of my profound acknowledgment."

So, too, was it when the first discoveries were made regarding Quaternary Man. The exultation of the enemies of revelation at the prospect opened up by the discovery of fossil man was indeed calculated to inspire apprehension and distrust in the minds of those who had not made any special study of geology and archæology, but, who, on the contrary, had been led to regard such studies as having a tendency inimical to the Inspired Record. Pius IX., however, like his predecessor, Leo XII., showed that far from endangering the teachings of faith such researches would rather tend to illustrate and corroborate them. This he did in a signal manner by his patronage of the eminent archæologist, Michele de Rossi, during his exhaustive investigations regarding Quaternary Man in the environs of Rome.

All are familiar with the manner in which a few years ago the present wise ruler of the Church threw open the doors of the great Vatican Library to the scholars of the world. And many, doubtless, have read the admirable letter he penned when he placed at the disposition of students and authors this unique and most valuable storehouse of knowledge. It will be sufficient to reproduce one sentence from this memorable document to prove without peradventure that Leo XIII., like his predecessors in the chair of Peter, felt that the Church has nothing to fear from the

promulgation of truth; that on the contrary he was convinced that truth, from whatever quarter—from history as well as from Egyptology and archæology—must ever be of service to religion. In referring to the necessity of truthfulness and accuracy in the pursuit of historical science the learned Pontiff declares that "The first law of history is to dread uttering a falsehood; the next is not to fear stating the truth; lastly, the historian's writings should be open to no suspicion of partiality or animosity."

But it may be urged that the Papal utterances just quoted were not intended to be understood literally or seriously; that the examples of the Popes, in encouraging scientific research, are no indication and still less a guarantee of liberty of thought on the part of their subjects, and cannot be so construed. Let us see.

In 1867 a memoir was read before the Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology at Paris announcing a discovery that, it was claimed, proved beyond doubt the existence of Tertiary Man. The discovery consisted of certain flints found at Thenay, in France, which were so fashioned that their discoverer maintained that they were unmistakably the work of human hands. The members of the congress were amazed, and it requires much to surprise a modern anthropologist or archæologist. The discovery was indeed so far reaching in its significance that Biblical chronology appeared to be completely disproved, and it looked as if the truth and integrity of the Sacred Scriptures were jeopardized beyond all hope of salvation. "At last," exclaimed infidel scientists, "one *fact*—whose meaning is unmistakable—has been adduced that is diametrically opposed to the teaching of the Bible and theologians regarding the antiquity of man." A shout of triumph went up from the enemies of revealed truth, and the Holy Scriptures, as an inspired record, was relegated to the limbo of myths and dead superstitions.

But who was the author of the memoir that created such a sensation among scientific men; who was the discoverer of the flints that at once became the nine days' wonder of the civilized world? He was a pious French priest. He was also a learned theologian, and at the same time one of the most accomplished archæologists in Europe. But, true scientist that he was, he was a student of facts. He accepted the facts as he found them, and was willing to let his deductions from them stand the test of

criticism. The facts, to his mind, conclusively proved the existence of Tertiary Man, and for this reason Abbé Bourgeois was, until the day of his death, Tertiary Man's most ardent and consistent defender. It was subsequently shown that he, together with the majority of the archæologists of Europe, had misinterpreted the facts in the case; that the flints he discovered were not of human manufacture, and that Tertiary Man was something entirely imaginary.

This, however, matters not. During the many years he devoted to his researches, which seemed to many to presage the certain undermining of all Scriptural authority, Abbé Bourgeois was never interfered with by his ecclesiastical superiors. He was always perfectly free and untrammelled, and never for a day, so far as the Church was concerned, did he cease to enjoy the highest degree of scientific freedom. More than this; some of his strongest sympathizers and most earnest collaborators were zealous and loyal ecclesiastics. The Catholic press of Europe was freely placed at his disposal for an exposition of his views, and he everywhere and on all occasions received from his confrères in religion that kindly consideration to which his profound science and earnest piety entitled him.

As for himself, he never for a moment experienced any doubts about the ultimate bearing of his discoveries on revelation. He trusted to the future for light, and to further and more extended investigation to clear up difficulties that for the moment were insoluble.

But startling as was the announcement made by the Abbé Bourgeois, it was not more so than the theory of Preadamites—a conjectural race of men that became extinct long before the creation of the traditional father of the human species,—that was so strongly championed by two other well-known Churchmen, the Abbé Fabre d' Envieu, and the distinguished oratorian Abbé Valroger. And notwithstanding that their theory was apparently contrary to dogma, and subversive of Scriptural teaching, these devoted sons of the Church were left completely undisturbed by ecclesiastical authority. Far from being the victims of the thunderbolts of the Vatican, they continued to the end of their lives to enjoy the fullest measure of liberty of thought and freedom of expression.

What has already been said should convince any unbiassed

mind that Catholics do, of a truth, enjoy all the freedom in the pursuit of science that the human mind can demand. But in order to clinch the argument, I shall let some of the most distinguished representatives of modern scientific thought testify for themselves, as well as for their brethren in the faith.

The illustrious French chemist, M. J. B. Dumas, perpetual secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, declares in one of his admirable *Éloges* that "Faith does not kill science, and science kills faith still less."

Rosellini, the learned collaborator of Champollion, in referring to those who were raising an outcry against the discovery of the distinguished Frenchman, truthfully observes that "This truth is founded on eternal bases, neither can the envy of man deface it. And if men eminent for their piety and learning admit the new system, what has revelation to fear from it?"

Pasteur, in the beautiful discourse pronounced by him on the occasion of his reception into the French Academy, does not hesitate to declare that "If we were deprived of these conceptions,"—the truths of faith,—"the sciences would lose that grandeur which they draw from their secret relations with the infinite verities."

Baron Cauchy, the greatest mathematician of his age, who, according to one of his fellow associates of the French Institute, possessed the combined genius of Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, Gaus and Jacobin, affirms that "It is precisely because it is exact and true that the Christian religion is so eminently favorable to the progress of the sciences, and to the most noble faculties of our intelligence. . . . It is because it is exact and true that it presides at the sublime meditations of the Augustines, the Descarteses, the Newtons, the Fermats, the Maclaurins, the Pascals, the Linneuses, the Eulers, the Copernicuses, the Tycho-Brahes, the Cassinis, of all those great men of all ages, who in the contemplation of nature and of the admirable laws established by the Creator found without ceasing new motives to bless and adore the author of so great marvels. . . . I have made a profound study of the human sciences, especially those that are called the exact sciences, and I have more and more recognized the truth of those words of Bacon: 'A little philosophy inclineth a man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion.'"

The erudite historian and Orientalist, François Lenormant, a famous son of a noble sire, writes in the preface of his great work *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient,* ' I am a Christian, and I proclaim it loudly. But my faith is not affrightened at any of the discoveries of criticism when they are true. A devoted son of the Church in all necessary things, I claim with the more ardor the rights of scientific liberty. And from the very fact that I am a Christian, I regard myself as being more completely in the sense and in the spirit of science than those who have the misfortune not to possess the faith."

And thus I might go on with scores of similar witnesses to the fact that none more than the Christian enjoys all the rights and prerogatives of scientific freedom.

A Christian may not, it is true, proclaim with M. Duval that "Science is the elimination of the supernatural in the explanation of natural things." He may not endeavor, like Haeckel, to replace the Creator by abiogenesis,—spontaneous generation; nor hold with Büchner that "God is only another expression for our ignorance," nor that "every science, and especially every philosophy that seeks reality instead of appearance, truth instead of pretence, *must necessarily be atheistic.*" This is not intellectual liberty; it is intellectual license, as irrational as it is unscientific and unnatural. Haeckel and his school may, if it so please them, descant on "the plastidule soul," and dilate on "the potentialities of carbon;" Vogt may hold that "the brain secretes thought as the liver does bile," or that "all vital action is the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm that displays it;" Moleschott may teach that there is "no thought without phosphorus" or that "man is what he eats," but Christian men of science object to being forced to accept such vagaries as science. Some one has remarked that modern science is more dogmatic than religion. If by the term science is meant the wild theories and fanciful speculations of a certain class of contemporary scientists, the statement is perfectly just. The most dogmatic people in the world to-day are certain scientific theorists of the evolutionary and atheistic schools of thought.

The mistake is that these men reject every induction and every proposition that does not rest on the testimony of the senses. Contrary to the teachings of sound philosophy, the data of metaphysics and the truths of revelation are proscribed as extra-

scientific, or anti-scientific. A first cause is excluded from the domain of science and relegated to that of mysticism, because, say Littrè and Spencer, a first cause is *unknowable*. They do not believe in the existence of a personal God, because, like Lalande, they are unable to see Him with their telescopes. With Broussais they deny that there is a soul because they have never detected it with their scalpels. They would prove the existence of a Creator by the spectroscope, as they disclose the existence of certain terrestrial elements in the sun and the stars. They look for the soul at the bottom of their crucibles and retorts, and not finding it there gravely inform us that it is a fantastic conceit which can have no place in this age of science and criticism.

This extravagant and irreligious teaching is not new in the history of science. In 1806 the French Institute counted more than eighty different theories hostile to the Sacred Scriptures that had been developed in less than half a century. Not a single one of them now remains. Since 1806 hundreds, yea, thousands, of other equally fanciful theories have been evolved, all, or nearly all, of which have been consigned to oblivion.

Not without reason, therefore, does the Apostle of the Gentiles warn us not to be "led away with various and strange doctrines." And foreseeing the dangers to which the children of the faith will be exposed, he exhorts them to "prove all things," and to "hold fast that which is good." By thus acting we exercise to the fullest extent that liberty of thought which the Church would be the last to have us forfeit. For no one, more than the orthodox Christian, is in a better position to realize in all their truth those beautiful words of our divine Master: "And you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

J. A. Zahm.

PLAYWRITING FROM THE ACTOR'S POINT OF VIEW.

BY WILLIAM H. CRANE.

WHEN an architect who has never laid a section of a brick wall shall be excluded from professional practice on account of such an alleged disqualification, it will be time to prohibit an actor from writing upon dramatic topics.

A cynical critic recently said to me that "the playwright is more likely to become an actor than the actor to become a playwright. A writer produces what he calls a play, he takes it to a manager, and the manager in due time returns it as unavailable. It is ten to one that the play has not been read. No one is bound to inflict torture on himself, and a manager of any sagacity can decide after the first few pages whether a play by a novice is worth reading; the chances being a hundred to one at the outset that it is not. Then if the writer has a little money he overrules his hostile critic in this way. He gets the piece staged at his own expense and has himself cast for a part. And although his drama is sure to fail and does fail he sometimes develops sufficient talent to secure tolerably satisfactory engagements in travelling companies in utility parts. Such cases abound. Stage life has a peculiar fascination for literary people of small calibre. The wings are full of unappreciated Shakespeares. Kept down by the tyranny and blind prejudices of managers so that their own works fail of production, they avenge themselves by murdering the works of more fortunate writers."

I am not responsible for the foregoing opinion, but it is true that the actor who has begun at the foot of the ladder and climbed up is not disposed to write plays. To begin with, he sees a vast army of unsuccessful writers constantly besieging the manager,

hungry for recognition, eager to sell their productions, or to give them away if a sale is impossible. The rewards of an acceptable playwright are liberal, but this only tends to make the army of competitors larger and to draw into its ranks an enormously large quantity of unworthy material. In a newly-discovered mining district, for every man who stakes out a paying claim a hundred or more will stake out worthless ones; and yet capitalists, and those who know, will only buy and work the good one. The actor who has brains enough to contemplate the manufacture of a play has, by the very necessity of the case, brains enough to estimate the conditions that have just been stated. And if this would not be sufficient to deter him from devoting time and labor to such a pursuit his good sense steps in and tells him that if he would retain his hold upon the public he must concentrate his faculties upon one thing, namely, his duties as an actor. As an artist he must keep himself all the time in practice. A profession is paramount to all side issues.

I am aware that I may be referred to Shakespeare and to Boucicault as exceptions that destroy this theory. Shakespeare and Boucicault were indeed exceptions, but they only prove the rule. They were distinguished playwrights—Shakespeare beyond dispute peerless, and forever located on the topmost pedestal in the Pantheon of the Drama. But he was not a distinguished actor. He went on the stage to fill vacancies and for salary, or for what amounts to the same thing, to save payments of salaries. Being part owner and manager of a theatre he might well take the latter view of the case; and it is a matter of history that he was of a thrifty turn. And even if Garrick occasionally tinkered a play, this was done from the point of view of the manager; and was mainly in the line of suggestion. The *Clandestine Marriage* comes down to us as the joint production of George Colman and David Garrick, but the editor of the *British Theatre* tells us that only the design was furnished by Garrick, and that Colman did all the writing except the prologue and the epilogue; appendages of a play which in the eighteenth century appeared to be demanded by the public. Garrick had a weakness for these literary efforts; and his good reputation as an actor has survived in spite of the wretchedness of his verses. The histrionic artist is eulogized, while we condemn, and agree to forget, the wretched doggerel that rhymes "faults"

with "thoughts" * and that labors to detain an audience impatient to leave the house at the end of the play with such verses as these :

> "Abused the moderns; talked of Rome and Greece,
> Bilked every box-keeper; and damned the piece.
> * * * * *
> Now, every fable has a moral to it,
> Be churchman, statesman; anything but poet."

It is a just conclusion, then, that actors will continue to act plays, and that playwrights will continue to write them ; and in reference to the latter function we may not only estimate the present condition of the American drama, but to a certain extent forecast its future.

In point of fact there never has been so prolific a creation of manuscript plays as at present. The growth more than keeps up with the increase of our population ; it seems to be more like the proliferation of germs, about which medical men have so much to say, than like the normal increase of human beings. A manager of a city theatre is agreeably surprised on a day when he does not receive a new drama at his office, with the request to read it carefully and notify the author when to expect a rehearsal, and also whether he prefers to make payment in a lump sum or by royalty. Let us estimate that twenty-five new alleged plays are finished each day by the citizens and citizenesses of the United States. Some of these are kept at home to be read to admiring friends ; others are held by the typewriter by virtue of the lien which the law allows for work, labor and service ; but the bulk of them find their way into the manager's office. They come by mail, by express, by messenger, or they are brought by the author himself, or herself. The latter method is expected to be the most effective, but managers become case-hardened even against beauty in distress.

Plays that are not typewritten stand very little chance of being read ; if in manuscript and rolled, they stand no chance whatever. To send such plays is not a gamble ; it is a sure loss of time and money. A typewritten play the sheets of which have been kept flat between stiff boards, illustrated with stage directions and occasional diagrams of position, has a fair chance of being read as far as the first few pages. By that time the manager

* Epilogue to Hoadley's *Suspicious Husband*.

knows whether or not to pass it over to his reader. There is a living chance that the reader may like it well enough to tell the manager that it might answer if it were reconstructed. Calculation fails to tell us how many plays out of a given thousand reach this point; but it would not be a bad guess to assert that if fifty new plays are produced yearly on the American stage, ten thousand have been written and submitted during that period.

The reader must not regard this as a wild surmise. When in 1891 the *New York Herald* offered a prize for the best one-act play of six thousand words, over eight hundred were sent in in face of the knowledge that the prize could be awarded to only one, and that the demand for curtain-raisers was so limited that the unsuccessful competitors could never hope to find a market for their works. The average writer who sends a three or four act play to a manager hopes for much better odds than this, and he also expects to try other managers if he fails with the first one. In fact, on receiving a play from an aspirant one's first impulse is to scan it closely in order to discover whether it has gone the rounds before, and if so, how often, and where. There are certain signs that are likely to indicate such adventures, and it is fair to conclude that if an experimentally-written play by a novice has n't been looked into and rejected many times before it comes to the hands of any given manager, it is only because he happens to be the first on the list in the possession of the author.

A manuscript play passes through numerous theatre offices before it finally is laid to rest in the morgue in the author's desk—that dreary mausoleum of so many dead hopes and aspirations—consigned to an everlasting sleep beyond all expectation of resurrection, unless some morning the writer should wake up and find himself famous, in which case various enterprising managers would discover merit in and offer money for these forgotten productions. A number of playwrights, not only in America, but in Europe, have thus after a lucky inspiration been enabled to launch on prosperous seas a variety of rebuilt wrecks that had been laid aside to moulder in the dry rot of oblivion.

Alongside of the fact that the production of manuscript plays in America has greatly increased of late years, we find the fact, perhaps unavoidable, that many more really meritorious dramas are written which only fail of commending themselves to manag-

ers because of special defects. A small worm-hole suffices to spoil an otherwise sound apple; and a play, good in many respects, may be ruined beyond redemption by some lesion in the *motif*, some gap in the plot, some absurd aberration in the technique. A landscape purporting to be the work of a Troyon or a Van Marcke, and presenting a blue cow with pea-green horns in the foreground, would not be more ridiculous, or more hopelessly unavailable for exhibition or market, than many plays that are disfigured by incongruous and unheard-of situations, up to which the general trend of the action and dialogue have been natural and not unpleasing. Nothing is more difficult than to convince an unpractised author that his work is faulty. The well-versed playwright is quick to accept suggestions from the practical men of the stage; he is willing to cut out and piece in, and to listen to advice; but the tyro is deaf to such voices, because he is ignorant, and ignorance leads to stupidity.

If a hundred plays are produced now where ten were produced a generation ago, and if then there were nine bad to one good, and if now fifteen in the hundred are passably good, still the appalling fact remains that eighty-five are bad, and the inference is that the more literary activity is developed in the direction of the drama the greater will be the mass of bad plays sent in to managers. This is one of those future ills for which there is no help.

Could we arrange the productions of the coming years so that fewer worthless plays would be written, the papermaker might be a loser, but many people who might be usefully employed in honest vocations would be prevented from wasting time in composing dramas which managers will never read, and which will never see light except it be that of the kitchen fire which they will eventually help to kindle. Yet such a result can hardly be hoped. The failures of any man or set of men do not deter others no better equipped from adventuring in the same field. In the Eastern tale the aspirant for the hand of the princess was required first of all to cure her of melancholy or lose his head, and every morning a fresh head appeared on the gory battlements of her father's castle. No ambitious writer was ever kept away from his pens and paper because a thousand others were ruined by postage and express charges on their returned manuscripts.

But if, as scholars tell us, Horace wrote the "Art of Poetry" without any hope or expectation of creating good poets or reforming bad ones, but from a sense of obligation to the profession by which he earned the recognition of society and a livelihood, so may a practical actor who has had all his training in the school of the stage, hard and salutary as the rough labors, called sports, of a college campus, attempt to discharge a duty to his profession by noting some impressions as to playwriting which have been forced upon him in season and out of season upon the stage.

Prominent among these is the necessity for the possession of the dramatic instinct. This is not a matter of acquirement. It cannot be learned like the multiplication table. He who has it has it. He who has it not will labor to possess it in vain. Who teaches the bee to build the hexagonal cell? Who tells the swallow to fly south when the autumnal equinox arrives? Who instructed the wasp how to make paper for her nest out of the wood of old fence rails? Whoever answers these questions can also account for the dramatic instinct, and why a few people possess it actively and the great mass do not possess it at all.

Whoever regards the production of a play as purely a literary creation is hopelessly mistaken. The lines of a play do indeed require to be written down in order to be memorized, but it is not essential that they should be. The honest tradesmen whom Shakespeare in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* depicts as attempting to act the tragedy of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, are taught their lines by ear so that the drama might have been always vocal and never written at all, as the Homeric poems are said to have been, in their earlier days before the invention of letters. Therefore a play is not a question of literary ability employed in a given direction, nor is it a composition to be read; but it is to be seen and heard, with a bodily form and action conferred upon it by human beings.

A real drama is constructed and not written. It is built up as a house is erected by the bricklayer and stonemason, and the words are only the bricks and stones, and have the same relative value to the design of the playwright as these to the designs of the architect. The architect has the structure in existence and clearly wrought out, before the first stone is laid; and the drama of the true playwright is in existence before a word is written. Words there must be just as there must be bricks;

but as the latter can be carted from the kiln at current prices in any quantity, so can the former be brought to the playwright from the dictionary by any purveyor of sentences at current prices. The rare man who constructs a good play can hire men by the regiment to write the lines. But the dialogue; the epigram; the repartee; the brilliant speech such as we find in Congreve and in Sheridan? Is not this an essential? the reader will ask. Let us not put the cart before the horse. It is the situations that produce the dialogues; it is not the dialogues that produce the situations. Given a situation that calls for a smart, brisk, snappy, witty exchange of words, and the words will come. We see this in real life, and the stage copies real life. Even in so simple a situation as when a couple of cartmen get their wheels locked on Broadway on a muddy day and a policeman comes up to separate them, you will hear a good deal of smart though coarse dialogue. Such dialogue and all dialogue that grows out of any situation (and no dialogue worth listening to grows out of anything else) is interesting in proportion as the situation is interesting.

Without situation to call forth an interchange of language suitable to the occasion, and especially such situation as of itself interests the audience, and causes each member of it to ask himself what the characters will say next, a lot of well-dressed people might stand or sit around on the stage and fire off epigrams at each other, and the audience would yawn. Dramas, so-called, written in perfect accordance with syntax, witty here and there, and always elegant, pour in upon the manager and are rejected with the utmost energy and dispatch, because they are nothing but sermons or essays, in three or four chapters called acts. Their authors style them dramas because they are not dramatic; they divide them into acts because they involve no action; and subdivide them into scenes because where nothing is done, nothing can be seen. I may remark in passing that the old-fashioned shifting of scenes during an act is now only put into plays by novices who have not studied the modern stage.

Given, some novel, fascinating, exciting story and the dramatic instinct that throws the characters involved in the narrative into such situations as heighten the power of the incidents to move human emotions, and the literary work requisite to connect them becomes mere mechanism, as automatic as the winch that carries

bricks to the upper story of a new building. In fact, superior literary talent is not wanted. Lord Macaulay could never have written a good play; and I doubt if he would not have spoiled a good one if he had collaborated with some born dramatist. Byron and Tennyson both failed as playwrights. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* is commended; but you will find very few people who have ever read it once except as a parsing exercise at school; you might safely offer a reward to any one who has read it twice; and it is never acted. Johnson and Addison were both literary lights of the first magnitude, each a veritable Sirius in the firmament of authors, yet the *Irene* of the one and the *Cato* of the other were dead failures. Balzac confessed his inability to write a play. We might summarize the case thus, that while able constructors of situation and narrative have often put good language into the mouths of their characters and have thus contributed to literature, no literary man distinguished in belles-lettres, poetry, history or essay, has ever written a good play. May we not go further and say that he never will? Yet we cannot make this assertion with positiveness, because there is a question of probabilities. One man in a thousand may have the dramatic instinct; one man in a thousand may be in a superior degree literary. Then the chances are that one in a million may unite both functions in himself. Our figures are necessarily imaginary, but they indicate that such a conjunction will occur but rarely, and outside of Shakespeare we doubt if it has ever occurred.

This does not involve the assertion that a valid and useful alliance may not be made between the constructor and the writer. In fact, writing is often a drudgery to the builder of situations, whereas it is a perennial source of pleasure to the real literary man. Many of our best plays grow out of just such leagues. And during the progress of the work that is thus jointly carried on, such contentions arise as sprang up between the French and English allied forces on the day when Sebastopol was stormed. Each side magnifies his office, but the man of action wins. The literary partner aims to impress the audience with an array of ideas; the constructive partner, the true dramatist, says: "Nonsense; the public want action, movement, crisis; they are satisfied with their own ideas." The latter is right and he carries his point. When you pay your money to see a horse race, you want to see two or more horses racing and not to listen to an essay on

equine physiology, even from the most learned and eloquent professor of natural history.

The tendency of the literary man, if he is a scholar, is to write over the heads of his audience, and to offend them by arrogance; if he is a maker of stories, he expects the audience to listen to narratives and to the soliloquies with which he helps along his plot. A novel has been defined by Mr. Crawford to be a pocket drama; but a drama is not by any means an expanded novel. The novel reader expects the author to do his thinking for him in perhaps sixty or a hundred thousand words*, off and on during a day or perhaps two or three: whereas the theatre-goer wants to form his own ideas as to certain actions that take place before his eyes in two hours and a half.

And one lesson which the dramatist must learn, without which all acquirements are useless, is that he must not be wiser than the public, nor set himself up as an instructor, a mentor, a moral or intellectual guide. A play with a purpose, constructed to teach moral lessons, without sufficient dramatic action, is a weariness whether to the boxes or the gallery, and the skilful architect of drama, even if he do convey a lesson, will not let his purpose be known. It will be his art to conceal art.

These hasty glances at a few salient points of our modern stage are but a few views at an infinitely large object; at a few facets of an enormous diamond. As broad, as deep, as diversified as human life is the Drama; both as to its facts and possibilities; and rightly to construct one of these epitomes of human action, in which trivialities are omitted, and only strong and attractive incidents are dwelt upon, and so put in evidence that audiences shall merge themselves into the life of the characters, is one of the noblest and most difficult tasks ever self-set by mankind. Aside from the intrinsic difficulties of the case, the evanescent nature of all social conventionalities operates as a perpetual disappointment to the dramatist, and he realizes the full meaning of Pope's verses in relation to the fugitive themes offered by feminine habitudes:

> "Come then, the colors and the ground prepare,—
> * * * * * * *
> Choose a firm cloud, and ere it fall, within it
> Paint if you can the Cynthia of the minute."

WILLIAM H. CRANE.

* There are over 200,000 words in *Robert Elsmere*.

COUNTING-ROOM AND CRADLE.

BY MARION HARLAND.

A CLEVER man said a caustic thing the other day apropos to the numerous feminine enterprises represented in the Chicago Exposition. "One might imagine the fair exhibitors to be so many freaks. 'Behold!' they cry to a surprised world, 'that, *although women*, we have written books, drawn, painted and engraved pictures, edited journals, and done other wonderful works—even designed the museum in which our handiwork is displayed.'"

Without controverting or sustaining the sarcasm, the student of our times smiles at the thrust at what a lecturer of the other sex calls "The Great Awakening of the Nineteenth Century." Nobody, nowadays, talks of "the inferior sex." The weaker vessel has gone too far out of fashion ever to know renaissance at the hands of the most eccentric fancier of human faïence. The emancipation dreamed of scarce a generation ago by Fanny Wright, Harriet Martineau and Lucy Stone, is an accomplished fact. Edwin Whipple, genial essayist and courteous critic, said, early in the fifties, of Elizabeth Oakes Smith's lecture upon English poetry: "What a woman can do well, she has a right to do. Mrs. Smith has demonstrated ability and right in this lecture, which is a continuous lyric."

He struck a prophetic key-note to the enlightened public sentiment of to-day. The door set wide for her who can enter in, no man can or will shut. It would be easier to enumerate the avenues of labor that remain closed to our sex than to tell over the many they are permitted to occupy. As is altogether natural, the rush into the hitherto untrodden ways reminds the observer of the headlong race of the "Forty-niners" to the Pacific El Dorado, and the ceaseless emigration cityward of restless youth

that has depopulated some of the fairest sections of rural New England.

Thought and pen are brought to a sudden halt by this last and significant illustration. Deserted homesteads and fireless hearths may be milestones in the march of progress. They may as well be beacons of warning. The homes that now stand tenantless by the score in Massachusetts townships fed the Commonwealth up to maturity of strength.

Avoiding (intentionally and scrupulously) what we speak of as the sentimental side of our subject, let us look at the bald fact that to bear and bring up children, to administer the affairs of a household upon the integrity of which depend the health, comfort and happiness of those who are to make history when their progenitors are with the forgotten dead, is a profession in itself, and an important one. Motherhood and homemaking are women's untransferable missions. Men may write her books, or paint her pictures, or conduct her financial and benevolent enterprises so well as to leave her generation nothing to regret in her withdrawal from one or all of these spheres of action. When she demits the duty of maternity the whole creation cannot supply a substitute. When children reluctantly brought into being are consigned to the companionship and tutelage of hirelings and aliens in blood, the family has no advantages above the *crêche;* home and boarding-school become interchangeable terms.

That the writer of this paper has said this, in effect, over and over again, and that other women, not to mention men, have said it yet more forcibly, proves the imminent importance of the hackneyed subject. It is evidence, furthermore, of the startling truth that many of our sex turn a deaf ear to the whispers of Nature, or are slow to learn lessons set by the observation and experience of others.

It is the deserved reproach of American girls that they are educated for anything and everything except for motherhood. Lovers of their kind are wise in raising the question in this Year of Our Lord, 1893, if it be practicable for a woman to discharge aright the offices belonging to wife, mother and housekeeper and at the same time carry on a trade or profession involving the necessity of absence from her home daily during business hours. A popular journal, conducted by a progressive woman, lately opened its columns to the free discussion of the query—

"Should business women marry?" So far as I have been able to follow the debate, the weight of opinion leans rather towards establishing the right of every woman, wedded or single, to support herself and improve such talents as Providence has endowed her with, than to the demonstration of certain stubborn truths which are patent to the candid philanthropist.

Dealing still with the practical phase of the problem, we observe that most women who resort daily to places of business as copyists, clerks or merchants, are not in circumstances which justify them in hiring efficient housekeepers, or even competent servants. The matutinal paragon of proverbial fame, who rose while it was yet night to oversee the servants' early breakfast, was fain to prime her lord with trustworthy counsel before he took leave of her to go forth fearlessly for conference with the elders in the gate. She tarried at home to take a hand at the wool and flax-wheels, to gird her loins with strength for following the maids from room to room, and strengthen her arms by plying broom and distaff. She considered a field and bought it, and invested her private store (probably butter-and-egg money) in a young vineyard, yet looked diligently after the ways of her household, including the education of her children.

The law that formerly stood upon the statute-books of slave-holding States forbidding the sale of a child under ten years of age, unless the mother were included in the bargain, was founded in eternal justice and humanity. The birthright of every sentient thing is what old-fashioned people termed "mothering." The word in its quaint aptness expresses a constancy of enfolding, guarding, brooding devotion which no other earthly relation makes obligatory. During most of the child's waking hours the mother must be within hearing of the exquisite machinery she has set in motion. However engrossing other occupations may be, one side of her must be awake to call or cry; she must be ready, as a loving dictator, to encourage good and to repress wrong. The seeds of physical and moral maladies, if overlooked, will work their wicked will in the years to come, when rootlets, that are tender threads now, will be as tough as steel and defy a giant's strength.

In a Broadway shop window sits a man whom I have named to myself "the Lord of Shalott." His back is to the outer world; before him is a frame filled with a neutral-tinted web. Selecting bit

by bit from a heap of colored wools beside him, he fashions slowly designs familiar to us in the oriental rugs, whose antiquity is their value, which under the tread of the centuries bloom into sheen art cannot emulate. Such is the work of the mothers of the land. In tens of thousands of homes they are weaving in hand-looms tapestry which is to outlive the stars.

Women, as a rule, are deficient in right appreciation of the laws of proportion. This partially accounts for the circumstance that, while that man has never yet been found who would change his sex if he could, many women freely avow that they wish they had been born men. The dash and excitement of combat in the open field ensnare our heroine's fancy, and belittle, by contrast, in her eyes the nicer processes that prepare the soldier for the campaign. She is not content with her craft of artificer of the weapons and instruments without which there would be no public triumphs to record.

Mothers of a different grade from that which furnishes readers of prominent Reviews, who bear their part in Congresses of Representative Women, compass the feat of bringing counting-room and cradle into harmonious coöperation, but in a fashion which their educated sisters would disdain to imitate. Behind the little shop tendered by madame or frau, and visible through the open door of communication, is the family living-room and nursery. When the baby—and there is always one in arms—refuses to lie quietly in the cradle or to sit upon the floor, the mother serves her customers with him upon her shoulder or lap. He is petted, fed and disciplined with like frank disregard of conventionalities. She is a shrewd business woman, a fond and, according to her lights, a faithful parent, troubling her brain with no fine-drawn disquisitions. The shop must be looked after, the baby is *here*! What would you? She and hers will possess this land of the Pilgrims' pride in due time.

For, side by side with feminine ambition to do a man's work in the outer world has grown the disposition to regard the advent of children in the abodes of our so-called better classes, as, at the best, an expensive luxury. They handicap the aspirant for fame; they make a mock of routine, claiming all seasons for their own; they clothe with forceful meaning the phrase "limitations of sex;" but these extremely lively stones are the material with which the Temple of the Future is to be built.

Our woman of advanced ideas must make choice between two avocations, each of which demands singleness of purpose and the best powers of mind and body. She is wise above what is written by enthusiastic leaders into what is the new world to her, and the old to her brothers, if she comprehend that the road for her must for a while lead uphill. While she is no longer excluded from the business arena, she contends there with disadvantages unknown to men. However heroic the training for her chosen career may have been, the atmosphere of the commercial, and, in a less degree, of the professional world strikes her as harsh and raw. Men's ways are not her ways ; she cannot learn all at once to put her sensibilities safely out of reach ; the strife for mastery shocks her ideas of the equity of reciprocal benefits ; her nerves, physical and spiritual, lie too near the surface to allow her to compete upon equal terms with those who are prepared for this sort of work by precedent, birth, and physical conformation.

Women do themselves gross injustice and are unconsciously cruel to their sisters when they combat the truth of their bodily unfitness to toil after the manner of men, as many hours *per diem*, week in and week out, and throughout the year. Under the finest conditions of constitution and health a woman may be the superb counterpart of brother, lover or husband—the *alter ego*, that, combined with his personality, makes up the perfect human creature. She is not—she never will be—his faithful re-presentment. In denying this natural law, she arrogates as her own a form of creation unknown to God and to man. In contending for the equality of the sexes, her ambition has overleaped the bounds that masculine daring has set for itself. She would unite in her one person the distinctive qualities and the loftiest possibilities of both sexes. For the Damascus blade that cuts cleanly through the down cushion, she covets the solid weight of the cleaver.

Nature, as interpreted by the sages of all ages, divides between the sexes the labor of developing the race up to its highest type. Reasoning together with a right sense of woman's worth in the vast scheme, our counsellors plead that since she, and none else, can fulfil certain duties, she cannot decline them without fatal injury to the great system. Nobody doubts her ability to keep accounts, to buy and to sell, to practise law and medicine, and expound theology. Celibate, she can engage in and carry on any of

these emprises with success contingent upon ability and opportunity. It is a simple statement of a principle as self-evident as that two substances cannot occupy the same space at the same time, that she cannot play the man in a calling which requires all her thoughts and energies for seven, eight or ten hours out of the twenty-four, and be very woman to home, spouse and children. As soon might the mainspring of a watch essay to run a corn-mill while regulating the cogs, wheels and levers to which it is adjusted.

When necessity binds upon the mother the grievous burden of bread-winning abroad and bringing up a family of young children at home, she must, perforce, submit to the maiming of one side of her life—and, with faith in Heaven and in herself, do her best. Were her children utterly orphaned, they would be dragged up after a fashion, taking their chances of ruin or salvation. If she go forth at morning unto her work, and to her labor until the evening, committing her darlings to fate and hirelings—or, if she be more fortunate, to her nearest of kin—she selects the lesser of two evils, and deserves our respectful compassion.

The fact that the demands of fashionable society are more inimical to the multiplication and growth of olive plants in modern nurseries than the nobler ambition to achieve independence or reputation by the employment of native talents, has no relevance to the matter now before us.

Every sensible spectator of the existence that has no worthier aim than display which is vulgar, and amusements that are selfish and puerile, resents comparison between the gauzy-winged ephemeron, dizzied by electric light, and her whose scorn of the traditional bondage to sex is founded in consciousness of innate superiority to the typical butterfly and also to the storied and priggish ant. She will make something of herself better and higher than either. Nothing in the texture of man's brain, when compared with a woman's, warrants the dogma that he is to be an independent being, and hers a parasitic growth. The admonition to cautious circumspection of speech and look in places where business men do congregate provokes a proud smile. "Temptations"—vaguely portrayed by timorous spinsters—simply do not exist for her. A single aim and a steadfast purpose are the lion of this latter-day Una.

Often—as breadwinner for others more helpless than herself—she has, to all intents and purposes, assumed the man's place. She has no leisure for thought that involves planning and provision for domestic needs, from her departure in the gray winter morning until she lets herself into the hall with her latch-key at evening. Craft or profession absorbs mental and nervous forces. Sooner or later, home—an empty echo of a monosyllable when the feminine element is lacking—becomes a harbor into which she puts occasionally for repairs. She is a seafarer—as all her fathers (but not her mothers) were. As a man's substitute in counting-room, shop and office, her success cannot be gainsaid. Into the manufacture of the substitute has gone all she had to give of mental and physical power. The graft has thriven lustily, but the native branches have been pruned to make room for the alien. If the result satisfy her, it is because she has unsexed herself. If longings for the shelter, the sacred joys and loves of wifehood and motherhood have survived throughout the unnatural process, she is an object of pity.

That there are many women in our own and other lands who have won distinction with pen, brush and chisel—have given to a grateful world the results of exhaustive research into the deep things of nature and of science, without neglecting one of the holy tasks devolving upon wife and housemother—relieves what may seem to be the hard sentence which we believe that Providence and experience have pronounced. She who keeps abreast intellectually with her growing boys and girls, and gives her husband cogent reason for safely trusting in her judgment and good sense, will not fall out of line with her generation. The home-life of a well-appointed household affords facilities for study and mental growth unsuspected by those who have never brought business habits into domestic practice. Servants are better, and children happier for the wise ruling that makes of the family a working community wherein individual taste and habit are consulted and scope is granted for the exercise of each, and where the highest good of all is the law of daily living.

The Presence that informs such an organization is practically limitless in influence. Time and eternity are debtors to it.

MARION HARLAND.

THE LESSON OF HEREDITY.

BY HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, M. D., MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE RANDALL'S ISLAND HOSPITALS.

THE scientific shibboleth of our time is heredity. The word is on everyone's tongue. Viewing a fallen fellow-mortal, it is quite the fashion to shake one's head and say, "Oh, heredity accounts for him; blood will tell." And with this formula we are accustomed to measure our fellows, much as a clerk measures cloth. And lest there should be any doubt about the method, the man of science comes to our aid. "Yes," he says, "you are quite right. Your formula expresses the universal principle of heredity. We word it a little differently, but the idea is the same. 'Like begets like' is the way we put it. It applies to every living thing in the world. Notice this bacillus, for example. Even as you observe it beneath the microscope, it divides, and two baccilli are there in place of one. This process it will continue indefinitely, under proper conditions, until there are myriads of bacilli there, but every one will be precisely like the first. The cholera bacillus never changes into the bacillus of consumption, nor that into the bacillus of diphtheria. Each produces its own kind and no other. 'Like begets like!' It is beautifully simple, unequivocally true, and of universal application."

It is little wonder that so relatively simple, so true and so sweeping a proposition has proved alluring. All universal formulæ are so. But it should not be forgotten that a seemingly simple principle may become very complex indeed, in its application. So it is here. Indeed, a stumbling-block of most alarming dimensions appears at the very outset if we attempt to apply the principle of heredity intelligently to any higher organism, in the fact

that two parents are to be considered. These parents are not precisely like one another, hence, in the nature of the case, the offspring must be either identical with one parent and unlike the other, or else identical with neither. Here theory wavers, but experience proves that the offspring always combines in some measure the qualities of both parents; hence, that it never is precisely like either of them. What, then, becomes of the principle of heredity? It appears that like does *not* beget like in the sense of identity; and if "like" is only meant to convey a sense of general similarity, it is altogether too vague a principle to have practical utility.

In point of fact, however, no such vagueness exists. The seeming obscurity results partly from the complexity of the conditions and partly from misapprehension of terms. The explanation is found in the fact that heredity implies not so much the transmission of conditions as of tendencies. Speaking loosely, we often say that consumption, insanity, and heart disease are hereditary. Strictly speaking, the statement is never true. An inherent weakness or susceptibility of lungs, brain, or heart—a tendency towards disease of these organs—may be transmitted, but not the diseases themselves. And so of other conditions. The word tendencies is our open sesame. Two parents having qualities unlike and often mutually exclusive cannot transmit these qualities to their common offspring; but they can transmit all their tendencies to that offspring, even though these tendencies be antagonistic. An organism cannot *be* two things at once, but it may *tend* to be many different things; antagonistic tendencies within it constantly struggling for the mastery. And aided by external conditions, the tendencies at one time subordinate may at another time become dominant. Failing of such favorable conditions, tendencies may keep up an unequal and seemingly inefficient struggle throughout the lifetime of an individual, without once making themselves manifest, and yet be transmitted to the offspring with such potential force as there to become operative.

To tangibly illustrate: If one parent has black eyes, the other blue, it is evident that both cannot transmit the color of the eyes to their child. But one may transmit a tendency to black eyes, the other a tendency to blue, and according as one tendency or the other proves the stronger, the child will have black or blue

eyes. Suppose the black-eye tendency prevails for the moment—that is, for that individual. The blue-eye tendency is not eliminated; though dormant for that generation, it may reassert itself so strongly that a child of the next generation will have blue eyes though both its parents have black eyes.

Nor is this all. A tendency may remain dormant, and perhaps unsuspected, not merely for one but sometimes for many generations, becoming at last manifest again in a remote descendant. And this is as true of mental and moral tendencies as of physical. In short, the observed facts would seem to warrant the conclusion that the organism never relinquishes any tendency it has once acquired, but holds it in stock, if need be, generation after generation, awaiting a favorable opportunity to herald it forth. Only by such a supposition can we explain the commonly-observed fact of inheritance from remote ancestors, or, as Darwin termed it, atavism.

Manifestly, then, we shall greatly err if we attempt sweeping estimates of a child's hereditary tendencies from a study of its parents alone. Nor will it suffice to turn to grandparents, or even great-grandparents. Atavism assuredly reaches far back of these. But if we invoke a remoter ancestry, we shall be dumbfounded at the response. Behold them! There were eight great-grandparents; thirty-two individuals in the generation before that; then 64, 128, 256. We have reached back only to the time of the Pilgrim fathers. And still they accumulate, these unavoidable ancestors. In the tenth generation they number a thousand, omitting an unimportant dozen or two for the sake of round numbers; in the twentieth generation they are an army of a million. And this is going back only to the twelfth or thirteenth century. One need go but little further and the seemingly unassailable mathematicals will name him an ancestry coextensive with the entire population of the globe. Thus are we all proven brothers in fact as well as name. Thus is the antiquarian justified who had traced his ancestry down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, but there lost it; in truth he can scarcely have gone amiss up to that time. Seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century genealogies are for parvenus.

But behind the jest lie sober realities of the most far-reaching import. Admitting that when examined critically our computation is somewhat shorn of its astounding proportions by mar-

riages of consanguinity, the fact remains, beyond all levity, that every human being, high or low, has had within recent times a multitude of ancestors in direct line of descent. Marriages of consanguinity being, perhaps, most frequent in circles of royalty, probably the persons who have the fewest ancestors, and of whom, therefore, as we shall see presently, we should expect the least, are kings and their kith. And yet the aristocrat is wont to look down upon the plebeian because he has no ancestors! He means, of course, that the plebeian does not know the name of his ancestors. But what does he know of his own? Sir John Jones boasts loudly of his lineage because he knows the names of his little line of Jones ancestors for, say, ten generations back. He holds in contempt poor Smith who cannot bring documentary evidence that he had a great-great-grandfather. But has Jones at his tongue's end the records of all of the other fifteen of his own ancestors of that fourth generation whose names were *not* Jones? I venture not. But even if he had, what does he know of that boasted tenth generation? Why, that *one* member was named Jones. But what of the 1,023 other individuals who make up the remainder of the phalanx? The ancient Jones may have been a very great man indeed, but he represents less than one-tenth of one per cent. of the present Sir John's ancestors of that single tenth generation. Fortunate is it for Sir John's peace of mind that he does not know the others, for it is many chances to one they were a motley crew, scattered in all parts of the globe. Not improbably, there were a few Turks and Arabs, and a Negro or two in the company, and it is not at all unlikely that a few score of them were vassals or slaves to some of poor Smith's illustrious but now forgotten ancestors of that same generation.

But whether kings or vassals matters not for our purpose. It is only important to recall that these multitudinous ancestors existed. And there they surely are, ready to be summoned at a moment's notice by the simplest computation. Making fullest concessions to consanguineous marriages—say by reducing the number one-half—there still remain more than one thousand shades to answer the roll-call of each and every individual's ancestors within ten generations past. And the principle of atavism is at hand to prove that any particular tendency of any one of these ancestors may crop out unexpectedly after being long suppressed; nay, more,

that all the multitudinous tendencies of all these ancestors must be represented—though combined and modified—in the personality of each Smith and Jones, and X, Y or Z of to-day. An awful thought, is it not? What wonder that we poor conglomerate mortals are torn by doubts and uncertainties, and contradictory aspirations and conflicting passions? What wonder that consistency is rarest of jewels? The wonder is rather that we can manage to spin any continuous or rational thread of life at all out of such a tangle of unmiscible tendencies. "Like begets like" has ceased to be the simple principle that it seemed.

It appears, then, to use a graphic illustration, that every individual represents the apex of an inverted pyramid of descent, whose base, extending back into history, at some point coincides with the base or a sectional plane of the ancestral pyramid of every other individual of his race. Why, then, since the same principle has applied to all, are not the apices all identical? How has the principle "like begets like," applied to a common ancestry, produced such a diversity of descendants? Heredity, unaided, can give but one answer to this question. It is because the elements of this conglomerate ancestry have not been mixed equally. In other words, because of marriages in different degrees of consanguinity. The answer is not sufficient, yet it can account for much. Let us examine it before seeking for other causes.

In the nature of the case, if men are all descended from a common stock, all marriages must be in some degree of consanguinity. But the degree may vary from the incestuous union of brother and sister, which was legalized among the ancients, or the marriage of cousins, which is the limit fixed by most modern civilizations, to the usual cases in which all trace of relationship has long since been lost. At first sight, it is perhaps not apparent why marriages in close degrees of consanguinity should be of especial significance in their bearing on the problems of heredity. But a moment's reflection will make this plain. In the first place, a consanguineous union greatly restricts the variety of tendencies of the descendants. A person whose parents are cousins, for example, has only six great-grandparents, instead of the normal number of eight; and thus, to carry the computation no farther than that generation, his aggregate tendencies are restricted in diversity by one-fourth—in itself a serious matter.

And, in the second place, certain of these restricted tendencies may be accentuated in a way that may be yet more serious. These are tendencies of the two great-grandparents in whom both lines of descent meet, and who therefore count as four persons in reckoning the child's inherited possibilities. The offspring of cousins may therefore be theoretically expected to have (1) less than the average diversity of tendencies, and (2) an abnormal instability of tendencies, due to the accentuation of certain groups. And here practical observation fully sustains theory. It is by the application of these principles that all the specialized races of domestic animals have been so rapidly developed.

This, then, I say, is the only answer which heredity alone can give as to why individuals vary in their tendencies and qualities. The answer does not seem sufficient, for to be tangible it is evident that the unions must be in close consanguinity, and it is well known that such unions are everywhere exceptional. Even barbarians go to outside families, and even to outside tribes for wives. But aside from this objection the argument contains a fallacy in that an element not accounted for by heredity alone has been introduced unwittingly. And in some respects the interpolation is of more importance than the original document. Let us look more critically. We have just assumed that every individual inherits all the tendencies of all his ancestors. If, then, all the tendencies of the race were represented in that remote common ancestry to which we are referring, and all these tendencies again were epitomized in each and every descendant, it is not apparent why it should make much difference whether a being has six great-grandparents or eight, since the two ancestors who would be doubly represented in the curtailed generation would doubly represent exactly the same focalized group of tendencies as would be represented by any other two persons. And yet we know that consanguineous unions do make a difference in practice. We have come to another stumbling block. But the explanation is not far to seek, though it lies partly outside the domain of heredity. We have said that every individual comes into the world with possibilities representing the sum of all the tendencies of all its ancestors. This formula is certainly at once correct and comprehensive. It would be a misuse of language to speak of inheritance of a tendency not represented in some ances-

tor, near or remote. But the same formula does not represent fully the personality of the same individual when he has grown to adult life, for then we must say, The sum of all the tendencies of all ancestors *plus* certain qualities developed in the present generation through contact with a definite environment. And these acquired qualities we are bound to believe, notwithstanding the dissent of a certain school of modern biologists, are represented in the sum of tendencies which this individual transmits to his progeny. It is as if an ancestral estate received additions with each generation of holders. Only it must be remembered that the additions are not necessarily improvements. There are minus as well as plus quantities in our problem of heredity.

Not only may new tendencies be thus added generation after generation, but the old tendencies may be given new significance, certain ones being developed under a fostering environment till they preponderate as they had never done in a previous generation; other tendencies being, of course, proportionately pushed into the background. Manifestly, then, this new factor of environment is a force to be reckoned with. It is the variable quantity which is introduced into the personal equation of every creature, to be considered along with the fixed quantity, hereditary tendencies. And as this variable can never be exactly the same for any two organisms in the world, it follows that no two personalities can ever be identical. Thus it appears that the diversity of individuals and of races, which is the observed condition of organic nature, has come to pass primarily through environment, not heredity. Now it is manifest why it does make a difference whether one has six or eight ancestors of the third generation, for the two additional ancestors would have brought certain tendencies that had been developed by the specific environment of their particular lines of recent ancestors, which must necessarily have varied somewhat from the tendencies of each of the other ancestors of that or any other generation. The remote or fundamental tendencies, inherited from the common ancestry far removed, would have been the same in all; the points of difference pertain to certain less fundamental, but scarcely less important, lines of special development.

And these additional tendencies, as we have seen, are not to be set down to the credit of heredity, but to that of environment. And, indeed, if we were to carry the analysis back along exactly

the same lines to include the remote ancestors and their fundamental tendencies, we should find that exactly the same arguments apply there with equal force. Time was, in the far past, when these qualities, which we now term fundamental because they are of long standing, were in their turn developing; and we are bound to believe that they also were developed primarily through the influence of environmental forces, acting on a responsive organism. In fact, all that we can know of life and mind is the reaction of a certain kind of matter to the impinging forces of its environment. In this view, the most that can be said for heredity is that it has held a kind of receptacle into which tendencies as they were developed were thrown for safe keeping. It has developed nothing, originated nothing; but it has been a most faithful Lord High Keeper of the Treasury, for it has let no single precious tendency escape when once it had been acquired.

The function of heredity, then, is the retention and transmission of tendencies. This function it performs with the most absolute impartiality. It sees to it that each quality of an individual —whether dominant or subordinate, patent or latent—is represented in the progeny of that individual. It can do no more; its mission is completed for that generation; it must leave the plastic material for the great moulder, environment. And the forces of environment come to the attack right vigorously. But they also have their limitations. Certain general characteristics of body and mind have been so ingrained in the race through persistent repetition that they can by no possibility be greatly altered in a single generation. All the tendencies of all the ancestors near and remote coincide in the direction of these qualities. The transforming power of environment must turn chiefly to those newer tendencies which have been developed in recent generations, and to a decision between antagonistic tendencies. And yet even the primordial tendencies are not altogether beyond the pale of environment, because none of them are absolutely fixed by heredity. Take the matter of stature, for example. The ancestral tendencies vary within a limit of many inches. Some ancestors have been perhaps but four feet tall, others have been nearer seven feet. But there is a strong average tendency perhaps towards a stature of between five and one half and six feet. Within these limits, environment may under ordinary circumstances decide. Nutritional conditions during infancy, childhood,

and adolescence—the presence or absence of disease at critical periods, and the like—will determine the exact stature in the individual case, just as general nutritional conditions have determined the average stature of different races of men—the Esquimaux, for example, or the Patagonians.

And what is true of the physical stature is equally true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the mental and moral stature. But the fact that the stature, physical, mental and moral is fixed at a certain limit for one individual, does not irrevocably fix the limit for the offspring of that individual. Each individual case changes the average of tendencies, of course, but it does not eliminate the old tendencies; and these old tendencies, reacting to a changed environment, may produce a very different individual result in a succeeding generation. The average results, in deviation from the old average, only assume permanence when the race is subjected generation after generation to the conditions that first wrought an individual change. The Esquimaux, for example, have come to be a race of relative dwarfs because their environment has for generations been defective from a nutritional standpoint. But no doubt atavism still holds for them the tendency of remote ancestors to larger stature, and under changed meteorological conditions they would doubtless return gradually to the old-time average. But even under conditions as they exist, environment has not changed the physical, mental or moral qualities of this race in *kind*, but only in degree. The broad synoptical outline of qualities inherited from the remote common ancestry are still the same as those of every other race of human beings in the world. It is the specific, the newer, and hence, on the whole, the less essential qualities that differ.

If this is true of different races of men, it must be far more tangibly true of the extremes of the same race, who live under conditions much less widely variable than those that separate the races. Caucasian and Esquimau must perhaps go back millennia to find a common ancestor; but the lord of the manor and his lowliest servant have probably had common ancestors within a few centuries past. Not merely their fundamental tendencies then, but many of the more specialized tendencies are inherently the same in both. The familiar traditional tales, doubtless some of them founded on fact, of infants of beggars and princes being transposed in the cradle without subsequent discovery,

illustrate this fact perhaps as forcibly as a more sober argument could do.

If further proof were needed, one has but to turn to the records of common every-day experience, and analyze the characteristics of such representatives of the extremes of contemporary society as are personally known to him. He will find the same general physical qualities, the same general mental qualities, above all the same general moral qualities at each end of the social scale. Why? Because these general qualities have had the stamp of approval of myriads of common ancestors. The details of specialization differ widely, of course; as widely in mental and moral directions, as, for example, the unkempt beard and ragged clothes of the one differ from the waxed moustache and fashionable suit of the other. Such differences have been wrought by different recent environing conditions, but far more significant likenesses have been retained. The lovers of Mary Ann settle their rival claims by resort to fisticuffs; the lovers of Priscilla by innuendo, or repartee, but the principle is the same. The hero of the Bowery stage overcomes the villain perhaps by blows, at least by physical prowess; the Broadway hero triumphs through more subtle and intellectual processes. But the essential thing is that in each case the hero must triumph. He may swagger with hands in pockets, or perhaps boast and swear in choicest Bowery dialect; his pathos may be, for more refined ears, suspiciously like bathos; his courage may be bravado; but always, in the intellectual eye of his audience, he must be an approach to an ideal hero, good, noble, aspiring, or he cannot receive the plaudits of even the worst audience. Why? Because we look to stage and story for ideals, and the same ideal aspirations have been inherited from remote common ancestors by both extremes of our social life.

The fact, then, is everywhere patent that heredity accounts for the sameness of our race, not for the differences. The latter are the work of environment. It is further true that it is the plan of Nature—to use for convenience sake, the old language of teleology—to avoid extremes and keep as near as may be to the happy mean through the aid of heredity. It is as if she looked with equal affection upon every tendency once implanted in a race of her creatures, and strove always to aid the tendencies that were for the moment subordinated. To accomplish this end she adopts a very simple but very effectual expedient. We ex-

press this expedient commonly in the saying that opposites attract. This means, in the light of what we have just seen, that a person is drawn towards a person of the opposite sex whose predominating tendencies correspond to his subordinated ones. By this means tendencies subordinated in one generation are reinforced and become dominant in the next; by this means, in other words, atavism is accomplished. Note, as practical illustrations, how tall men are attracted by small women, blondes by brunettes, genius by mediocrity. It is even matter of common experience that the most virtuous young women are often fascinated by the opposite moral traits in their male associates, while, contrariwise, the most vicious of men would always choose virtuous helpmates if they could. Thus, within the ranks of any caste of society, there is a constant effort to equalize the average tendencies and bring back that hereditary balance which environment is forever tending to disturb.

A like effort in a wider way is manifest in balancing the castes themselves. For every specialized development far in one direction, brought about through a pampering environment aided by consanguineous marriages or marriages of expediency, carries its own Nemesis, in the fact that growing instability always goes hand in hand with extreme development. We noted how specialized races of domestic animals have been rapidly developed by special environment and artificial selection (corresponding to marriages of expediency), and now we have further to note that the specialized race so developed is always an unstable race as compared with the mother stock from which it has sprung. Only by a perpetually pampering environment and a selective in breeding of an unnatural kind can it be kept from reverting through atavism to the original type; and if it is allowed to return to natural environmental conditions, it immediately does begin to return to the old-time average status—as witness the wild horse. All this, of course, is explained easily through the struggle for existence and its resulting natural selection. Now exactly the same thing occurs among human families under similar conditions. The best illustration is afforded by the uniform history of royal dynasties. Founded usually by some person who combined rare and desirable hereditary tendencies, they are perpetuated by tradition, under an enervating environment, to whose undermining influences are added the like influences of marriages of expediency and often of

consanguinity, until in a few generations the inevitable result is reached of ill-balanced offspring, often brilliant in certain useless directions, as often insane, who are unfitted to rule, and who are presently supplanted, despite tradition, by some strong offshoot of the family, or some entire outsider, whose descendants will in turn reënact the same cycle of degeneration.

In a lesser degree, this same cycle is to be witnessed in the family histories of those upper strata of society that are always prone to model after royalty. The degeneration and frequent extinction of our "oldest and best families," with the concomitant rise of new families, is an illustration within the experience of everyone. But everywhere it is the same story: through environment, primarily, are the changes wrought: through heredity —especially as exemplified in atavism—is the stability of the race maintained. These two forces are respectively the Radicals and the Conservatives of Nature. The one insures progress, the other prevents evolution from taking such strides as would lead the race to disaster.

In one sense, perhaps, we are all "born criminals," for we inherit from remote ancestors traits that if they had free play would ill accord with the customs of our modern civilization. The child who, in a moment of impotent anger, claws viciously at the face of its mother manifests an emotion no different from that with which the remote feudal ancestor fell upon his enemy and gave him battle. The proverbial cruelty of children to animals is perhaps reminiscent of those days when the ancestors of the race lived by the chase. But these are single phases of a most complex personality. The same infant that at one moment is so vicious will the next moment hold up for the kiss of the mother cheeks wet with penitent tears. The boy who feels an instinctive desire to hurl stones at a strange dog, will just as instinctively bestow upon the same dog acts inspired by regret and pity if his missile unfortunately find its mark. The two sets of emotions are antagonistic, but they are alike "instinctive." One needs but watch for an hour the conduct of a child yet so young that his deeds express instead of masking his emotions, to gain tangible evidence of that complex host of antagonistic tendencies that are battling within the budding mind. And when one realizes at its full value the fact that no one of these tendencies can, by any possibility, be altogether blotted out from the personality of that being while it lives,

he will realize, also, that such flippant phrases as "altogether good," "wholly bad" and the like have no real meaning as applied to the complex mind of man. It may be conceded, of course, that if we were to classify all human tendencies by an ethical standard into two groups, every mortal must, at a given moment, strike a balance for good or evil, though most of us, I fear, would be very close to the line at best. But in the light of heredity—of atavism—it can never be conceded that any mortal has been or can be born into the world who has not inherent tendencies that are good as well as those that are bad. From which follow the warning corollary that no mortal can be above the possibility of temptation, and the cheering one that none can be beyond the pale of hope. And this is, to me, the great lesson of heredity.

He has but poorly read the lesson who will attempt to definitely forecast the future of any human being. Only a false prophet could, in the name of heredity, deny all hope to the child even of the most depraved criminals. As it lies there in its cradle even amidst the squalor of poverty and vice, no one can deny that it is a sweet and innocent morsel of humanity; and if contemplation of its parents causes us to shudder for its future, we may obtain a vision equally valid and far more cheering by letting our mental retrospect extend to include the worthier members of a conglomerate ancestry. Of a certainty there are good tendencies as well as bad welling up into that nascent mind. Not improbably there are many evil currents sweeping in one direction nearest the surface, but rest assured there are deeper counter currents. Whether these deeper currents will ever reach the surface is a question that lies without the pale of heredity. That delightfully impartial verdict "Blood will tell" conveyed all the message that heredity could bring. But *which* blood—the good or the bad? Heredity cannot answer. The decision rests with environment. Hence the fundamental mission of all social reforms that go to the heart of things must be to so mould the average environment of civilization that in a larger and yet larger percentage of cases the good blood rather than the bad in each newest generation shall be *made to "tell."*

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

THE SILVER PROBLEM.

I.—A WORD TO WAGE-EARNERS.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

MUCH has happened since I tried, two years ago, in the REVIEW to explain "Money" in a way so simple that the farmers, wage-earners, and working people generally could clearly understand it. But nothing has happened which those who understand money and its laws did not expect. Indeed, those who understand these best have rather been surprised that the results of well-known laws did not sooner produce the present effects.

I again address myself to the toiling masses of the people, the farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, and all who receive stated salaries or earn daily wages, and shall try to tell them,

First: What has happened. Second: Why it happened. And, third: The Remedy.

First, then, what has happened. Let me take you back some years. The country never was so prosperous as during the decade between 1880 and 1890. Labor was never so fully employed, wages so high, or the necessaries of life so cheap; the masses never earned and saved so much; never was the proportion of the combined earnings of capital and labor given to and received by labor so large, and the proportion left to capital so small. Never was the foreign commerce of the country nor its infinitely more important home commerce so great. It is probable that our successors in many future decades are to look back to the past decade as the golden age of the Republic, as far as material prosperity is concerned.

What a contrast to this picture the position of our country presents to-day. It is doubtful if a more disastrous financial cyclone ever blasted a country to such an extent in so short a time. We look now upon the mines, not only of silver, which employ comparatively few men, but upon the much vaster iron mines almost completely stopped and the coal mines greatly restricted in product. We see the woollen and cotton mills stop in New England; the blast furnaces closed throughout the South; banks and business firms failing to an extent before unknown, and hundreds of thousands of workmen idle, when before every one was employed. And while a few thousands engaged in business suffer, the sufferers among the wage-earning classes are already numbered by hundreds of thousands. The country has fallen from the apex of prosperity to the depths of industrial depression. Adversity has taken the place of prosperity; stagnation in business has succeeded activity; confidence has given place to distrust; and, as is always the case when business is disturbed, the chief part of the loss or suffering is falling, and must fall, upon the workingmen —upon the poor millions and not upon the rich few. The millionaire will cease to make money for a time, or perhaps lose some which he can well afford to spare. The business man, as a rule, will certainly lose part of his capital, but few in these classes will be beggared. Upon the millions of poor people alone will come deprivation, restricted comforts, poorer food and clothing; and upon many absolute want.

Such a disaster has come upon the country as has compelled the President to call in hot haste an extraordinary session of Congress in these startling words:

"*Whereas*, The distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation, which pervade all business circles, have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufactures, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor; and

"*Whereas*, The present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws, which must be executed until repealed by Congress."

This, then, is what has happened, and answers the first part of the subject.

We now proceed to the second part, and inquire why it has happened.

In "The A B C of Money" I made a statement to which I venture now to call your attention. I said:

"In the next Presidential campaign, if I have to vote for a man in favor of silver and protection, or for a man in favor of the gold standard and a reduced tariff, I shall work and vote for the latter, because my judgment tells me that even the present tariff is not half so important for the good of the country as the maintenance of the highest standard for the money of the people."

The cloud then seen in the sky was not bigger than a man's hand, and some of my party associates did not approve of my regarding the tariff issue as relatively unimportant compared with the money question.

But I am disposed to think that recent events may have caused them to modify their opinion. I mention this not to show you that I was a prophet, for it requires no prophet to predict what was known to be certain to come, and financial men generally saw the cloud as clearly as I. It is referred to in the hope that you may be induced to hear me more patiently now, since I was right then.

Few working people know why this panic was certain to come upon us, and it is sad to say that if you had known what "Money" is, and the laws which govern it, the country would have remained as prosperous as it was during the previous decade, because you would have spoken to your Congressional representatives in a way that would have prevented them from taking the action which has plunged us all into such distress.

The reason why disaster has come is this. Up to the year 1878 gold was our only metallic currency, silver was used only for small change, and was legal tender in sums not exceeding five dollars. In 1878, however, a bill was passed requiring the Government to buy not less than two millions of dollars worth per month of silver, and to coin it into money, thus adding to our gold currency currency in silver, from which before we were entirely free.

"This, the dire spring of all our woes."

The Government has ever since been trying, and trying in vain, to give a value to silver which it does not possess. It has gone exactly contrary to all the other leading governments of the world. Keen observers of affairs everywhere saw that silver was being produced in larger quantities and more cheaply than ever, owing to the discovery of new mines and to im-

proved methods of mining and refining; and, therefore, that it was falling, and bound to fall in value. One government after another stopped buying and coining silver to use for money. It is nearly fifteen years since all European governments have ceased to coin silver. Our Government alone (Mexico excepted) has persisted in buying millions of dollars' worth of silver every month, and for the last two years it has bought more silver than all the mines of the country have produced; and has issued notes for this silver which it has so far redeemed in gold. When the United States began to buy and coin silver there was not a mint in Europe which was not closed against it. Every student of finance knew that if it continued to buy silver the time must come when it would be impossible for the Government to redeem all its notes in gold, because the country was losing its gold rapidly and adding every month to its notes. It was only a question of time, therefore, when the most far-seeing and prudent among financial and business men, both at home and abroad, would begin to take measures to secure themselves against the possible failure of the Government to pay its notes in gold, for if these ever were paid in silver only, this would mean a loss of probably one-half of all their funds, so a few investors at home first began to make all contracts in gold and to exchange the bonds they had bought, which were payable in lawful money, for bonds that were expressly payable in gold. People abroad who had invested their money in our country did the same, while others decided that it was safest to withdraw all their money from our country, and so the whole world looked on in surprise, and foreign governments with joy, at the attempt of our Government to bolster up silver, and quietly began to drain our country of its gold, leaving us the silver, of which we seemed so fond. We might accept silver if we chose, but gold was the only metal for them. Since our silver legislation of 1878 began to operate, as it was bound sooner or later to operate, we have exported in five years and five months, from 1888 to 1893, three hundred and twenty-eight millions of dollars in gold, and received only one hundred and fifteen millions. And you have to note that gold has been taken from us faster and faster as we added to our stock of silver; thus, in 1890, we lost only twenty-four millions; in 1891, seventy-nine millions: in 1892, seventy-six millions; and in five months of this year no less than sixty-three millions have been taken from us.

Besides this, before we unnecessarily left the exclusive gold currency we had in 1878, and plunged into buying and coining silver, and thus poisoning our hitherto pure metallic currency, we always gained and added more and more gold to our circulation, for the United States produces more than one-third of the gold of the world, and coined in six years, ending in 1878, no less than 254 millions of dollars in gold. Since we so unwisely introduced silver into our currency as money, the people and governments of Europe, who have kindly relieved us of our pure unchanging healthful gold, have also kindly allowed us to substitute for it 354 millions of dollars of blood-poisoning silver.

It may be well just here to look for a moment at the financial result of our Government's brilliant speculation in silver. The advocates of silver purchases insisted that if the Government would only purchase more silver than all the mines in the country produced, that the price of silver would rise. Now, so far from doing so, it has constantly fallen. Some of the silver bought by the Government some years ago cost 1.20 per ounce; this month's purchases were worth only seventy cents. Taking all the silver bought by the Government, at the market price to-day, the nation has lost more than one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. If the Government were to sell its silver it would lose much more. All this money has been drawn from the people to be lost in unwise speculation in a metal which all other civilized governments had been wise enough to discard. Nor was there ever the slightest reason for the Government to abandon the gold currency and adopt that of silver, for the gold currency was meeting every want and keeping the nation free from all danger of financial distrust; and especially was it placing upon other nations the risks and losses already seen to be impending from the fall in silver value.

It is, no doubt, pretty bad management to lose one hundred and twenty millions of dollars of the people's hard-won earnings. But this amount is trifling compared with the manifold greater loss that is falling, and must now fall, upon the people by the disturbance of business which has come upon the country through the introduction of silver into the currency.

The task undertaken by our Government is, as you see, to pay gold for all notes issued for silver, these notes increasing, say, four

millions per month, and our stock of gold decreasing this year at the rate of twelve millions per month. Now, any man can see that this could not go on very long. Doubts began to arise years ago, but when a new administration came into power last March of course the financial world was more anxious than ever to know just what its policy was to be, and gold, we have seen, began to be taken from us more rapidly than ever. The gold stock of the Government fell lower and lower, and at last the hundred millions of gold hitherto held in reserve was infringed upon, and a panic threatened. President Cleveland found it necessary to make a statement, which was of a highly reassuring character. But strong as President Cleveland is upon "honest money for the people," and highly as he is to be commended for his unfaltering position upon this vital question, still the shrewd financial men of the world doubted his ability to control his own party upon the money question, and so distrust continued to spread, and the entire business of the country, simply for this reason, and for no other, was shaken.

The excitement was already great when a wholly unlooked-for act of Great Britain intensified the panic. This was the closing of the mints of India to the free coinage of silver as money. From time immemorial the 280 millions of people in India have had the privilege of going to the mint and getting their silver ornaments exchanged for, or coined into, "money;" this was "free coinage"—and because of this they have always purchased silver bars with their savings, and, having no banks or any secure place of deposit in their huts, it has been their practice to go to silversmiths and have their silver fashioned into ornaments and securely welded on the legs, necks or arms of the women and children. In times of adversity, or whenever money was needed, these ornaments furnished the supply. Now this is all changed in a night. Their uncoined silver, yesterday good as "money," is to-day only worth the market value of silver as a metal; in other words, more than one-third of the value of the principal savings of the people has been swept away. What caused Britain to plunge into this drastic policy, and thus surprise India and the world, you will naturally wish to know. The reason was this: Silver had fallen till the money of India, which is all silver, had depreciated more than one-third. India owes Britain enormous sums, and has to pay so much every year to her

that the Indian Government and railways and other corporations could not meet the loss they had to incur in remitting gold. Besides this, the British army in India, about sixty thousand strong, and all the civil servants, were demanding to be paid in gold, as their families had to be maintained in Britain; the fall of silver had robbed them of more than one-third of their wages and salaries. The manufacturers of cotton and jute in India were taking the trade of Britain because they paid wages in India in silver, and wages had not risen, although paid in depreciated silver. I found in Mexico the year before last that it was just the same; the wages had not risen at all, although now paid in silver not worth more than seventy cents per dollar, facts which workingmen, and all receiving wages and salaries, should ponder. A further fall in silver was apprehended by Britain, because it began to suspect that the United States could not be imposed upon much longer, and would soon cease the experiment of trying to keep up the price of silver by monthly purchases, and hence Britain took the bold step of cutting loose from silver in India altogether, as it always had stood aloof from it at home. It fixed the gold value of the silver rupees, already coined in India, at sixteen pence, instead of the original value of twenty-four pence. This was the market value of the amount of silver in a rupee when the decision to fix a gold value was taken. But to show you how uncertain the metal silver has become, please note that within a few hours after this value was published by the Indian Government, silver dropped twenty-three per cent. below it. It was then worth only thirteen pence per rupee, making the silver in our dollar worth just fifty-two cents. This is the lowest value which silver has yet reached.

Another source of serious anxiety about the silver problem is the coming termination next year of the Latin Union, the members of which agreed to coin silver and receive it from each other upon the basis of fifteen and one-half ounces to one ounce of gold. France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and Greece comprise this union, and are bound to settle upon the gold basis for all their silver coinage which has found its way into any of these countries. It is estimated that Italy and Spain will have to pay France about thirty millions of dollars each, and Belgium about fifteen millions of silver coins at about double their value, involving a loss

of fifteen millions and seven and a half millions, respectively. How this is to be met by Spain and Italy is not clear, and what the future action of these nations about silver is to be is just as dark.

For all these and other reasons, the civilized world has abandoned silver, and, seeing the United States still buying it, and issuing therefor every month notes transferable into gold, it knows that the Republic can not long maintain the parity of its gold and silver currency, and hence it stands waiting for the final catastrophe, meanwhile refusing to invest in the United States, or to buy American bonds or shares abroad. Since Britain forced India to close its mints to silver there remains no mint in the world now but that of Mexico which coins silver as money, and no nation which is compelled to buy the metal and let it lie uncoined except the United States.

I explained to you two years ago that business in our day and in our country is not conducted by an exchange of currency notes, or even of gold and silver. These are used only for small petty purposes, as mere "small change." Not more than one-twentieth part of the business transacted requires these. All large transactions, which alone may be called "business," are made upon credit. Even when settlement is made the very day the exchange is made of the article sold or bought, it is still effected by a small bit of paper, which the seller is glad to take, because he can place it in a bank and get credit for it. He does not need to get it cashed in gold or silver, because for what he desires to buy he finds people willing to take a similar bit of paper from him. But, in addition to this, here comes in a vital point—most business transactions are not payable at once, the vast bulk are made upon "time." One sells, for instance, a thousand tons of pig iron and takes the note of the purchaser, payable four months hence. Another buys a hundred thousand tons of iron stone and gives the seller his note, payable four months hence. Now, the seller must know in what kind of money he will be paid and the purchaser what kind of money he is to pay four months hence. Will it be in gold, worth a hundred cents on the dollar anywhere in the world, which he can, therefore, use anywhere, or will it be in silver, worth only fifty-two cents per dollar? The Government of the United States in the Sherman Act declared that its policy is to keep all notes payable in gold or silver, as the presenter desires; but the

question with the financial man is, how the Government is to pay in gold all the notes it has issued, and is still issuing, when it is losing its gold so fast, and every month increasing its notes? The Government has to-day less than one hundred millions of dollars in gold, and is already pledged to pay in gold notes to the amount of more than eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The financial man everywhere knows this, and sees that if one man in eight asks for gold the Government stock will be exhausted. Is it any wonder that sensible men have lost confidence in the ability of the Government to maintain its declared policy; and, whenever confidence is lost, the vast structure of business built upon credit, which, as you have seen, embraces ninety-five per cent. of all business, falls to the ground and lies prostrate, as at present. A convincing proof of this loss of confidence is seen to-day in the money markets of Europe. In London and Paris, Berlin and Vienna, gold money can be borrowed at two per cent. The notes of business firms given to other firms at three and four months for purchases are being discounted at two and a half per cent. per annum. Similar bills in New York have been offered at twelve per cent. per annum, and even at twenty and not taken. Now, if the capitalist of Europe were only sure that the United States could, and would, keep its currency upon the gold basis, as it has promised, millions of idle money from many parts of the world would be sent to New York. It would be transferred in a few minutes by cable, and the agents of foreign houses in New York would purchase and discount these bills of good business houses, and thus relieve the pressure. It is not foreign capital only which is frightened, it is just the same with home capital. You have heard that capital is timid, but only those who have to do with it can realize how very timid it is. A deer does not scent danger half so keenly. At the very first alarm it runs like a rabbit into its hiding hole, and remains until all is quiet again. Some orators abuse capital of cowardice, but let every workman ask himself how very cautious he is, or should be, about his own small fund, and if we knew the doings of these very orators, we should likely find if they owned a mortgage that they had quietly seen that it is payable in gold. It is human nature to take care of savings, and capital all over the world is very human, and we have to deal with capital as with human nature, just as it is. It would

be a bad day for the world if men became careless of their savings. Until all doubt is removed as to the determination of the American people to maintain its currency upon the highest standard which other leading nations have adopted, there can be no relief, either from home or foreign capital, and yet there is no reason in the world why the United States should not be as prosperous to-day as it was until recently, except one. Owing to the enormous and constantly increasing amount of depreciated silver in the Treasury confidence has been shaken in the ability of the Government to pay its currency in gold, as it has promised.

You hear now and then from men who, however, are inexperienced in business matters, that our trouble arises from scarcity of "money," and that what we need is more money in the country; but I do not think there is one man of financial experience in the whole world who will not tell you that this is not so. If more "money," meaning thereby more "currency," would have prevented this panic, it could never have happened, because the Government has gone on month after month for years adding more money to the currency. We have now more circulating medium per head than any civilized country except France, and France needs more than any other nation because its people do not use banks and credit. Money, as you know, is simply the article which we use for exchanging other articles, and it is only used for the petty transactions. When a man tells you that to issue more money would increase the prosperity of the people, it is as if he told you that the larger the game bag you carry the more game you will certainly get; that the more food you eat after your appetite is fully satisfied, the stronger you will become; that the more surplus flesh you can put upon your bones, the better it will be for you. He wants you to believe that if you put your wheat in bigger bins there would be more of it; that a gallon measure can be made to hold more than a gallon. If the Government were to make 500 millions of dollars more money to-day, it would lie useless either in the Treasury or in the banks, because it would not be needed for the only purpose for which money is needed, namely, to effect exchange of articles. And this would be the case even if gold lay in the Government vaults equal to the notes printed. The national system cannot absorb more money than it can use, any more than your system can absorb more than a certain amount of food; and

if the Government keeps on issuing notes for silver month after month the depression in every department of business will deepen and widen just as the Government does so. The panic that has come upon us is the best proof of this. It is the monthly issue of more "money" ("silver notes") that is its chief cause; and note this carefully that, although more money has been "issued," there is already less in circulation than in June of last year by more than seventeen millions of dollars. It is one thing to issue "money," but quite another thing to get the business world to take it and keep it in circulation. This it is not within the power of governments to do. Whenever confidence is shaken, the more money the government puts forth, the greater is the trouble caused. The United States just now, as to its currency, is like a man too fat and full of blood, that is, he is in great danger of apoplexy. What would you think of a doctor who should tell you that the patient needed more blood in his system, when the trouble is he cannot keep in active circulation the blood which he has now. Just so with our country. There is no active circulation of money through the veins of the nation. The financial blood is stagnant. The superabundant "currency" lies almost inactive, and it already requires a premium to induce it to come forth from its vaults and circulate.

We return to the sole cause of the panic, which is that people cannot see how 850 millions of notes can be paid with less than 100 millions of gold, especially when the notes are rapidly increasing and the gold rapidly decreasing; and they begin to doubt not only the ability but the sincere desire of the United States to pay all its notes in gold, as promised. The answer to why it happened is, therefore, Confidence in our money has gone —confidence, upon which all business rests.

We come now to the third and last part—the Remedy. Knowing the cause of the disease we see for what we have to seek—the restoration of confidence. What has destroyed this we also know. It was leaving the gold currency which we had up to 1878, and needlessly entangling ourselves by introducing silver after other nations had discarded it, not because they wished to do so, but because the metal had lost steady value, and was, therefore, no longer suitable for use as money.

Now, suppose your wife and children had been upset more than once by the new and more stylish horse for which you had

exchanged the old nag and given a bonus to boot, and they could not be induced to enter the wagon again. What would you do? Would you buy another unknown horse and endeavor with it to overcome their fears and restore lost confidence? No. You would go to the neighbor with whom you foolishly traded the steady-going nag, old "Gold Dust," and trade back the new, prancing and shying "Silver Maid," and pay him a bigger bonus than you did before, and resolve never to be so foolish again. One fine morning you hitch up the old boy—old "Gold Dust," who would neither shy nor run, even if he met elephants—and you drive up to the door unseen and announce that all who wish can jump into the wagon and go with you to the circus. How many are left behind? Not one; and many a happy drive you have again, and thousands would not induce you to part with the old nag. Confidence is restored. Now, our national banking system up to 1878 was our old nag, "Gold Dust"—the envy of the world, and the best system ever devised. It never brought us into trouble; and the longer we hesitate to get back to it, the longer will it be until confidence is restored, and prosperity returns.

Although we have gone far enough to destroy confidence and bring upon the country a terrible disaster, fortunately we have not gone so far that we need to do more than stop going farther. All that needs be done is to stop further purchases of silver. But to restore confidence thoroughly this should be done in obedience to an overwhelming public sentiment. The nation should give forth no uncertain sound; it must stand as free from a suspicion of a desire to debase the currency and as resolute to prevent its debasement as the governments of Great Britain and Germany stand. This done, the rapidity with which the country will return to prosperity will surprise even those who best know its unbounded resources. With the coming of the new year, at the latest, only traces will be left of the havoc made, and next year will be one of prosperity, with labor fully employed and the farmers prosperous because of the certain demand of Europe for our surplus agricultural products, owing to the poor crops there. You know that the world is blessed with many original authorities upon the subject of finance. I should like to submit to the leaders of the various schools of finance that all should unite and go so far upon a common road as to concur in the

stoppage of further silver purchases. You may not quite understand the idea of these various parties. There is first the bimetallist, which means a man who desires an international agreement for the use of silver as money upon a certain ratio to gold, so many ounces of silver to be taken by all nations for an ounce of gold. I should like to be allowed to suggest to him that the first step that can be taken in this direction is, to show other nations that, as long as they refuse to coin silver as money, the United States "can and will fight it out on this line" with them. That she can do so is certain, because she is a producer of gold, which not one of these other nations is, and has also the power to draw gold for her exports. The bimetallist should say to Great Britain, which has done most to depreciate silver: "You will not be permitted to succeed in your attempt to close the mints of India against silver, and place upon us the heavy burden of the silver product of the world." If, as the bimetallist assumes, the use of silver as money is essential for conducting the business of the world, it is not the United States that will find this out first. Britain, in India, will be the first to discover it and to suffer, and France and Italy, Spain and Swizerland and Greece, will all have to encounter the storm before it reaches us. These nations have simply ranged themselves hitherto behind the United States as behind a bulwark, and they can and will do this just as long as we continue to purchase and use as money nearly half the silver product of the world. Stop doing so, and see how soon you will be invited to a conference. The Republic has done the inviting recently, with results most humiliating to it. Suppose our bimetallist friends stop silver purchases and decide that the next invitation must come from Europe. They may not have to wait long.

Then we have the advocate of free coinage of silver, which means a man who wishes the Government to open its mints and give anybody who asks for it silver coined into money for all the silver in bars he offers. We suggest to him that since Britain has closed Indian mints to the coinage of that metal, and there remains not one government upon earth (except Mexico, which coins but a trifle) that has not done so, it is clearly impossible for the United States to coin, at the present ratio between gold and silver, which is 40 per cent. above the value of silver, the entire world's product, and not only the annual product but all the

silver with which India and other nations would now deluge us, since all their own mints are closed to silver coinage.

The attempt to do this would drive at once every dollar of gold out of circulation and land us in utter confusion. Free coinage of silver under present conditions, therefore, cannot be obtained. The nations which have thus closed their mints against the metal must be taught by experience that their action is unwise; that the use of silver as money is necessary for their prosperity. Most of these nations are carrying heavy loads of silver; loads far greater in proportion to their wealth than the United States is yet burdened with. Further reductions in the value of silver may finally shake confidence in France and in the other nations of the Latin Union, and especially may it shake confidence in India with its enormous stock of silver, to the coined portion of which the Indian Government has just undertaken to give twenty per cent. higher value than the market value to-day. The believer in the free coinage of silver, therefore, should rejoice to see silver fall for a short time to the lowest point, because the United States could stand this, and carry its present load upon the gold basis if it stopped buying more silver, even if silver fell to one-half of its present value. But what are India, France and the other nations of the Latin Union to do if such a fall comes. The true policy of the advocate of the free coinage of silver is to give to the nations that have discarded silver a good dose of their own medicine. There is no more reason why our country should embroil itself in the silver question than in the quarrels of Europe. It is not primarily an American but a European problem, which European nations must settle if we stand clear.

There is another silver party, that which favors coinage of silver upon an increased ratio to gold upon the basis of, say, twenty ounces of silver to one of gold, instead of fifteen and one-half ounces to one, as at present; it will occur to these people that substantially this basis having been fixed by Great Britain for India, a great step forward in the attainment of their policy has been taken. There is no doubt but that this step may have a great influence upon the use of silver hereafter as money. But the advocate of more silver being put into our dollar cannot shut his eyes to the fact that this gold value given to coined silver in India is accompanied by the closing of the mints of India to all

further coinage. If the United States were to adopt the British Indian standard for silver in relation to gold, and yet differ from Britain in coining silver upon this basis, the confidence of the world could not be regained as to the ability of the country to maintain the new ratio if undertaken by the United States alone and against the whole world. It is not time for such a step, nor will it be until the world has seen the value which silver is permanently to acquire and the leading nations agree to a ratio—20 to 1 may prove too much silver in relation to gold, and in that case, the dollars coined would rapidly disappear and go into the melting pot, and we should be left without silver currency, as was once the case before in our history. On the other hand, 20 to 1 may not prove to be enough. No one can tell, and never can tell until we stop the purchase of silver not needed by the Government, and learn after testing its value in the markets of the world for some time just what silver is intrinsically to be worth. Therefore the advocate of an increased ratio between gold and silver will find in the stoppage of purchases of silver for the present the first step in the direction in which he wishes to proceed.

There is yet another party—monometallists—who, of course, will support this proposed action, for these are men who believe that it is impossible to have two standards of value ; that it would be unwise for the United States to enter, even if it could, into any international agreement which rendered it responsible in any degree for the future value of any metal or anything whatever. They believe that as the United States is the principal gold-producing country, as it is the principal silver-producing country, we shall best promote our own interests by keeping ourselves entirely free, to adopt the metal which proves itself in the future most valuable and least variable as the metal to be used as money. Who can tell, these people ask, whether next year there may not be discovered such supplies of gold as will render silver the best metal for money, or that there may not be discovered another metal even better qualified than either gold or silver for money. The world has used many articles as money in its history. We know that silver became scarcer relatively to gold only seventy years ago, and that its value advanced in consequence. And what is to prevent its value advancing again ? No man can tell, or even venture to predict, the future value of either gold or silver.

Monometallists think we should take a lesson from the experience of the nations of the Latin Union. These agreed years ago upon a value in gold for silver, and now they find that silver has fallen to little more than one-half the value then placed upon it. Those who coined it freely have to pay the other nations of the Union in gold. But had gold been found in greater quantities than silver the position would have been entirely reversed. Whether the other leading nations of the world can afford to go forward without reference to the value of silver as compared with gold is, they admit, very doubtful. But there is no question as to the ability of the United States to do so. We have the advantage over other nations in this matter of gold and silver, because we are the chief producers of both, and have the power also to draw gold for the necessaries of life we furnish to other nations and which they must have. It would be a pity, indeed, to sacrifice this advantage. Such are the views of the monometallists.

Now I have given you a short account of all the schools of our brilliant financiers. You can think them over and choose the one you consider sound. As I never like to let anybody be in doubt as to my opinion about any public question, I wish you all to know that I believe the last school *is the right one for the United States.*

We have another silver party of stockholders in silver mines, who have no views except how to make the most out of their property, which is quite right. To these impartial minds—as far as the various schools of finance are concerned—may I suggest that it is already questionable whether the Government purchases of silver really tend now to steady and advance its value, more than the existence of such an immense amount of unused silver lying in one mass and constantly increasing serves to depress the market. The existence of a million tons of unused pig iron in the storage yards of Britain kept pig iron prices depressed for many years. It hung like a dark, heavy cloud over the market and effectually prevented recovery. I believe such is to be the ultimate effect upon silver of the unused mass held by the United States Treasury.

Even the silver-mine owners have therefore no great and decided interest in further purchases of silver by the Government, which can only add to the present stock of material lying in vaults unused

Various as you see the views of men are upon the subject of money, yet it is most fortunate that men of all opinions, I think, must see that one measure is common to all. Bimetallists, free-coiners, increased ratio advocates, monometallists have all to travel a certain distance in the same direction, which even silver-mine owners need not oppose.

After Congress has freed the Government from further purchases of silver and confidence has been fully restored, and the nation has returned to the career of prosperity which need never have been interrupted, it will then be in order, but not till then, for all parties to be heard and all views discussed. Nor need any one doubt but that the results which may soon show themselves in other countries, if we only keep still and watch, will show us our true path clearly and lead the people of the Republic to a wise conclusion.

There are rumors of changes to be proposed in the national banking system. We are threatened with a return to the issue of money by State banks. There is grave danger that there will be let loose upon the country many wild suggestions, every one of which will tend to create alarm and prevent recovery. Even if some of these are good and might work beneficially, their discussion at this time can produce nothing but evil.

The nation is in the condition of a man who has suddenly found himself beyond his depth, and is struggling in the water. This is no time to bring before him plans for a change in his conduct or mode of life, or in his diet, or clothing. The first and only business before Congress is to drag him ashore, place him where he was before, and let him quietly come to his senses.

Congress, which will have been convened ere these pages are read, should, therefore, pass a short act stopping silver purchases, and then adjourn and allow the attention of the country to be wholly given in peace, and free from exciting financial discussions, to the work of recuperation.

Should the country go further into the silver morass, then it may safely be predicted that all that has taken place to this date will be considered insignificent compared with the trouble yet to come. History teaches nothing more clearly than this—that no country can ever enjoy prosperity, if, in regard to its standard of value, confidence is lost.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

II.—THE PRESENT CRISIS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M. P.

THE recent action of the Indian Government and the probability of an alteration in the currency laws of the United States have again called attention to the present position of silver.

The English Government, acting under the advice of an able committee presided over by Lord Herschell, have assented to the change recommended by the Indian Government. What the effect of that change will be would under any circumstances be difficult to foresee, but there is still some doubt as to what the intentions of the Government really are. They have closed the Indian mints, but announced that they will give rupees for gold at the rate of a shilling and four pence. This they assume will keep the rupee approximately at that value. They have also announced their intention to "introduce a gold standard into India," but, inasmuch as rupees are still legal tender to any amount, and Mr. Gladstone stated in the House of Commons in answer to a question from me on July 21, "that it is not at present intended to issue gold against rupees," it is difficult to understand in what sense a gold standard can be said to be introduced.

In considering the problem presented by the American currency the first question is as to the likelihood of the introduction of general bimetallism. The United States Government has always, I think, attached too much importance to our action in the matter. The entrance of Great Britain into such a league would increase the demand for gold more than that for silver, because, while 38,000,000 of people in these islands would adopt partially a silver standard, 250,000,000 in India, who have now a silver standard, would adopt partially a gold one. Inasmuch however as, rightly or wrongly, so much importance is attached to our decision, it is well worthy of consideration what that action is likely to be. For my own part I must say that I see little probability of bimetallism being adopted by this country. Our currency is well adapted to our wants.

The arguments in favor of the change derived from the fluctuations in the Indian Exchange have led to, and in the opinion of the government and their able advisers, will to a great extent be met by, the closing of the Indian mints; while any

change in our standard, unless followed by our colonies, which seems unlikely, would lead to fluctuations in exchange between them and the mother country.

Another argument used by some supporters of bimetallism is the appreciation of gold, amounting, it is even said by some, to 30 per cent. This, I think, was a complete delusion. The fall in prices can be accounted for without any such hypothesis. There is hardly an article of commerce which cannot be produced and brought here far more cheaply than was formerly the case. In fact, peace and plenty, which proverbially go together, practically mean peace and cheapness. Now, however, we are told that the cheapness is merely nominal and that it is really the gold which is dear. There are other considerations which seem to me entirely to negative the idea of any such appreciation of gold as has been suggested.

At our recent Agricultural Conference it was shown from official figures that there had been a fall in the rental value of land, estimated in gold, since 1874 of 20 per cent. But if that be so, and gold has appreciated 30 per cent., what becomes of the agricultural depression? Landlords would have nothing to complain of, for instead of a fall there would actually have been a small rise. Even if the fall has been more than 20 per cent., say 30 per cent., still, if gold has appreciated 30 per cent., the real diminution is small. My own belief is that there has been a real and heavy fall in rentals, but if so there can have been no such great appreciation of gold. Consequently any proposal to tamper with the currency founded on that argument falls to the ground.

This was also the view expressed in Lord Herschell's report. The Commissioners say that in their opinion "the greater part of the fall in the gold value of silver has been due to causes affecting silver rather than to causes affecting gold, and this conclusion fortifies, and is fortified by, the conclusion to which we have already come, that the fall in the gold price of commodities is in the greater part due to causes which affect those commodities rather than to causes which affect gold." It is not, however, incumbent on us to disprove the great appreciation of gold, but for those who believe in it to prove it; and this they certainly have not done. Still it may be interesting to take a case in illustration. Much stress, for instance, has been laid on the fall in the price of wheat in our markets. Now, Mr. Atkinson has

shown that the cost and charges for the conveyance of wheat from the interior of America are 22 shillings a quarter less than they were 20 years ago. The average price of wheat for 1870–3 was 54 shillings, and if we deduct 22 this leaves 32 shillings. The average price for last year, certified in the *Gazette*, was 30 shillings, so that almost the whole fall is accounted for. Take, again, Indian wheat. Mr. Wells, in his valuable work on "Recent Economic Changes," points out that in 1881 the price in London was 42 shillings a quarter, and in 1886 31 shillings and six pence. Now, the difference in freight was six shillings and six pence a quarter; in the railway charges from, say, Cawnpore to Calcutta two shillings a quarter, and in the cost of bags, sixpence. Allowing, as we may, one shilling a quarter for loading and unloading, this practically accounts for the whole difference, and it is quite unnecessary to assume any substantial appreciation in gold.

I might go through other articles one by one. For instance, a ton of steel can now be made for half the labor and half the coal that were required twenty years ago.

On the whole, then, it seems that Lord Herschell and his colleagues were quite justified in their conclusion that the fall in the value of commodities was mainly due to economies in manufacture and in the cost of carriage, in the discovery of new processes and new sources of supply, and but slightly to any appreciation in the value of gold.

I now pass to the change proposed and must frankly say that I believe it to be utterly impossible to maintain a fixed ratio between two great articles such as gold and silver.

It has been said that the Babylonians and Egyptians did so. That was a long time ago, and I am not sure that we can accept the statement. At any rate Prof. Max Müller in the passage on which this statement is based says nothing of the kind. He said: "It has been shown that the ratio between silver and gold in the Egyptian coins was always maintained at 1 to 12½, while in Babylonia it was 1 to 13½." But it will be observed that this was the ratio between the silver and gold "in the coins." Of course that can easily be maintained. The difficulty is to maintain the ratio of value, and it will be observed that in this very passage the ratio is stated to have been, and no doubt was, different for the two countries.

Then we are told that the ratio was maintained in France up to 1874. But this was not so. The history of the French coinage from 1850 is very instructive and should be a warning to other countries. I am old enough to remember when there was an agio on the French gold. If one was travelling in France one had either to pay a premium to get gold, or to carry a cartload of silver. The coinage of gold in France fell, so that from 1841–5 it only amounted to £800,000. Then came the gold discoveries and in 1856–60 the French coined in gold the enormous sum of £108,000,000, while the silver coined fell in 1861-5 to £800,000. These tremendous fluctuations were of course most expensive and inconvenient. Neither did they as a matter of fact succeed in keeping the ratio stationary.

Lord Herschell's report pointed out :

"That from 1830 to 1845 the coinage of gold was almost replaced by that of silver, and from 1846 to 1865 that of silver again, to a great extent, by that of gold. The continuance for a few years longer of the conditions which prevailed up to 1845 would apparently have resulted practically in the entire cessation of gold coinage in France. Even as things were, the result led to the existence of an agio on gold coins."

Mr. Giffen has shown that in 1873, before the closing of the French mint, the ratio of silver to gold had fallen to 16 to 1. In fact it was their fall which compelled the Latin Union to close their mints.

If silver can be produced as we are told at two shillings an ounce does any body really suppose that it could be kept at a price of five shillings ?

Till the recent change we had a free coinage of silver in India, we have the bimetallic system of the Latin Union and the great coinage of silver in the United States. But if the United States, the Latin Union and India have not been able to maintain the price of silver, how can it be supposed that our joining them would make so great a difference ? Indeed it could make no appreciable difference unless a great part of our gold coin were driven out and replaced by silver. We have, however, already as much silver as we wish and no more gold than we want.

The total annual production of gold has fallen, while that of silver has risen from £8,000,000 to £28,000,000, or, if we estimate it at the old prices, to over £38,000,000. With such great fluctuations it seems to me impossible to maintain a fixed ratio,

especially as it must be remembered that a very large proportion of the gold and silver annually produced is used in the arts.

It has been said over and over again that, except Mr. Birch and myself, the gold and silver commissioners were unanimous in opinion that a ratio could be maintained. This, however, is quite a mistake. Lord Herschell's report distinctly stated that—

> "It seems probable that the most extended international agreement would lead from time to time to the existence of a premium on either the gold or silver coins."

The advocates of bimetallism pass very lightly over the question of the ratio to be adopted. But this is a matter of great importance. We understand that the Latin Union would agree to no ratio higher than 15½ to 1. But if we were to accept such a ratio we should, in fact, be buying a quantity of their silver at twenty-five per cent. more than its value.

I quite concur with bimetallists in wishing silver to continue in use both as coin and as a standard of value. It would be a misfortune if India or China were to adopt a gold standard. But when they speak as if silver had been excluded from its monetary privileges, they forget that the majority of mankind still use silver as the standard of value. We are monometallists, not as wishing the whole world to adopt gold, but as wishing each country to have an uniform standard.

For my part I deny that the plan proposed can reasonably be called bimetallism. It is monometallism with an option to the debtor. I always wonder that bimetallists have not proposed to make the legal tender in the last resort half gold and half silver. That would be real bimetallism; but what they propose is that one party to a contract should have the option of paying either in gold or silver. That surely is not fair. Of course, they would refuse and rightly refuse to give the creditor any such unfair advantage. But then how can they reasonably claim it for the debtor.

One advantage which has made London the centre of the business of the world has been confidence felt in our standard of value. Sir Robert Peel asked once a memorable question: "What is a pound?" Foreign countries know. Who can say what is a franc or a United States dollar? Parliament is all powerful in the eyes of the law. But if they adopted bimetallism all large or

permanent contracts would contain a clause providing for payment in gold, or perhaps in silver, but specifying which.

Mr. Van der Berg, who represented Holland, speaking of the Eastern trade with which he was long and intimately associated, told the Conference that

> "As to our (*i. e.*, the Dutch) foreign credits, they consist almost entirely of drafts on London and Berlin. Paper drawn on Paris and Brussels only constitutes a very insignificant amount; and why? Because we cannot be sure in advance that when our bills on Brussels and Paris fall due we shall be paid in gold, should circumstances induce us to ask for it, without submitting to a premium, to which we naturally object."

The investments of Great Britain in foreign countries are enormous and increasing. It is estimated that they bring us in £100,000,000 a year—one fifteenth of our total income, twice the rental of agricultural land. Surely, then, we should be very unwise to make an arrangement which would give foreign countries the option of paying us either in gold or silver—in silver if it continues to fall, in gold if fresh gold discoveries should make it cheaper than the ratio agreed on. We should indeed be unwise to agree to such a one-sided arrangement.

It is often said that bankers have special interest in raising the value of the standard. But this is quite a mistake. Bankers are both debtors and creditors. The capital placed in their hands by depositors is lent out, and what their debtors owe them, they, in turn, owe to their customers. So far as their own capital is concerned, they are in the same position as anyone else who has any savings. Who are the bankers? Take the Bank of England. The amount of bank stock held by the directors is infinitesimal. It is held mainly either by insurance offices and other institutions, who again hold it for their shareholders, or by trustees, clergymen, widows and others who are content with a low rate of interest for the sake of good security. The working classes—not, of course, individually, but collectively—are the great capitalists. They own far more and their interest is far larger than that of bankers. Those who can be called great capitalists own a mere infinitesimal fraction of the property of the country.

On the whole then it seems to me very improbable that our countrymen will assent to the introduction of bimetallism.

I come now, in conclusion, to say a few words on the currency system of the United States. Much surprise has been expressed

that the silver certificates continue to circulate at the par value, notwithstanding that the silver against which they are issued is only worth about 70 per cent. It must be remembered, however, that the Secretary of the Treasury has announced the determination of the government to pay them in gold, irrespective of any fall in the value of silver. Moreover, if a country is increasing in numbers and in commerce, some increase in circulation is sure to follow; and so long as the issue of silver certificates did not exceed the increase which having regard to the state of trade, the country required, so long they would keep their value. It is possible that if circumstances, say, for instance, the repeal of the McKinley tariff, led to an improvement in the commerce of the United States, the issue of certificates might continue some time longer without evil effects. There are, however, indications that the limit has been reached. The following figures taken from the *Economist* of July 22 are very instructive :

VOLUME AND COMPOSITION OF THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED STATES OUTSIDE OF THE TREASURY ON JULY 1:

	1893.	1891.
Gold coin	£80,727,000	£81,463,000
" certificates	18,594,000	24,013,000
Silver dollars	11,406,000	12,900,000
Subsidiary silver	13,080,000	11,644,000
Silver certificates	65,297,000	61,447,000
United States notes	64,175,000	64,266,000
Treasury notes	28,132,000	8,070,000
Currency certificates	2,387,000	4,375,000
National Bank Notes	34,946,000	32,444,000
	£318,744,000	£300,622,000

Moreover, the depletion of the stock of gold in the Treasury is even more significant. The total of gold in the Treasury has fallen from £64,300,000 in 1890, to £37,700,000 in 1893, and the net gold from £38,000,000, to £19,000,000. These figures certainly indicate that, though of course if the people of the United States think it desirable, they may continue the purchase of silver, still, any further issue of notes would, under existing circumstances, still further reduce the stock of gold.

At the same time the remedy is simple, and I see no reason for the gloomy forebodings which have been expressed. Good stocks have been very unduly depressed. The Stock Exchange runs too much into extremes. When things are prosperous,

people seem to think that the good times will last forever; and when depression comes, that good times will never return.

No doubt the fall in silver necessarily depresses silver securities, and there are many companies which are in a very unsatisfactory condition. But, so far as solid securities and well-managed companies are concerned, investors will do well to sit quietly and wait for better times.

JOHN LUBBOCK.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA LIQUOR LAW.

AT THE present day the most notable instance of paternalism in government is the liquor law in South Carolina, which is the result of Populist teachings that have lately been widely disseminated in that portion of the country, and a bold attempt to perpetuate the power of the so-called Reform faction which now dominates the State, by means of a great monopoly of the liquor traffic.

For those who are not familiar with the act commonly known as the Dispensary law, the following brief explanation may be of interest: All parties are prohibited from trafficking in any distilled or malt liquor, while the State is authorized to establish dispensaries for its exclusive sale. A general board of control exercises a supervision over the business, and a chief dispenser receives supplies and fills the orders of the local dispensers in the various counties of the commonwealth. Branch or local dispensaries are established in most of the counties. They remain open from 7 A. M. until 6 P. M. daily, except Sundays and legal holidays. Liquor is sold in packages from one-half pint to five gallons. Beer is also supplied in pint bottles. The labels of most of the bottles are surmounted by the seal and motto of the State, while a palmetto tree in raised surface occupies the reverse side. No liquor is allowed to be sold to minors or habitual drunkards, nor can it be consumed on the premises where it is sold. Any stranger desiring to make a purchase must be identified and vouched for by some responsible person. He then fills out an application, stating his age, residence, the amount he desires to purchase, and the use to which it is to be put. The application being signed and attested by the dispenser or his clerk the applicant receives the liquor. Distilled liquor can only be purchased once a day by one person, but any number of applications for beer may be made during the day by the same person.

This is practically a correct statement of that piece of most unique legislation by which some thousands of citizens were on July 1 of this year thrown out of employment, their property rendered useless and their business absorbed by the State. As a means of enforcing the law in the various counties, secret spies are appointed, composing often the lowest characters in their communities, who are expected to keep strict watch for contraband traders in spirits or malt liquors, and empowered to arrest and seize the goods of all violators of the law.

The act has met with much criticism within the limits of the State, not only from the conservative Democrats, but from many within the ranks of the "Dominant Element." In truth, all who love their State and treasure

her traditions for the past two centuries deplore the day when she descended from the dignity of statehood to deprive citizens of their property and embark in the business of a retail liquor dealer. The occupation of retailing spirits may not be considered by many of us as a very honorable calling, but it was honest, at least, when duly licensed ; and while barkeepers may not be thought to be entitled to much consideration at the hands of the public, they should, in any event, be fairly dealt with. Their property, which has been rendered useless by the law, should be paid for out of the public treasury at a fair valuation.

Trade has been seriously interfered with by the liquor law and a number of large wholesale grocers and liquor dealers have moved their places of business beyond our boundaries, while there has been a considerable exodus of retail dealers who have departed, carrying their money with them. The State is fast becoming greatly involved in most vexatious litigation, growing out of the many uncertainties and crudenesses of the law. The day is not far distant when the United States Supreme Court will be invoked to pass its judgment, when it is confidently predicted by most of our best legal talent that the whole fabric will crumble into naught.

The new system is not, however, totally bad. There has been a marked decrease of drunkenness since it went into operation. In the municipality of which the writer is the chief executive officer the police have not made an arrest for drunkenness since July 1.

W. G. CHAFEE, *Mayor of Aiken, S. C.*

THE BRIGGS CONTROVERSY FROM A CATHOLIC STANDPOINT.

JUDICIOUS and thoughtful people cannot be averse to hear a member of the Roman Catholic Church explain from what standpoint and in what particular light his co-religionists view the Briggs controversy. Two points in particular strike them as most surprising. In the indictment preferred against Professor Briggs we are told that the errors charged are fundamental, and relate, first, to the question as to the supreme and only authority in matters of faith and practice, and, second, to the question as to the inerrancy or truthfulness of the inspired word of God. The other three principal charges, or fundamental errors, as they are called, are subordinated to, or at least congenial with, the second mentioned above.

Nothing could surprise a member of the Roman Catholic Church more than the statement that, Presbyterianism having been in existence for such a period of time, the fundamental and vital question of authority should not have long since been definitely agreed upon and settled forever. And what we here say of Presbyterianism can be, we think, fitly applied to other reformed denominations. A church is necessarily a society, and what society, a Catholic asks, can, we do not say grow and prosper, but even live or exist, without that chief and indispensable element—authority? What else is there that could give cohesion and unity to the several parts whereof a society is composed? What else can make a society that one solid compact which it essentially is? Authority is absolutely necessary to the very existence, let alone the growth and progress, of any society—as necessary to it as the head is to the body. This being so, a Roman Catholic, when

he is told that the question as to the supreme and only authority in matters of faith and practice is still being mooted in a religious society of many years standing, becomes conscious that the following dilemma imposes itself: Either a so-called religious society of that nature is, in reality, no society, since it lacks the most vital element of a society, namely, authority; or else, though it is possessed of such an element, it is indeed strange that the wisest, most learned and most influential members of that society should be in such a state of doubt and hesitancy in that regard that they hotly discuss the matter among themselves, and have impanelled a jury--we should say summoned a council—unwilling to give a unanimous verdict. Supposing, according to the latter alternative, authority does exist in a society of that kind, would not the result practically prove as disastrous as in the former hypothesis?

As to the question of the inerrancy or truthfulness of the inspired word of God, are we not forcibly led to a similar conclusion, that is, the utter necessity of a supreme authority, competent to elucidate those very points of the inerrancy, truthfulness and inspiration of what is proposed to men as the word of God, and, by unappealable sanction, impose belief in, and adherence to the same? It is not enough that men be presented with the word of God, inerrant, truthful and inspired, they must moreover be possessed of an infallible means of reaching an inerrant, truthful and therefore inspired interpretation of it. For we know that the language of the Bible is not in every case so clear and self-evident to the mind of men, that all are enabled to find out its meaning at once. We know, on the contrary, that many investigations in reference thereto are doomed to be baffled, unless they be accompanied with deep study, serious knowledge of archæology, comparative philology, scientific lore, etc. How many among the busy sons of men can find time to equip their minds with such an amount of erudition, and yet, Dr. Briggs' assumptions to the contrary notwithstanding, his co-religionists maintain that the way of salvation must be sought, and can only be found in and through the Bible. Numberless, indeed, must be the perplexed and afflicted souls crying aloud: "Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof . . . . And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open the book."—*Apoc. V.*, 2, 4. And even with the best qualified expounders of the sacred text when a passage of abstruse meaning must be interpreted, does it not happen that senses differing widely, nay, anon, that violently clashing conclusions are eventually arrived at? Now, if the truth investigated be one which, under pain of eternal reprobation, I am bound to believe, and the knowledge of which imposes stringent moral obligations upon me, what am I to do? Which of the two opinions shall I adopt? Shall I weigh and compare their intrinsic value? But I have neither the time nor the ability to do so? Does it not, therefore, follow that the all-wise and all-merciful Founder of Christianity, whom all denominations alike acknowledge and worship, must have given to them whom He came to redeem and save an easier and safer means of reaching the true meaning of his utterances? Yes, evidently, and that means can be none else than authority—that authority, we say, set up by Christ in His church, not only to govern it, but also to hand down the holy traditions pure and intact, and to give to the divine word its true interpretation. That authority it is, which Augustine, himself a most learned and profound expounder of holy writ, acknowledges and reverences, when he says: "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*"

Therefore, sifted and scanned by unprejudiced and upright persons, the system of private interpretation of the Holy Scripture is found wanting. For most men it is impracticable; on reaching its conclusions it does not definitely satisfy the mind so as to convince it that all further research after the truth is unnecessary; nor can it impart to the heart that peace without which the latter can never be at rest. What remains then? What else than the acknowledgement of, and submission to, a supreme authority, empowered to interpret the word of God with infallible assurance. That this conclusion should not yet have been arrived at, that the absolute necessity of a supreme authority to decide on the inerrancy and truthfulness of the inspired word of God, and to interpret the same, should not yet have become manifest to all adherents of Presbyterianism, or that they should still be seeking where that authority is to be found, in whom it is vested —is, we repeat, a cause of singular surprise to a Roman Catholic.

But let us, for the sake of argument, concede that the system of private interpretation is practicable, available, indeed, the only true, reasonable and authorized mode of interpreting the word of God, shall the position held by the General Assembly in the Briggs controversy appear more tenable? Far from it, and this is at the very first glance obvious. The right to private interpretation means that each private individual is entitled to give to any passage, text, or word the significance which his own judgment may dictate, and that he may safely adopt the conclusion which, by using that standard, he has eventually reached; else the words are void of meaning. We suppose that Dr. Briggs is no more to be debarred from the full enjoyment of that right than any other minister of his own denomination. We admit that his inferences and teachings are of a somewhat startling character—maintaining, as he does, that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; that Isaiah did not write more than half his book; that sanctification is not complete after death. But what of all this, and why should Dr. Briggs be singled out, summoned before his peers, convicted of heresy and eventually suspended for believing and teaching as he does, if, in accordance with the doctrine and by the gift of his own church, he has a right to attach to scriptural writings whatever meaning his own private judgment may suggest? Whether he has made a more lavish use of that right than other Presbyterians are wont to do, is merely a question of more or less; the question of principle and right remains the same. For, after all, the case is simply this: We have before us a minister of the Gospel belonging to a church which holds as one of its essential tenets that all its members, shepherd and flock, are vested with the unlimited right to interpret the Bible in the manner which to them seems good and proper. This same minister is conscious of the fact that by using this right he violates no law, no rule of his church; that, on the contrary, he is acting in conformity with its spirit and its views; and lo and behold! when on a certain day he sets forth his own interpretations of the divine word, he is pointed out as a dangerous man, made the victim of obloquy, dragged from one tribunal to another, eventually condemned and suspended as guilty of heresy. Thus rebuked and sentenced for doing that which he was taught and told it was his right to do, Dr. Briggs may well wonder at the course followed by his self-appointed judges, and exclaim: "Consistency, thou art a jewel." We are not surprised that Dr. Briggs should, after hearing of the sentence pronounced against him, have appeared quite unconcerned and told his friends that he "would go right on." And we deem the course of the

minority in the General Assembly quite natural, when "declaring their hearty belief in a love for the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and their entire loyalty to the principles of the Presbyterian Church, they desire respectfully to record their solemn protest against the verdict and judgment of suspension, and the proceedings leading to the verdict, in the case against the Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D. D., in the General Assembly of 1893." Yes, if the right to private interpretation exists in the Presbyterian Church, and if words bear with them the meaning which they are intended to convey, the Briggs trial was a farce and the sentence passed upon the man a piece of iniquity.

These remarks concerning the free interpretation of the Bible and the case of Dr. Briggs have been made merely for the sake of argument; for a Roman Catholic believes and maintains that the system of individual interpretation of the divine word, with all its intrinsic absurdities, practical difficulties and baleful consequences, cannot be adopted or advocated by any man of upright judgment, and that it can, consequently, never have been handed down or sanctioned by the Founder of Christianity. Just as the safe keeping of the Holy Scriptures has been intrusted by Christ to His church, so must there be in that same church of His an infallible means to unravel all intricacies and to illustrate all sayings of recondite significance contained in those sacred books. That means is the teaching as well as governing authority set up in the church by its Founder. The very conclusions whereto we should be forcibly led by the contrary doctrine is sufficient proof that the Catholic belief in this regard is the only one deserving of respect and support. For who shall give to every man the time, the acumen, the knowledge required to arrive at the true meaning of certain difficult passages of the Holy Scriptures? Who shall tell a man that his interpretation of this or that text is the true one? And if, as in the case of Dr. Briggs, a conflict arise between two or more persons attributing different senses to some biblical expression, who shall decide the question? The local Presbytery or the General Assembly? But how could they thus tamper with the right to private interpretation vested in each of the wrangling parties? It is evident, therefore, that an absolute, supreme teaching authority must have been deputed by Christ to His church, that to this authority must be referred all difficulties met with in the interpretation of the sacred text, and that all the members of the church must consider the decision arrived at by that same authority as final and binding. Such is the Catholic belief, and we leave it for any sensible reader to say whether or not it is the only reasonable one. Authority in these matters of such serious import is so obviously necessary that all in practice recognize it and follow its dictates. The child, whether reared in the Catholic faith or not, receives the interpretation given him by his parents, and, later on, the man follows the teachings of his pastor. Why? Because this is for all the readiest, most natural and, generally speaking, the only practicable way of learning and understanding the Holy Scriptures. L. A. NOLIN, O. M. I., LL. D.

NEEDED PRISON REFORMS.

OUR laws punish a man who does not support his family, by shutting him up and confiscating his earnings. What an amazing absurdity! But it is little more so than the persistence with which we cling to the prison systems of past centuries. Compulsory labor for the State is a species of slavery. It inevitably makes bad men worse. The convict's bitterness is

intensified by the knowledge that while he is earning money for the State, which needs nothing, his family is starving. Every man toiling for those he loves is ennobled by his labor. If this was the only argument in favor of the State paying the convict's wages to his family, it would be sufficient to justify such a law.

The State should pay to the families or dependent relatives of its convicts the same wages that similar labor costs private parties. Where there are no dependent relatives the wages should be paid partly to the poor fund of the county which paid the cost of conviction and partly to the convict at his discharge. The suffering a criminal endures from the loss of his liberty and remorse for his sin is a necessary part of his penalty. Not so the greater pain he feels on account of the destitution of his family, left without means of support on account of his confinement.

A criminal should never be punished in a spirit of retaliation, or beyond what is necessary for the protection of society. Every convict has all the rights ever his, except those taken away by sentence of the court, and those which, if allowed him, would render the execution of his sentence impossible. The law of Moses put the wife and children to death with the capital criminal. We think this was barbarous. What shall be said of our treatment of such? We confiscate the wages of the bread-winner of the family, and then with scornful hand dole out a bare subistence to those we have robbed of their all. By such injustice we cause his children to hate society and become criminals for revenge.

Many men are moved by an economic argument who are indifferent to a moral one. Let these consider the expense of our present system. In a vast majority of cases the families of convicts are left destitute and become a public charge. It is probable that 90 per cent. of all the crimes for which men are sent to prison are traceable to alcoholism. It seems as if all must agree that such criminals should be placed in a reformatory and made to support their families by their labor. And that they should be released upon parole only, and returned as often as they get drunk or squander their wages upon drink. What a saving to taxpayers such a law would prove!

In estimating the cost of our prisons, it would be a gross mistake to only reckon the amount of money used. If taxes were the only consideration, it would be cheaper to support all convicts in idleness than to place them in competition with free labor. Labor is the true wealth of the State. For the State to pay the expenses of its prisons with labor is to pay them with the most valuable thing she possesses. To deprive citizens of the opportunity to labor by State competition is suicide. Suppose a State had a sufficient number of convicts to perform all the labor within her borders, what kind of a government would it be? It would be a community of a few despotic aristocrats supported and enriched by gangs of chained slaves. Every invoice of goods manufactured by convicts and sold by the State deprives free labor of the opportunity of being employed long enough to perform that labor, and by competition it lowers the wages of those who are employed.

Even from a worldly standpoint, life, reason and morality are above the price of gold. God speed the day when a rich and powerful State shall no longer be guilty of the injustice and barbarity of compelling helpless women and innocent children to suffer, not for a father's crime, for that is unavoidable, but for the punishment of his crime.

F. C. ELDRED.

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THE BUSINESS OUTLOOK.

BY CHARLES STEWART SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; CHARLES G. WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CONSOLIDATED STOCK AND PETROLEUM EXCHANGE; JAMES O. BLOSS, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK COTTON EXCHANGE, AND HENRY HENTZ, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK COFFEE EXCHANGE.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH, ESQ.:

THE qualities of a ship and the efficiency of its officers and crew are tested and determined by a typhoon and not by fair winds and bright skies, and this is equally true of all financial institutions that seek public confidence.

Figuratively speaking, the "typhoon" test has been applied during the past few months to the banks forming the Clearing-House Association of this city, and the way in which they have weathered the storm of the recent panic can only excite admiration and reflect credit upon them and upon their management. I do not hesitate to say that during this period this country has experienced a financial, commercial and industrial strain that is without parallel for severity and force in our financial history since the year 1837.

My present purpose is to call attention to the manner in which

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the banks of New York were conducted during these perilous days, and to show how they passed through the ordeal and at the same time extended a service to the business community that saved it from untold embarrassments. The discussion of this subject, I believe, to be timely, for the reason that an unwise disposition is shown in some quarters to disparage our National Banking System and to favor the establishment generally of State Banks, which proved so unsatisfactory in ante-bellum days.

I deem it proper at the outset to state that the recent panic was not the result of over-trading, undue speculation or the violation of business principles throughout the country. In my judgment it is to be attributed to unwise legislation with respect to the silver question; it will be known in history as "The Silver Panic," and will constitute a reproach and an accusation against the common sense, if not the common honesty, of our legislators who are responsible for our present monetary laws. Observers abroad and clear-headed financiers at home predicted with absolute certainty the disasters which have overtaken us, and no great prophetic vision was required to anticipate the conditions which have so recently prevailed throughout the United States.

The Right Hon. William Lidderdale, Governor of the Bank of England during the panic of 1890, and an authority of the highest character in all matters pertaining to finance, addressed a communication under date of September 6 last to a friend* in New York, in which he said:

"The worst of your financial crisis has, I trust, been passed. In severity it seems to me to have far exceeded anything seen in the present century in the United States. The New York banks have, I think, shown financial management of a very high order, conspicuously so in the way they have stood shoulder to shoulder and supported credit. They have set a good example in this last respect to our bankers here, one which I trust will bear fruit."

One of the ablest men in the South writes as follows:

"I am glad to notice that the financial condition in New York seems to be growing brighter, and I trust that your banks there will soon begin to enjoy their reward for this desperate struggle which they have made to maintain the credit of the country and preserve it from financial ruin. I cannot express too earnestly my appreciation of the great work which your banks have done in this emergency, for without the sacrifices and inconveniences to which they have subjected themselves there is no telling how

* Alex. E. Orr, Esq.

much trouble would have befallen the country at large. The present condition of the country, whereby it has been saved from financial disaster, is owing in large measure to the generous and heroic efforts of our New York banks."

In addition to the above testimony, I have in my possession a number of letters of like import from all sections of the country, but the foregoing communications will serve to show that the efforts of the New York banks to relieve the situation are recognized and appreciated. It is not too much to say that, had it not been for the concerted action of our metropolitan banks, a large number of worthy firms and institutions would have experienced serious disaster.

The figures below are significant and suggestive.

During the six months ending September 1, 1893, five banks in the city of New York loaned to the West and South exclusively the sum of $46,202,300. And the same institutions during the time specified sent to the same sections gold and currency amounting in the aggregate to $21,241,400.

Very large amounts were also loaned and currency shipped to the Middle and New England States. One of these banks sent during the same time $2,500,000 in currency to New England to pay the help in the mills. Another purchased in the open market, in the very height of the panic, $2,500,000 of commercial paper, which afforded great relief and enabled some concerns that were solvent, but pressed for funds, to sustain their credit.*

In the meantime, it should be borne in mind, the deposits of the New York banks were enormously reduced, as the following figures will show: On June, 18, 1892, the deposits of the associated banks of New York reached the highest point in that year, aggregating $543,663,100, whereas on August 19, 1893, they had fallen off to $370,302,400 (the lowest point reached in the present year thus far)—a reduction of $173,360,700 !

This exhibit bears striking testimony to the stability of the banks and the conservatism and foresight of their management.

The National Banking System grew out of the necessities of our Civil War. It was the creation of wise men, and has proved for this country the safest and most satisfactory system of banking ever devised. Of course, it is not without defects, one of

* It will be noticed that I have given the statistics of only five of the 64 banks connected with the Clearing House, and it is fair to say that the institutions selected are among the largest in the New York Clearing-House Association.

which is common to all systems and offers the most difficult problem in connection with banking; to wit, a lack of "elasticity," or the power to increase the volume of currency in times of financial stringency, and to contract the same when the strain is over.

In order to meet this difficulty the United States Treasury Department has on several occasions anticipated the interest upon government bonds or has purchased the bonds in the open market. This latter relief on the part of the Government, however, is an affair of the past and cannot enter into future calculations.

The New York Clearing-House Association, which is composed of the associated banks, has in times of great financial peril acted with promptitude, and its governing committee has shown a degree of efficiency that seems to have been inspired by the genius of finance. During the forty years of its existence this association has upon six occasions exercised extraordinary powers in the issuance of loan certificates in order to avert public calamities, the wisdom of which proceeding has been amply justified by the universal expressions of approbation on the part of the business world.

The dates and amounts of loan certificates issued by the New York Clearing House are as follows:

1860	$7,375,000
1862	22,585,000
1873	26,565,000
1884	24,915,000
1890	16,645,000
1893	41,490,000

These amounts, although only used in settling Clearing-House balances due by the several banks to each other, at the same time virtually added to the currency of the country and enabled the banks to extend just so much more financial aid to the community.

Not a dollar has ever been lost, or ever can be, by these transactions so long as the present rules and regulations which govern the issue of certificates are adhered to, the $130,000,000 capital and surplus of the associated banks being pledged for the redemption of these certificates. The adaptability of loan certificates to a crisis is demonstrated by their rapid cancellation and retirement immediately after the occasion of their issue has passed.

The names of the gentlemen who compose the Loan Committee of the New York Clearing House are household words. They

are men of ability, experience and judgment, and are entitled to the profound gratitude of the entire country for the conspicuous fidelity and skill with which they have performed their arduous and absolutely gratuitous labors in connection with this great crisis, which, since the emphatic vote of the House of Representatives in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law, is rapidly passing away.

Before this article is published it is believed that the Senate will have concurred in the repeal of the odious silver bill, which is so largely responsible for the widespead disaster we have experienced of late. The delay in the Senate after the expression of the will of the people is certainly not creditable to the wisdom of that body, and it is to be earnestly hoped that it will not longer retard a return to business prosperity.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

CHARLES G. WILSON, ESQ.:

THE panic which has had the disastrous effect of causing one hundred and fifty-four national banks to suspend payment during the past six months, and from the effects of which the business of the United States is still suffering, has been marked by several unique features. While not as severe in its results as the great panic of 1857 it was far more sudden. It startled us like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky. Our cheers for the foreign war ships which came to compliment us on our prosperity and material greatness had barely ceased when it seemed as though the business of the country had been stricken with paralysis. Failure and suspension succeeded suspension and failure as the days went by, until the business men were amazed at a condition of affairs for which it was difficult to find any, much less adequate, causes. These causes are now, however, easily understood.

Under the Sherman act the United States alone of the nations of the earth established and maintained an artificial value for certain prescribed amounts of silver purchased by it each month. Those who are ordinarily called "the silver men," not being satisfied with the existing condition of affairs, carried on during 1892 under the leadership of Senator Stewart an active propaganda in favor of free coinage for the white metal. While this

did not result in legislation such as they desired, it had the effect of bringing to the front the advocates of the gold standard. It is a curious fact that when any financial question is widely discussed the body of the people gather the most strange and erroneous ideas from the discussion; for with the grains of scientific finance contributed by those who have studied, there is more than the proverbial bushel of chaff supplied by the theorists who depend upon imagination for their premises and upon fancy for their conclusions. The one idea which was firmly fixed in the minds of the majority of the people as the result of the free coinage propaganda was the alleged necessity of maintaining a certain gold balance in the Treasury, the amount of which balance had become traditionary. As a matter of fact it is absurd to suppose that the credit of the United States depends on the presence of $100,000,000 in gold in the Treasury or that its credit is in danger when there are but $90,000,000.

In the ordinary course of business it became necessary in the spring to pay heavy balances abroad. The merchants applied to their banks for gold simply because, gold being the standard across the water, gold had to be paid. The drain on gold reduced the balance in the Treasury and the people became alarmed. Now, while it is perfectly true that the United States is rich enough to have safely continued for a long time the monthly purchases of silver under the Sherman act, neither the United States nor any other government is sufficiently strong to continue doing that which the majority of the people *believe* will bankrupt it. If the $4,500,000 bullion per month had been thrown into the sea the United States would not have become bankrupt, because its resources are too great. But, unfortunately, the people believed the government would not be able to maintain gold payments if the purchases of silver continued. The usual result of a fear about money followed. Cautious people withdrew their deposits from the banks and placed them in safe deposit vaults or on special deposit. At once the money market became stringent, the values of securities fell, and the banks in order to save themselves were forced to increase the evil by hoarding money. Nor was this all. The savings banks felt what was going on in the shape of a falling off of deposits. Like the rolling snowball the panic became greater until the people were in a spasm of fear.

The Democratic party came into power last fall with a "tariff for revenue" plank in its platform. The people gave to it the President, the Senate and the House. As it is pledged, it must bring in a tariff bill this winter, which shall be different from the McKinley tariff now in force. This is equivalent to saying that it must bring in a bill which will change existing values to a greater or less extent, and at the present time the extent of these changes is unknown. It is but repeating the alphabet of finance to say that any certain but unknown change in values in the near future will make men cautious. As the change in the tariff may affect all manufacturers and merchants and as it is certain to affect some of them, and as no man knows his business will not be affected, it follows that all must wait until they can see the bill. This influence in the community would have been of itself sufficient to make business men conservative in their operations during the summer. In the examination of the panic the tariff outlook appears not as a cause, which it was not, but as an influence intensifying the effect of the general distrust caused by the mistaken belief in the immediate danger of the continued purchases of silver.

As the cause of the panic was a lack of confidence among the people, so the remedies applied by financiers took two forms: First, in a direct effort to restore confidence, as when the banks of the city of New York acted in concert with each other in supporting credit; Second, in an effort to restrain the people from acting on their lack of confidence, as when the savings banks required from their depositors 30 or 60 days' notice before deposits could be withdrawn. To these two measures is directly owing the fact that the panic was not far more disastrous than it proved to be.

It is with pleasure I notice the improvement which is making itself felt. This is shown by the fact that the premium on currency has disappeared. Fortunately, too, Europe is commencing to take our securities at an increased price, and this results in gold coming our way. It is also cheering to find that small investors are beginning to show themselves in our markets and are releasing their hoarded money. These things merely mean that confidence is returning, and the change began when the House passed the Wilson Bill to repeal the Sherman Act. If the Senate would also pass it we would have general confidence once

more, and the conservatism, which is the result of prospective changes in the tariff, would be of small moment.

Personally I am a bi-metallist, provided the nations of the world unite in bi-metallism. But I cannot as a student of the science of finance delude myself into the belief that the United States alone can create and maintain an artificial price for silver. That which is a commodity among all civilized nations cannot be anything but a commodity here, nor can we afford to pay the difference between the market value and an artificial value on the silver product of the world. We are not rich enough. We must pay our balances in commerce with other nations in that coin or article or commodity which they will take, and just so long as they demand gold, gold they must have.

The lesson taught by the panic of 1893, however, is not that the United States lacks the power to stand alone among civilized nations in her financial methods. It is something far deeper, far more important. The panic has proved the danger to ourselves of having two currencies, one which other nations will accept, and another which passes only among ourselves. It is folly of the blindest sort to shut our eyes to facts, and the fact taught by this panic is that just as long as every American dollar is not worth one hundred cents everywhere in the civilized world, just so long is there a danger that Americans will themselves become distrustful of the credit of their government. It would not be easy to count the cost of this panic, but it may be safely said it has been one of the most expensive financial operations Americans ever engaged in.

CHARLES G. WILSON.

JAMES O. BLOSS, ESQ. :

WHAT the outcome of the present financial troubles will be, it is difficult to foretell. The passage by the House of Representatives of the Wilson Repeal Bill by so large a majority, the well-settled belief that the Senate will not much longer delay its concurrence therein, and the large influx of gold, have been productive of so much relief, as shown by the disappearance of the premium on currency, lessened interest rates on call money, the release to some extent of hoarded money, and an advancing stock market, that the feeling is becoming apparent in

almost all quarters that the tide has turned and that recuperation will be sure and progressive.

This feeling is reasonable, and will hardly be subject to disappointment unless some unforeseen set-back occurs. This possible set-back is more likely to come, if come it does, from Congress rather than elsewhere.

There is a disposition apparent now, on the part of Republican papers, in which it is noticeable that ex-Speaker Reed joins, to attribute our difficulties no less to the fear of tariff legislation than to our wretched experiment with silver; but this idea is little shared by business men in general, and in saying this I do so, not as a free-trader, but as one who believes himself a reasonable protectionist.

It is my belief that the election of November, 1892, which again placed Mr. Cleveland in the Presidential chair, has had practically no effect on manufacturing interests existing at that time; that, while the uncertainty as to what tariff legislation may be, may have deterred men from entering into new enterprises or extending old ones, it caused no stoppage of operations; on the contrary, in many lines of manufacturing the highest margin of profit obtained for years was realized on engagements entered into after the election. This certainly was true of cotton manufacturing for months after the election, and, while subsequently lesser profits were accepted, I will venture to say that not one single mill that has stopped since May 1 has done so by reason of fear of tariff revision. What, then, has been the cause of the stoppage of mills? Failing confidence begotten of our currency.

Confidence decreased as each fraction of decline in the price of silver was recorded and as each shipment of gold was made from our shores. Adverse trade conditions may have justified gold shipments; but so also, in the mind of foreign capitalists, did the condition of our currency. It certainly was not a fear of change of tariff that led to the repeated "special order" shipments of gold, and, however uncalled for it may be that any one, foreigner or citizen, should question the ability and determination of this government to pay its obligations in gold, nevertheless, with a constantly decreasing gold reserve, this questioning of the government's ability did obtain. Fear became prevalent. Hoarding of all kinds of money, whether gold,

silver or currency, began. The banks became unable to furnish to the business community the ordinary financial accommodation necessary for the prosecution of business. This in turn begot fear of and inability to enter into new obligations, and in consequence manufactured products met a market without buyers, and many who had already bought declined to accept delivery of their purchases by reason of their inability to pay.

This, in my opinion, is the cause of mill stoppages. The row of bricks toppled over. Fear and lack of confidence in our currency started it; this occasioned exports of gold and hoarding of currency, which in turn begot stringent money conditions, with inability of business men to obtain the means for the carrying on of their affairs; thence came widespread failures, followed by cessation of purchasing and cancellation of purchases already made, resulting in an accumulation of goods which could not be turned into money, and, finally, in the stoppage of mills.

Whatever else, let us be candid. The McKinley Bill may or may not have been a good thing for the country, and the agitation incident to a new tariff bill may not be a good thing for business; but when a direct chain of causes for our present condition can be traced, do not let us, in the hope of promoting a party advantage, resort to subterfuge and inject into the difficult problem something that has nothing whatever to do with it.

I have referred to a possible set-back coming from Congress. By this I mean unwise legislation. The list of bills introduced into Congress suggests the wonder how men who possess enough individuality and capacity to have lifted them out of the common herd and made them senators or representatives can entertain such ideas as some of our statesmen do. Fancy such a law even being suggested as an Educational Bill, recently introduced, with an $800,000,000 appropriation; or an income-tax law such as is proposed in another bill which would lay a tax of 2 per cent. on incomes of $3,000 to $5,000, 5 per cent. on $5,000 to $10,000, 10 per cent. on $10,000 to $20,000, 15 per cent. on $20,000 to $30,000, 20 per cent. on $30,000 to $50,000, 30 per cent. on $50,000 to $100,000, and 40 per cent. on all over $100,000. Another startling bill is designed to increase the circulating medium by directing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue annually, at the end of each fiscal year, Treasury notes to an amount equal to the total taxes and revenues collected by the government during

the previous year, and to replace the national bank currency by an equal amount of Treasury notes; and proposes to authorize national banks to loan money on real estate, and thereby revive one of the worst features ever connected with banking.

It is in the possibility of such bills as these becoming law that the risk of a set-back lies, and the tendency, which seems to be growing, of government's undertaking to regulate men's affairs by Anti-Option bills, and the like, is, in my opinion, a bad one, and calculated to do more harm than good. Such laws simply cripple enterprise and energy with no appreciable advantage to those for whose benefit they are ostensibly enacted.

Napoleon had such genius and ambition that it became necessary that all Europe should combine to dethrone him, but the men of finance and trade in this couutry are certainly not of that character that requires the community to rise up to suppress them.

There seems to be a feeling that New York and the East enjoy advantages and privileges that are denied to and are at the expense of other sections of the country, and that something must be done to resist them. It makes little difference whether the process results in any advantage to West or South so long as Eastern ideas of policy and finance are not allowed to prevail.

It would seem as though men forget that it is natural for old communities to be the possessors of more wealth than new ones, and that it is their right to enjoy that advantage. Because men have by sagacity, energy and industry, or even by inheritance, acquired fortunes, it does not follow that they are enemies of society. On the contrary, the very fact of men being possessed of means is a guarantee of good citizenship, to say nothing of the contributions they make, from their means, to the development and prosperity of those sections where capital is wanting.

It would be well for the West and South to accept the statement that New York and the East have no interests that are not interlocked with theirs, that what is harmful for one is harmful for the other, and what is beneficial for one redounds to the advantage of the other.

What is wanted is less fault-finding with other people's successes, and a candid viewing of facts as they are, whereby each one may work out his own advancement and not through agitation try to accomplish impossible things by legislation.

The workings of cause and effect in finance and trade are as immutable as the laws of nature, and the failure of any attempt to permanently frustrate these laws is as certain as the movement of the tide or the rising and setting of the sun. A country like ours may endure unsound laws longer, without any apparent harm, than would seem possible; but the time will come when truth and logic will assert itself.

The resources and possibilities of the country are vast, and the outlook has much of promise, but we need less wild schemes of legislation and more individual effort and self-reliance.

With a speedy passage of the Repeal Bill in the Senate confidence will rapidly revive, money will come out of hiding more generally, and business take a new start. I see no reason why what we have been suffering should necessitate our going through the rotting out process that followed 1873 for six years, though it is not to be expected that we shall immediately bloom forth into great prosperity. Trade conditions abroad are reported much improved, and with the return of confidence here we should now move steadily forward.

JAMES O. BLOSS.

HENRY HENTZ, ESQ.:

IN CONSEQUENCE of the moderate supplies, the price of coffee in this country has not been materially affected by the financial troubles that we have had. The Brazilian crop for the past year was only a moderate one, following the "bumper" crop of the previous year. The expectation of the crop of 1893–94 (July 1 to July 1) being a small one has been a supporting influence. Prices early in the spring were advanced by the free buying of Mr. Kaltenbach, of Paris, who was a large holder of coffee in this country and in Europe, but, in consequence of the unfavorable financial conditions, and the fact that so much coffee was concentrated in the hands of one man, the trade purchased sparingly, believing that liquidation would have to take place, which occurred about the middle of April last in the United States and Europe, and the market declined over three cents per pound from top, but most of the decline was recovered by the middle of May, as the trade became free buyers. The business during the past

few months has been curtailed by the stringency of the money market. Commercial paper has been practically unsalable. Local and interior dealers have bought sparingly, and are believed to hold light stocks. The retailers have also reduced their holdings.

The coffee trade has a fashion of anticipating large or small crops. It may perhaps seem strange to the outsider that estimates will soon be made for the Brazilian coffee crop that will be marketed from July 1, 1894, to July 1, 1895, and future delivery sales or purchases will be made accordingly. The "future" system has a steadying influence upon values, preventing them from going either too high or too low, and in fact its abolition would be a very disturbing feature in conducting business. Prior to the establishment of the Coffee Exchange in New York, when prices were very high, parties who were caught with large stocks on hand were practically unable to dispose of their coffee till the market had declined considerably, but with the "future" system sales can be made on the Exchange against their spot holdings, or even against shipments *en route*, thereby preventing heavy losses, or perhaps failure.

Brazil furnishes about 60 per cent. of the coffee consumed in Europe and the United States. The United States is a very large consumer of coffee; of the deliveries for the year ending June 30 last, about 11,000,000 bags, Europe took 60 per cent. and the United States 40 per cent.

In all probability coffee would have improved had it not been for the disturbing conditions caused by the Sherman silver purchase law, which nearly everybody believes has caused the want of confidence and almost general stoppage of business, as it is conceded that 95 per cent. of the business transacted is based on confidence. The large majority had in the House for the Wilson silver bill has had a good effect in commercial and financial circles. Quite a revival has taken place, but there seems to be delay in the Senate, which, if continued too long, may cause a reaction from the improved feeling. The failures that have taken place during the past few months have not indicated an unsound condition of business, as many of the houses and banks failing have shown a large surplus over their liabilities. With the silver question favorably disposed of there is no good reason why trade should not become more active. The premium on

currency, which was at one time four per cent. to five per cent., has now disappeared.

While the statistical position of coffee is very favorable, and it is probable that the supply will be small for the twelve months, ending June 30 next, advices have already been received here from Brazil reporting that the flowering for the Rio crop of 1894–95 so far is favorable, but flowering continues till January and February, in which months the prospects for the crop of Café das Aquas (coffee of the late summer rains—the Brazilian summer begins in December) will have more or less influence. The flowering during the Café das Aquas season has been known to add 750,000 bags to the Rio and Santos crop.

I attribute our financial troubles almost wholly to the Sherman silver purchase law. From information received from reliable sources I am satisfied that the fear of a change in the tariff has had little or nothing to do with the failures that have taken place. It may have some effect later on, when Congress takes up the matter in earnest. The fact that the situation has improved since the House passed the Wilson silver bill, and the Committee on Ways and Means are now giving a hearing to the different interests that are affected by the tariff, conclusively shows that the panic was not caused by fear of tariff legislation.

HENRY HENTZ.

CAN EUROPE AFFORD HER ARMIES?

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

A DISTINGUISHED British financier and politician lately stated that the great nations of the continent will shortly have to choose between bankruptcy and reduction of military expenditure; and I have been asked by the Editor what I think upon the matter.

As regards the chief military countries, I am sceptical about the truth of the statement. It is, indeed, possible that Italy may reduce her expenditure upon an army, the necessity of which to her existence is far from plain to her friends, although by her policy she has made it less unnecessary than it would otherwise have been. Austria-Hungary has already begun somewhat to draw in her horns; but she cannot afford to disarm in face of Russia, and she may prove on examination to be as able to avoid bankruptcy as her rival has been. Russia was said to be hopelessly bankrupt a quarter of a century ago; and when I was much there, in 1869 and in 1870, there was a general belief that she could not stand the pace. Since that time, however, she has enormously increased her military and naval forces, and appears now, by equally general admission, to be less near bankruptcy than she was then. The armaments of Europe depend mainly upon the armaments of France, and these upon the effect produced upon French pride by the defeats of 1870, and their results in the tearing from France of unwilling provinces. France spends more upon her army than does any other power, except the British Empire, and she is rapidly coming to rival the British expenditure upon navies. Such, however, is the wealth of France that there is no immediate prospect of her ceasing to pay her way; and before she cuts down either her military or her naval expenditure she is likely to find a margin for economy in other quarters. France wastes her money recklessly upon colonial enterprises,

upon bounties of various descriptions, upon ill-considered tariff changes, and she is a long way from being forced by any absolute necessity to reduce her war expenses. Germany keeps pace with her as far as the increase of the army is concerned, but has ceased the rapid construction of a powerful navy, which is to her a less pressing need.

The sums spent upon the Continental armies and navies are not always easy to ascertain,—partly on account of the separation of many budgets into "ordinary" and "extraordinary," and partly on account of the confusion of moneys from taxation with moneys from loan. In almost every case the expenditures greatly exceed the sums which are set down in the books of reference. I shall deal here with round figures—figures, indeed, of the roundest—for it is useless to go into small details, and I shall take an average of years, instead of the expenditure of any one period of twelve months. The British Empire spends as a rule upon defence from 250 million to 280 million dollars a year, of which the military expenditure of India, with the indirect expenditure for the sake of India on mobile land forces at home, forms the largest item. Almost the whole of this vast sum is expended out of British loans or taxes under the control of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and out of Indian taxes under the indirect control of the House of Commons through the Secretary of State, who is a member of the Government of the day. This expenditure, although vast,—although open to the reproach that it does not do more than maintain a fleet slightly superior to that of France, and an army of very small numbers,—is a fleabite as compared (in its ill effect upon the wealth of the nation) with the military expenditure of Italy, or, in a less degree, with that of the other Continental powers. The evidences of the overpressure of taxation in India itself, many as they are, are slight in comparison with those which are present in the case of Italy; and it may be assumed, therefore, that, while the taxpayers of the United Kingdom and of India may make their voices heard in insisting upon better value for their money, the expenditure will not in itself be brought to an end by bankruptcy.

The French expenditure on defence is, on the average—although it is not easy to find it in the French budget—about 200 millions of dollars, for which their government provides an army of immense numbers and of perfect readiness for

war (hampered by the too great age of its generals, and the difficulty that a republican government lies under of getting rid of generals who are past their work) and a navy second only to our own and infinitely before that of any other power. For the reasons which I have given, it cannot be pretended that there is any immediate risk of bankruptcy in France ; and not the smallest unwillingness has been shown by the French people to bear their defense expenditure. On the contrary, that expenditure has been increased in recent years by parliamentary pressure upon successive governments. France spends upon Algeria, on Annam, Tonquin and Cochin China vast sums of money, such as Great Britain has never at any time spent on any of her flourishing colonies; and the military necessities of these countries must be looked upon as constituting a considerable military weakness to France. As regards the colonial expenditure there is much difference of opinion in the country. Not a discordant note has, however, been heard with regard to the home military and naval expenditure. While France has been enormously increasing her army and navy, she has been spending vast sums upon war material, and it is estimated that the military stores of France, apart from the navy, have a capital value at the present moment of five hundred millions of dollars, to which must be added gigantic sums for ships and fortresses. The interest of the debt of France now amounts to considerably over 250 millions of dollars in the year, and it is, of course, constantly increasing, as France never makes both ends meet. But the increase in debt at the present moment is very much less than it has been in recent years, and it is possible to foresee that the French Government may be able to put an end to the creation of debt in time of peace, and to pay their way. On the whole, it must be admitted that French finance is improving instead of running down toward bankruptcy, of which there is not at present the smallest sign.

The annual cost of the German army and navy is misstated in all books of reference, and also in such official publications as the British Embassy Report on the budget of the German Empire, where it is taken at 167½ millions of dollars. We have, of course, to add to the Prussian budget the military budgets of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg ; and we have to remember that there are three classes of expenditure : "ordinary expendi-

ture," "ordinary expenditure for once," and "extraordinary expenditure." There are, however, in addition, many military and naval charges in Prussia upon civil votes. The German debts are very small. My estimate is that the total German military and naval expenditure is nearer 190 millions of dollars than the sum apparently shown by the estimates of the German Empire. It is borne with comparative ease.

When we come to the military expenditure of Russia we find in the books of reference the most fantastic figures. The rouble varies so much in value that it is very difficult to state the real amount of the military and naval expenditure of Russia, but the best estimate which I can make for it at the present moment is about 170 millions of dollars. Russia is now nearer to paying her way, in spite of famine and in spite of pestilence, than she has been for many years past. Her weak point in connection with her military expenditure is the slowness of her mobilization, while her strong point is her enormous "peace army," or force with the flag, which is, roughly speaking, double that of Germany or of France, or equal to that of the two put together. Coming to Austria-Hungary we find that which is somewhat new in connection with that country—a recent year which produced a surplus, after heavy deficits in previous years. The financial situation of Hungary is now good, and that of Austria better than it was; and in the case of Austria-Hungary, as in that of Russia, there is no reason whatever to apprehend bankruptcy. The position of Italy is the weakest of the whole of the great powers. She is the power whose war expenditure is the least easily borne, and the one whose finances stand the worst—chiefly, however, on account of her enormous debt, rather than on account of the direct pressure of her present military and naval expenditure, considered by itself. On the other hand, it is Italy which can the most easily decrease her military, if not her naval, expenditure. She is, as a fact, decreasing her expenditure; but she has still a steady deficit.

The result, then, of our examination goes to confirm the previsions with which I set out, to the effect that, with the doubtful exception of Italy, none of the Continental powers appear to be marching towards a bankruptcy well in view.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

THE WEALTH OF NEW YORK.

BY THE HON. THOMAS F. GILROY, MAYOR OF NEW YORK.

II.

THE burden of the arguments alluded to at the close of the previous paper is the constant reiteration of the groundless charge that taxes are heavier now than they were before the Democratic party regained control of the municipal government. Like almost any other accusation this is easy to make and somewhat difficult to disprove. But there are two ways in which the truth may be shown clearly, and either of them will be found to be a complete refutation of the charge. Indeed the truth is so well established that it would be almost supererogatory to enlarge on the subject if it were not for the persistency with which the contrary statements are urged, and the credit they obtain among people who do not take the pains to inform themselves.

These two ways are, first a comparison of the proportion of the tax to the population at the present time with the proportion it formerly bore ; and, secondly, a comparison of the proportion of the tax to the market value of the property taxed at the present time with the proportion it formerly bore. In other words, what is the tax *per capita* now, and what was it formerly ? What percentage of actual market value is demanded now as a tax, and what was demanded formerly ?

The first question is easily answered. The second will be considered presently, being left unanswered only until certain other facts have been considered.

The rate of taxation *per capita* was last year about $17. It is not possible to state it exactly because the exact number of the population is not known, but it is almost correct to call it $17. In 1876 the amount, figured in the same way, by dividing the

sum of the tax levy by the number representing the population, was about $25. These figures come within a small fraction of the exact truth, and show the comparison clearly. The comparison based on market values will be made presently.

Thus far we have been able to determine two of the main points of our subject, and to clear up some of the questions incidental to them. These two points are: First, the sum of the corporation's entire indebtedness, and, secondly, the amount of its income from taxation. Before proceeding to the question of expenditures it is necessary to consider the estate—real and personal—of which the city is possessed. It has already been said that it is a practical impossibility to estimate the values of these belongings as a whole with even approximate accuracy, but there are facts from which we can deduce an idea, valuable even if somewhat vague, of the sum total. It is only possible to accomplish this by making as close an estimate as may be of some of the items, and then recalling the extent to which the city has multiplied such items.

In 1871 a commission was appointed to appraise the property owned by the city, and while it is true that they failed to arrive at any exact sum, the result of their labors (which were continued for months) was to give a reliable estimate of the value of the main items. Since that time no such commission has been appointed and the figures they reported form, therefore, the only acceptable basis for an estimate at present.

This commission was composed of three well-known experts in real estate values, namely, Messrs. Anthony J. Bleecker, Courtlandt Palmer and Adrian H. Muller. A summary of what they reported is here taken as the basis referred to. It reads:

Central Park, 11,000 lots at $10,000 each (in round numbers, say)	$110,000,000
Twenty smaller parks and places	33,000,000
Ten public markets	5,000,000
City lots not in public use	4,000,000
Water lots and Brooklyn lots	1,500,000
Seventy piers North and East Rivers	5,000,000
Croton Aqueduct	100,000,000
Fire department—land, buildings and equipment	3,500,000
Police stations and land	1,500,000
Public education—school houses and lots	6,000,000
Courts, prisons and islands	7,500,000
Total	$277,000,000

The first reflection, on examining this table is, that even if it should be assumed as a fair statement of all the city owns to-day, the amount is ample to secure a far larger debt than the city

owes. Real estate will readily carry a mortgage of 60 per cent. or 70 per cent., or even 75 per cent. of its appraised value, and the money-lender is well satisfied with his security. At that rate, then, the city could offer ample real estate security for a debt of $200,000,000, or twice as much as it owes at the present time, even assuming the value of its possessions to be no greater than it was in 1871.

But, in the twenty odd years that have since elapsed, the value of real estate in New York has greatly increased, and the amount of the holdings of the city has been enlarged to an enormous extent. Not only are the individual pieces of property appraised by Messrs. Bleecker, Palmer and Muller worth more than they then were, but the city has been a large buyer almost throughout the entire period since the work of the commission was performed.

Our older citizens will readily remember that the southern boundary of Central Park was then practically the northern boundary of the thickly settled portion of the city. The three villages of Yorkville, Harlem and Manhattanville had grown, it is true, but they were considered "out of town." The vacant lots surrounding the Central Park had little more than a speculative or future value. To-day a line of magnificent residences is stretching around it and rapidly lengthening, so that in the near future the city's first great pleasure ground will be surrounded with palaces. Certainly, no one will venture to dispute that if the 11,000 building lots in the park were worth $10,000 each in 1871 they are certainly worth $20,000 apiece now. That item at least has doubled in value.

As to the other parks, there were then twenty; there are now fifty. The city has expended considerably more than $12,000,000 alone in the purchase of new ones, not taking into consideration the money that has been invested in improvements, not one dollar of which has failed to secure a return in steadily growing value. It would not, perhaps, be fair to assume that the "twenty smaller parks" have doubled in value, as Central Park has done. At all events it would not be conservative to do so. But, considering the additions and the expenditures that have been made, it is certainly within bounds to say that if our twenty parks were worth 33 millions in 1871, our fifty parks are worth 50 millions in 1893. It must be remembered, too, that this value is not merely the investment in the land itself, as that land might

be capable of being cut up into building lots. For, if such a view were taken, the item of park grounds would be an asset on which the city would never be likely to realize. The chief value lies in the enhancement of neighboring real estate, and the consequent increase of the tax roll. How enormously profitable all this is to the city can only be estimated by analysis of the books of the Tax Department, which analysis, even, would necessarily be too voluminous for insertion here. Neither is a catalogue of the new parks needed. Our citizens will remember the principal ones, and the effect they have already had on the neighborhoods in which they are located.

It will be remembered, however, by every one who is in any degree familiar with the recent history of the city, that the entire chain of parks north of the Harlem River has been acquired within a very few years past. This extensive possession of the city has only been recently planned, and the $9,000,000 which was paid outright for the acquisition of the land is an item that might well have swelled the sum of the city's indebtedness, since the purchase money, like many other large expenditures within the same period, was provided for by the issue of city bonds. Notwithstanding these issues, however, the city debt has materially decreased, as we have seen.

These new parks in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth wards, and in Westchester County, together with the Jeannette and Rutgers parks down town, and the extensive additions to the East River Park, and the great Riverside and Morningside parks along the Hudson, are of themselves enough to justify the increase made in the present estimate over the figures of the commission of 1871.

The next largest item on the list is the Croton Aqueduct property. That which the Commission valued at a hundred millions of dollars was what is known now as the Old Aqueduct, with its reservoirs and distribution service. That still remains in its entirety, and performs an unimpaired service, while the demand of the city for water has more than doubled, and the additional supply is drawn from the New Aqueduct with the increased distributing system.

In the acquisition of land, and the purchase of additional water privileges, and the construction of the New Aqueduct, the city has expended nearly $30,000,000. That this expenditure was

wise and business-like may be judged from the fact that the new has trebled the capacity of the old, and affords far greater security. The extension comprises several new reservoirs in the Croton Valley, the entire Bronx River system, and extensive improvements and enlargements of the distributing system.

Besides all this, it must be remembered that the surface of the ground along the line of the aqueduct forms a real estate holding that is available for park or other purposes, and is an asset of the city's fortune which is certain to increase steadily in value as long as the city continues to grow.

All these things being taken into consideration, it is well within the bounds of reason to accept the statement of those experts who declare that our Croton water system, as a whole, is worth twice what it was twenty years ago, or $200,000,000, at a conservative valuation. As a matter of fact it is worth much more than that.

As to our market property, it will be remembered that none of it has decreased in value, while much of it has been largely increased by wise and liberal expenditures. In addition to this, the new West Washington Market has been added to the list, so that the item set down at $5,000,000 in 1871 may be safely figured at $20,000,000 to-day. This is an estimate that no critic will assail, seeing that the net income derived from the markets by the city is considerably over a million dollars a year.

In regard to the "city lots not in public use," there is much to be said, of which the general public knows nothing ; but since this article is of the nature of a summary, it is hardly worth while to go far into the particulars. It is a fact that the title to many pieces of valuable real estate within the city limits is vested in the municipality. Many pieces—that is, which are not in actual use by any department of the municipal government—have, in one way or another, come into the possession of the corporation. This statement has no reference whatever to park property or to the real estate which was bought up in order to acquire a right of way for the old and new aqueducts. Such items belong in the other specifications which have already been considered.

What is meant by the last classification is the various holdings which the city has acquired from time to time by purchase or bequest or the lapse of title, or in some other way, and which are not in actual use by the municipality. In many cases this ground

has been leased by the city for long terms at a nominal rental, and it is well understood that in some instances these long leases are intended to be virtually deeds of gift. Such an instance is that of the Cathedral on Fifth Avenue; and others are the various hospitals and charitable institutions that have so beautified and improved the central portions of the island. There are many other instances, however, in which the city has executed *bona-fide* leases and is holding the property for the sake of the income now derived, or the profits to be had from the prospective rise in value. Such an example is the block between Duane, Reade, West, and Washington streets. It would be hard to say what that particular block is worth, but it is certainly far more valuable than it was in 1871. Eight million dollars is a small figure to put down under the head of "city lots not in public use." A detailed list of these lots would occupy much space, but the facts are of public record.

In regard to the next item—that of the docks and piers on the North and East rivers—it is necessary to remember first that whereas the city owned 70 piers in 1871, when the Commission made its appraisal, it now owns 142. In reference to the values of this part of our property it is difficult to do better than quote from a recent issue of the New York *Sun*, which said:

> The comprehensive plans submitted by the Chief Engineer, which the Dock Board has approved, for improving the North River water front between Charles Street and Twenty-third Street, and between Seventy-second and 100th streets, will entail an expense of $8,000,000, distributed, however, over several years, the Dock Board being limited by law to the expenditure of $3,000,000 in any one year. The present annual revenue from the docks is $2,000,000, and this sum is turned into the city treasury to be applied to the extinction of the debt and toward the payment of interest. Years ago an estimate of the value of wharf and bulkhead property of New York was $1,800,000 on the East and $1,400,000 on the Hudson River—$3,200,000 in all. A subsequent valuation in 1871, when all values had increased enormously, put the dock property at $5,000,000. To-day the docks of New York are worth at a fair calculation not less than $30,000,000, and they yield about six per cent. net on such valuation. If the improvements now in contemplation secure the approval of the Sinking Fund it will not be long before these docks will, through the increased facilities offered to commerce, be worth probably $50,000,000, or one-half of the whole city debt.

The great enlargement of the police force in New York in the last twenty years is a matter sufficiently familiar to all our citizens. The department has kept pace not only with the increase

in population and area, but with the advancement of metropolitan conditions. Not only is it—as has become a by-word—"the finest police force in the world," but it is provided worthily for. Not merely have the old station-houses been enlarged, renewed, and improved, but new sites have been purchased and new houses erected, until there is considerably more than three times the money invested in the real estate of this department of the government than there was in 1871. It is, therefore, a conservative estimate which figures this item at $5,000,000.

As to the property under the charge and control of the Board of Education, the same things may be said, almost in the same words. The visible enlargement of the system has been even greater in this branch of the government than in the Police Department, but it is well within bounds to say that the real estate belonging to the public school system is worth at least $15,000,000.

The property of the Fire Department consists not only of real estate, but of an exceedingly costly outfit of machinery and appliances. Of this latter item, however, no account is taken in the present recapitulation. Despite its great cost, and although it might properly be termed an asset in reckoning up a private fortune, it can only be regarded as a utensil when taken as a belonging of the city. It is not an "available asset" and cannot be so held, for the reason that the city practically cannot "realize" on it. With reference to the real estate it is different. Any of that can be sold at any time. It was on the basis of the real estate alone that the Commission of 1871 should have figured, when they set down $3,500,000 to the credit of this department. Since then the force has doubled. Many new houses have been built, including the headquarters building; and, allowing for the increase in value on what was then owned, it is reckoned that there is not less than $5,000,000 to be set down under this head.

The $7,500,000 set down in 1871 for courts, prisons, and islands was an exceedingly moderate estimate even then. Since then, extensive additions have been made. The new Criminal Court Building, in Centre Street, alone, cost $1,500,000 and is well worth the money. The Jefferson Market Court and the Harlem Court-house have also been added. Ward's and Riker's islands are now to be included in the list, as well as the city's establishment at Islip, L. I. Including these new possessions it is not unreasonable to reckon $20,000,000 as the value of this item.

Aside from the properties appraised by the Commission of 1871, there is one of considerable magnitude which is entirely new. The city has built four armories since that year, at a cost of $3,000,000, and has another in course of construction, besides being now engaged in the work of condemning sites for others. This new property is already much more valuable than its cost, but in order to be conservative it is reckoned at $3,000,000.

A recapitulation, then, of the estimated values of the available assets of New York at the present time would read as follows :

Central Park	$200,000,000
Fifty other parks and places	50,000,000
Croton Aqueduct	200,000,000
Public markets	20,000,000
City lots not in public use	8,000,000
Docks and piers, North and East rivers	30,000,000
Police stations and land	5,000,000
School system	15,000,000
Fire Department	5,000,000
Courts, prisons, and islands	20,000,000
Water lots	3,000,000
Armories	3,000,000
Total	$559,000,000

In other words, New York city has ample real estate security to offer for a debt of four times the size of the present obligations, or $400,000,000, if any extraordinary combination of circumstances could make it desirable to incur such a debt. Nothing short of a miracle, however, can be imagined which would make it the proposition of a sane man to incur a city debt of any such magnitude.

These figures, representing, as they do, an amount of wealth which can hardly be realized by the human mind, seem fabulously large, but, as a matter of fact, the estimate, though a rough one, and avowedly made without sufficient *data* to raise even a supposition of exactness, is studiously conservative, and is probably very much less than a commission of experts would make, should they devote the necessary time and labor to the subject.

New York city, then, as a corporation, owns considerably more than half a billion dollars worth of real estate. It is well to repeat here, what was before said, that no account is taken in this article of the uncounted millions of wealth the corporation has invested in assets that are not, properly speaking, convertible into cash. A single item of this description—that of bridges—could be set down at $10,000,000. New York owns one-third of

the Brooklyn Bridge, which third cost, and is worth, $6,000,000. We have built the new Washington Bridge at an expense of $3,000,000, and have much more than the balance needed to make up the estimate of ten millions, already invested in other new bridges, building or built.

A bridge, however, is practically a public highway under our laws, and, if bridges were to be included, streets must also be figured. The streets are certainly the property of the corporation, and represent wealth as actual and tangible as park property, but they are not available assets. One can imagine a community reduced by misfortune to such a stress as to be obliged to sell its parks, and still able to exist. But a community that should be driven to the sale of its streets would necessarily disintegrate and thereby cease to be a corporation. Our bridges, streets, pavements, sewers, subways, and the like represent the wealth of the people truly, and form an enormous part of that wealth, and add greatly to the aggregate wealth by increasing neighboring property in value, but they are of such a character as to make it useless to do more than allude to them here.

Going back over what has been already written, we find that the two millions of people living in New York city and practically forming the corporation (although all are not citizens), own real estate to the value of $559,000,000; that they have this property mortgaged to the amount of $100,000,000; that their credit is literally the best in the world; that the expense of maintaining and constantly improving this property, including the salaries of their public servants, all interest charges and a gradual reduction of the mortgage, amounts to $34,177,429.55.*

It is, of course, elementary knowledge that the $559,000,000 of property does not represent individual holdings, any more than the $100,000,000 of debt includes the private liabilities of the citizen. What are here considered are the common holdings and the common liabilities.

THOMAS F. GILROY.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

* This last item does not represent all the income and expenditure of the corporation. It is the tax levy for the current year. The amount of income over and above the tax levy is that which accrues from the holdings of the corporation, and is therefore produced directly by the accumulated property of the people, speaking roughly and generally.

THE BATTLE-SHIP OF THE FUTURE.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

IT IS not an easy task, within the compass of an article, to forecast the resultants of the forces now at work amongst the navies of the world in the production of the warships of the future. We can only proceed somewhat as the mathematician proceeds when he constructs a curve from the data of some of its loci, or extends it on the basis of an early part of the curve which is in his hands. But just as the astronomer meets with disturbing causes in the trace of the orbit of a new planet, so must the interpreter of the course of naval development expect to meet disturbing causes in the forces of fashion, of sentiment, and of habit; to say nothing of the possibility that entirely new powers of propulsion, of offence, and of defence may arise to break up the whole calculation.

THE POWER OF FASHION, SENTIMENT AND HABIT.

But without going into the consideration of such new elements, history and experience must teach us that the power of fashion over the warships is somewhat analogous to its sway over the form and color of a lady's dress. A long war will—to use a common expression—knock fashion out of time; but during a long peace her influence is great over the designs of the warships. Scarcely any navy produces its designs of warships with a single eye to their functions. They are often much more strongly governed by the desire of imitating or surpassing some other designs; and we are as much ashamed of appearing before the world with old-fashioned designs of warships as a lady is of going to church in an old-fashioned bonnet.

In another way, ostensibly utilitarian, but really sentimental, beliefs affect the characters of warships. Isolated experiments

or occurrences detached from their environment create strong impressions on the public or on the naval mind. The sentiment is allowed to run riot amongst material, and we get warships which outlive a little day of praise, but long hamper by their existence the rate of progress on more sober lines. The strictly logical and utilitarian view which ought to prevail is warped in directions which are only seen to be crooked after long perseverance in following up the sentimental idea.

The force of habit, again, often prevents the full appreciation of a change which has been introduced ; and we go on with constructions, or modifications of constructions, whose *raison d'être* has long passed away. Habit prevails, too, in putting incongruous things together to an extent which really interferes with the new design and hides its purport. What was forced into the design of one type of ship will be passed into another type with which it has properly nothing to do, and, when it is there, reasons will be invented to keep it there which really have nothing to do with its introduction.

THE WARSHIP IN GENERAL.

In discussing the future of the warship, therefore, we must go on from experience of the past to an ideal future ; basing our forecast in the first place on the merits of the case, but admitting, while we do so, that the merits of the case will not always prevail ; or at least will be hindered—delayed by other unreasoning forces. We shall best succeed by analyzing the composition as, it were, of the modern warship in getting a general idea of the relative permanency and strength of her components. We may take the case under the three heads of speed, coal-endurance and sea keeping qualities, offensive and defensive powers.

We should understand of speed that, though we may not be able to fix its limits accurately, yet, as we approach them, the sacrifices entailed are so enormous that a practical limit is now reached. We ought to be clear on another point, namely, that equality of speed among different navies is the only possible goal we can make for. Not to be behind in speed should be the aim, only because to surpass in speed is impossible. In the war ship there is not now the guarantee for the nominal speed being realized which existed after copper sheathing was placed on the bottom of the sailing warship. All sorts of things happen in

the engine-room under a pressed speed, which could only happen to the sailing warship in strong winds. At any critical moment the pressed steamship's speed may forsake her; and it would appear from the general reason of the thing that a reliable moderate speed is more important to the warship in general than an excessive speed liable to collapse without warning. In any case I look to see copper sheathing again made universal, as avoiding that bugbear of Sir George Rooke's time—a foul bottom. If it can be successfully applied to one steel ship, it can be applied to all, and the nominal reduction of speed due to the increased displacement ought not to be considered in view of the stability given to speed by a clean bottom.

COAL-ENDURANCE, AND SEA-KEEPING QUALITIES.

It is clear that naval minds are everywhere hardening on the question of coal-endurance. We cannot broach the matter without remembering that the advent of liquid fuel may be close at hand, and as ships can be fuelled (to coin a verb) at sea with liquid fuel when it would be impossible to take in coal, the hastening of that advent is a thing to be calculated on. As it is, with coal, the experience of such ships as the "Amphion," with a nominal extreme speed of 17 knots and a nominal coal endurance of 11,000 miles at 10 knots, on a displacement of 4,300 tons, appears to give more satisfaction to the naval mind as a combination than the "Blenheim's" 21.6-knot speed with 15,000 miles coal-endurance on a displacement of 9,000 tons. An "Amphion" would not be justified in running away from a "Blenheim," so that the extra speed is not so far called for; and while the nominal 4,000 miles greater coal-endurance may be an advantage, it would seem to be much more than balanced by the displacement of the "Blenheim." While, therefore, great stress must be laid on coal-endurance so long as coal is the fuel, it may be easy to overdo it in sacrificing other elements.

But coal-endurance is itself nominal. The "Amphion" could not, as a matter of fact, steam 11,000 miles at 10 knots, nor could the "Blenheim" steam 15,000 miles at the same speed. A great deal of coal is consumed which does not go in propulsion. The tendency is to examine these matters more closely, and there is a prospect that some fixed amount of coal-endurance will be roughly arrived at, which will form one of the bases of every de-

sign. It does not appear reasonable that coal-endurance should be proportioned to type as it generally is at present. Classes of ships likely to be associated in the same duties, as 1st, 2d and 3d class cruisers, ought and, it would seem, must ultimately rest upon a uniform coal-endurance, though it may not be so necessary to equalize the speeds. Battle-ships, acting always in concert, ought to be, and perhaps will be, equalized all round.

The copper sheathing already mentioned, as it makes speed more reliable, has a consequent value as an element of sea-keeping. The other elements are, of course, covered by the ideas of good sea boats, and good accommodation for officers and men, and these are things more and more considered.

OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE POWERS.

The offensive powers of the warships at present reside in the gun, the torpedo, and the ram. To mention them in the order of their effective striking ranges, we see all round us that the gun has developed in a way that it never showed any signs of doing in the days of our forefathers. The mere growth in the size and power of the guns is nothing. Mere growth was indicated when the United States built the 24-pounder frigates in 1812, and the 68-pounder, the 8-inch and the 10-inch shell guns of thirty years ago were more recent and reasonable developments of inventive genius. What is remarkable is the astonishing incongruity of the arrangements that have grown up, the wonderful sway that has been exercised by fashion, sentiment, and habit, in establishing the gun, as it is established, in the modern battle-ships, and as it has been thence passed, to some extent, into the modern cruiser. The great point before us in this forecast is to estimate whether the existing type of battle-ships as represented to a greater extent, say, by the British "Royal Sovereign," and to a lesser extent by the French "Amiral Baudin," but to the greatest extent of all by such a ship as the British "Sans Pareil," or the ill-fated "Victoria," is suited to its purpose.

The guns of each ship are divided into three classes—the heavy battery, the medium battery, and what may be called the machine-gun battery. The "Royal Sovereign" carries four and the "Amiral Baudin" three monstrous cannon capable of penetrating the thickest armor that either ship bears at distances far beyond that at which any reasonable person would attempt to fire

with hopes of hitting at all. There may be in either ship some little patches of armor a few feet square which guns of half the size and weight would not easily penetrate at any distance within which there could be hopes of hitting. But in the "Amiral Baudin," as opposed to the "Royal Sovereign," there is so little armor of any kind offered as a target that the least likely thing to happen in action is that a "Royal Sovereign" heavy projectile should strike the armor of the "Amiral Baudin," which however, the whole theory of the "Royal Sovereign" proclaims it designed to do. The greater part of the area of these ships offered as a target has no armor at all on it, and most of the fighting men are entirely open to destruction by the machine-gun battery of either ship. It may be said to be only quite recently that either France or England has begun to remember that, up to date, the proportion of killed and wounded has determined the victory. The "Royal Sovereign" offers some work to the medium battery of the "Amiral Baudin," as she carries a small area of five-inch armor, which is not pervious to the machine-gun battery. But, unquestionably, the general result has been to design two great battle-ships in order to carry a few enormous guns destined to penetrate armor which, in the end, is not offered to either side. If the "Royal Sovereign" and the "Amiral Baudin" should ever come to try conclusions, it is not at all unlikely that the heavy guns, firing slowly, and not more surely than the light ones, will be, as it were, by the way, and that the victory, if gained by the guns, will be gained by the medium and the machine-gun battery, not by the monstrous cannon whose presence alone justifies the design.

But if we look at the "Sans Pareil" we arrive at conclusions still more mathematically "absurd." Not only does the "Sans Pareil" boast herself in carrying two still more enormous guns to penetrate armor which never was and never will be offered to them, but she has assumed that, because she has these monstrous weapons, the enemy will obligingly keep himself in her front so that she may fire at him there, as she could not fire at him as long as he hung in her rear. But it is not possible for one ship to force another to keep a position ahead. The only compulsion possible for one ship to offer to another is—if she has the superior speed—to force her either to fight as in chase, or else not to fight at all. Thus we have, in the design of the modern battle-ship, a

set of irreconcilable incongruities as far as her guns and their position in the ship are concerned. Are these incongruities permanent, the result of logical argument? Or are they ephemeral, the result of the interference of fashion, sentiment, or habit? How is it our forefathers never thought of such things? The fact I believe to be that the modern battle-ship might well make answer like Topsy, and say, "Never had no mudder, tell 'ee. 'Spects I growed."

Our forefathers were very clear about the necessity for not multiplying types of guns in one ship. They knew all the practical difficulties that arose when the wrong ammunition was brought up to the right gun. They knew that in the end each ship would be found fighting her own class, and they did not attempt to overstep what war taught them, though they did not lose sight of what is supposed to be the modern idea of armoring ships; they observed that the scantling of the ships formed a natural armor; that the lower parts of a line-of-battle ship were impervious to all but the heaviest guns carried; and that generally the thicker sides of the line-of-battle ship were impervious to the lighter guns of a frigate. But they knew that if the frigate should want to cover herself so as to fight the line-of-battle ship, she must greatly reduce the number of shot she fired in any given time, and thus the line-of-battle ship must preserve her superiority. This kind of argument kept the general type of the war-ship permanent after it had been once fixed.

When steam made its approaches it occupied, on the broadside, the greater part of the space required for guns by its paddle-wheels, and it thereby drove the guns forward and aft, and forcibly reduced the number possible to be carried. It was necessary to restore the balance, and the paddle-wheel steamer did it by introducing a heavier class of gun at bow and stern—the only thing she could do. But as far back as 1848 this enforced change made officers think that it would not be possible to give full effect to the old broadside position in action, and the idea of the "end-on" battle arose. Presently the paddle-wheel gave place to the screw, and restored the broadside to its position and power; but we had got so accustomed to the heavy armament of bow and stern that, though there was no more argument in its favor than there had been a hundred years before, we put it into the screw ships by mere force of habit. About the same time

came the building of a vast number of steam gunboats, designed to fire shell into the Russian strongholds in the Baltic. For this purpose nothing was better than to put about two heavy shell guns into each boat. The eye and the sense got accustomed to them and they hardened the idea of few heavy guns capable of pointing in many directions instead of that of many guns mounted in the old way on the broadside; we lost the sense of the fact that the manœuvring powers of steam removed, instead of increasing, the necessity for permitting the gun to cover large arcs of fire. We ought to have argued, that the easier it became to move the ship the less necessity there was for moving the gun in the ship. We argued and acted the other way exactly.

Presently came the armor-clad frigate, preserving all the characteristics of the wooden frigate, but raising at once the debatable question whether in view of the increasing power of the gun, armor was to be kept thin and extended in area, or made thick and reduced in area? Coles in England and Ericsson in the United States offered a solution which ran in the groove of fashion, of sentiment, and of habit. The turret-system exposed very little surface to armor; was capable of mounting the heaviest gun, and gave—at least in the "Monitor"—the most perfect all-round fire without need to remember that steam, and especially the rising twin screw, had done it already.

The dramatic incident of the "Monitor's" victory over the "Merrimac," alluded to by Mr. Secretary Herbert, which was in my mind the decisive battle of the Civil War, clinched the business. Coles claimed complete armor, all-round fire, the heaviest guns, and a power of concentrating all of them over a very large arc. There was an opposition here in England in what was called the box battery system, offering little power of concentration, but giving a possibility of a weak all-round fire, and a special strength in bow fire or in stern fire which Cole's latest designs had left—not at all improperly—excessively weak.

The set of ideas culminated in the "Thunderer" and "Devastation," two great turret ships, which depended wholly for their defence upon four immense guns in two turrets. They were scarcely built when it was seen that half a dozen gun boats, each carrying a heavy gun, or one or two torpedo boats, would prove quite a match, at one-tenth of the cost, for these giants as they then were. The necessity of an auxiliary armament was manifested

and the newer designs began to contemplate it. Out of the jumble emerged the present type, which I do not think anyone really considers permanent.

It has become obvious in the first place that there is not and never was necessity for gigantic guns, which can only be mounted in turrets and barbettes. There is a general feeling of unrest in the face of ships costing a million and weighing 14,000 tons each. The sudden and awful loss of the "Victoria" has emphasized what had before been muttered, that there is a want of economy in putting too many eggs in one basket. The power, which improved powder and increased charges have put into the hands of the lighter guns, all seems to point to a time when the size of the guns, composing the heavy armament of the battle-ship, will diminish, as the size of the guns of the medium battery will increase. When the very heavy gun disappears there will be no more reason for keeping up the fiction of the "end-on" battle, and the moderate-sized gun in considerable numbers may be restored to its old and legitimate place on the broadside.

Even the sentiment which has commended the building of such incongruous cruisers as the "Dupuy de Lôme," "Blake" and "Blenheim," "Powerful" and "Terrible," ships which are nearly battle-ships, but not quite, seems likely to have its effect in the same direction. For these are broadside ships; a heavy bow and stern gun having been passed into them without reasoned justification by the force of habit. The discoveries of Mr. Harvey in the improved resisting power of armor plates, by enabling larger areas to be armored for the same weight and with the same resisting power as smaller areas were before, tend likewise to bring us back to the old broadside form. No one has yet tried to design a broadside battle-ship to carry moderate guns, unhampered by the troubles of masts and sails. When some one does, the enormous advantages are likely to be recognized, and once back to the broadside form we shall not be likely to stray from it again.

Tactically, I am assured there is no cause to magnify, or to particularly strengthen, bow fire. We might remove every heavy gun out of every cruiser without very much hurting her real strength. They do not want their power of penetration, and it is waste of ammunition to operate at long range. A weak fast ship, however, would be justified in strengthening her stern fire, be-

cause she can compel her enemy to fight her from behind, or to leave her alone. The tendencies point then, in my opinion, towards giving up the very heavy gun, by consequence the turret and barbette, by consequence the very large and very expensive battle-ship. I believe it will be generally conceded that neither the torpedo nor the ram has any dominating influence over the design of the warship. Speed, coal-endurance, sea-keeping qualities, and the gun, are the main bases of construction. The torpedo can be fitted in to suit the rest of the design, while the ram can be fitted to every ship without any reference to the features of her construction.

The gun, too, must dominate the tactics of naval war. If a commander chooses to confine himself to an artillery action, nothing but superior speed on the other side can bring the torpedo in. If a commander again chooses to fight a torpedo action, nothing but superior speed can bring the ram in. We are, therefore, justified in treating the gun as the governing factor of all design, and in believing that the future of the warship depends on the number and size of the guns which it is decided a ship should carry. Nothing could be more fallacious than to attribute to those who are opposed to the immense displacement now given to individual ships, the desire to fix a displacement and work to it. The displacement must suit the requirements, not the requirements the displacement. We must begin by reducing the size of the gun, and it is no use asking any one to combine 8,000 tons displacement with a 67-ton gun.

CLASSES OF SHIPS.

Passing now from considering the warship in general and her future, it becomes necessary before closing our inquiry to say something about the warship in particular, considered as designed for different strategical and tactical purposes. It has ever been the thought of times of peace to consider a navy as a congress of ships, beginning with glorious monstrosities, as "The Sovereign of the Seas," the "Santissima Trinidada," and the "Inflexible," and descending by regular gradations to the insignificant cutter or gunboat. It was peace thoughts which created in England the system of "rating," descending from the 1st to the 6th rate in the power and importance of the ship. It was the experience of war which enforced classification

according to strategical and tactical needs. The Dutch wars invaded the rating system and forced a great division upon the fleet between the ships which were "fit" and the ships which were "not fit" "to be in line." Thus arose the precursor of the existing great division of a navy into "battle-ships" and "cruisers."

The function of the battle-ship is to act on the defensive, in concert, of the waters over which dominion is claimed. The battle-ship is the representative of a force waiting to be attacked and daring attack. If there is ever to come anything which is stronger, offensively and defensively, than the battle-ship, she must disappear. The theory on which she rests is that there is nothing but another battle-ship which is capable of offering her a fair match. She always has to secure herself against special attacks, and she cannot, like the Afrite, change herself into a pomegranate lest the Afrite on the other side might change herself into a fowl and swallow her seed by seed. The other day it was the unarmored gun-vessel which threatened her; she met it by adding her medium battery. Later she was to be swept off the seas by a swarm of torpedo boats; she met it by adding the machine-gun battery. At the moment it is suggested that rams pure and simple, small and swift, will be too much for her. She looks calmly down and would like to see them try. All such threats annoy her, but she sees clearly that whatever beats her must take her place. No special rams, no special torpedo boats, can take up and hold her defensive position; and if they caused her to disappear they themselves would follow, because it is only her existence, which justifies theirs. I believe, therefore, that the battle-ship, as a battle-ship, will hold her own to the end of time. The experience of war tended to bring her down to uniformity of type and to mean dimensions. I believe that the non-utilitarian views of peace will not be able to resist the teaching of experience.

The cruisers have more various duties to perform and must always be broken up into several classes. But the same causes which tend to uniformity and moderate dimensions in the battle-ship tend to produce the like effects on the three or four classes which are alone necessary, and were alone found necessary in former wars. There is no real place for cruisers which are nearly battle-ships unless they be used like our own "Blake," "Im-

perieuse" and "Warspite," as representing battle force on distant stations. Even here, argument emerges very doubtfully in their favor. Mr. Roosevelt has distinctly knocked away the crutches on which argument used to sustain itself in referring to United States policy in the War of 1812. The true cruiser policy is to arm them and protect them to fight their own class; to give them an abundant coal-endurance; a reliable speed and, by avoiding all attempts to impose heavy guns on them, to enable displacement to be kept down and numbers to be kept up. The largest and fastest class of cruisers would probably be those selected for acting as the eyes of the fleet. A smaller class stationed singly, or doubled and trebled, according to the well-known custom, would form the guards of commerce; while a still smaller class might keep close watch on the enemy's ports, interrupt his coasting trade and report progress to the battle-fleet.

Study of the exact conditions probable in naval war should for each nation direct its naval policy of design. I doubt altogether the wisdom of France and of Russia, if they prepare to cripple the commerce of England by means of a few very large and powerful cruisers, rather than by swarms of much smaller ones. The only way in which I can suppose them to win on such a policy would be by their inducing us to imitate them. If France and Russia have hopes of meeting on an equality the battle-fleets of England, they are no doubt well advised in maintaining battle-fleets larger than are necessary for securing their territorial waters against continental enemies; otherwise their policy should, in my opinion, be to develop the cruisers. I sometimes think that if the United States so willed it, she might become the mightiest naval power that the world has ever seen. Her situation and general policy would seem at present to lead her towards the control of the naval forces of those American States which might otherwise be possibly used to her detriment. Naval operations for her would thus be at great distances from the home base, and design might be expected to run in the direction of considerable offensive power and great coal-endurance, even at the expense of some nominal speed.

P. H. Colomb.

THE WOMEN OF TO-DAY.

I.—BRITISH WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MEATH.

For the first time in the history of International Exhibitions a building has been set apart at Chicago for the exhibition of female work and the discussion of all questions affecting the welfare and advancement of women. This is an important and distinct step forwards in the direction of their emancipation, and in the near future the Exhibition of 1893 will probably be quoted as beginning an epoch in the history of the social and political rise of the physically weaker half of the human race.

In this connection it may be of interest to recall to our remembrance another important epoch in this movement, viz., the election in 1888 to the first London County Council (the governing body of the British Metropolis) of the late Lady Sandhurst and of Miss Cobden, by the constituencies respectively of Brixton, and of Bow and Bromley, and the subsequent nomination by the council itself of Miss Cons as an Alderman. The whole story of the struggle of these ladies to obtain a share in the local government of their country is a matter of more than local or even national interest. Their victories and defeats are historical events, the importance of which each year as it passes will demonstrate with greater clearness and precision.*

* The votes given to the candidates upon the occasion of their election were as follows:

Brixton election	Captain Verney	2,112	Progressive.
"	Lady Sandhurst	1,986	"
"	Beresford Hope	1,686	Moderate.
"	Smallman	1,397	"
Bow Election	Hunter	2,159	"
"	Miss Cons	2,045	Progressive.
"	Rider Cook	1,722	Metropolitan Board of Works.
"	Howard	1,561	Moderate.

The late Lady Sandhurst's legal right as a woman to retain the seat was successfully challenged by the defeated candidate, Mr. Beresford Hope, who eventually succeeded in ousting her from her seat. Since the Courts of Justice decided in the case of the late Lady Sandhurst that women are not eligible for election to seats on county councils, bills have been introduced into both Houses of Parliament with a view to an alteration in the law. Owing to the congestion of business in the House of Commons Mr. Channing, who was prepared to champion the cause of the ladies in the Lower House, has failed to obtain an opportunity of testing the feeling of that assembly on the subject, but in the House of Lords the question of the admission of women to county councils has been twice the subject of debate and of division. In 1889, when the "County Councillors (Qualification of Women) Bill" was first brought forward by the writer, only 28 peers supported the motion that it be read a second time, but in 1890 this small minority nearly doubled itself, 48 voting in favor of the second reading. For the last two years it has not been practicable to reintroduce the bill, but if the minority should continue annually to increase at this rate it will not be long before it will be turned into a majority. It included on the last occasion the leaders of both sections of the Liberal party in the Upper House, as well as the chief representative of the National Church. Mr. Gladstone two years ago in reply to a deputation which waited upon him, headed by the Countess of Aberdeen, and which was representative of eighty Women's Liberal Associations, expressed himself in sympathy with the principle of the movement, and added that he did not imagine there would be much, if any, opposition to the bill. The support of the veteran leader of the Liberal party to the principle in question is a source of great encouragement to those who are laboring to bring about a reform which they believe to be not only an act of justice to women, but one which will conduce to improvement in the local government of Great Britain.

Although these bills have been in the past more actively supported by Liberals than by Conservatives, there is no reason why the subject should not be considered independently of party politics or predilections. The exclusion of women from public life is no recognized dogma of the Conservative party, or the presence of Primrose League dames on public platforms would be an im-

possibility ; nor is there any reason to suppose that Conservative women candidates would have less chance of election to county councils than Conservative men. When once the right of women to seats on county councils is acknowledged by Parliament, no political party, I presume, will be able to claim the monopoly of female candidates for these official positions. The subject may, therefore, be considered entirely on its merits, and the only point for discussion is whether the public service would be benefited by their presence or not. On the introduction of the above-mentioned Bill into the House of Lords it was pointed out that an important portion of the work of a County Councillor was connected with duties which in all ages had been considered to belong peculiarly to the province of women, such as the care of infants and children, and allusion was made to the numerous baby-farms and industrial schools which were under the charge of the London County Council. It was shown that County Councillors were required to attend to matters which could be better handled by women than by men ; for instance, such subjects as the care of the mentally afflicted of both sexes, of whom there are over 10,000 in London alone, and it was pointed out that there were many other matters of local government calling for the qualities of order, attention to details and delicacy of taste, in which women excel, and upon which their advice would be most valuable. British county councils have much to do with subjects coming under the head of "the-condition-of-the-people" question, on which many women, by their practical acquaintance with the lives, homes and needs of the poor, can speak with a knowledge which should demand attention and to which few men can lay claim.

To put the matter shortly, the admission of women to county councils is urged for the following principal reasons : Because, 1. They are intelligent human beings, the equals of men morally and intellectually. 2. They form more than half of the population and will suffer equally with men, should county councils neglect or mismanage their duties. 3. They bear their share of the burdens of the county, and Englishmen have always insisted that those who are taxed should also be represented by persons of their own choice. 4. Their admission to seats on school and poor law boards, especially in the case of the latter, has led to marked improvements of administration. 5. The work of British county councils includes the care of infants, the education of

children, industrial and technical education of girls, the charge of the mentally afflicted and the management of lodging-houses, all of them being subjects which women are generally acknowledged to understand better than men. 6. "The-condition-of-the-people" question occupies a large share of the attention of county councils, and women possess more practical experience than men of the needs of the poor. 7. Their assistance would be most valuable in the consideration of such matters as the housing of the working classes, the supply of pure water and air, the formation of urban public gardens and playgrounds, the sanitation of dwellings, the cleansing of the streets and the improvement and beautifying of our cities, etc. 8. Men and women regard subjects from different points of view.

It is a matter not entirely of regret that a want of precision in the wording of the Local Government Act left it doubtful whether the legislature intended to permit women to sit in county councils, inasmuch as the very uncertainty occasioned the election of women to the London County Council, and thus for some months before they were declared by the tribunals to be legally ineligible to such seats their colleagues and the public enjoyed an opportunity of practically testing their fitness for these official positions. As a colleague of the ladies, I can personally bear witness to the ability with which they performed their duties, to the energy which they displayed in their prosecution, and to the valuable service to the public they rendered on many an occasion. The council itself was so confident of the advantages to be derived from the coöperation of women in its labors, that, not satisfied with the presence of the two ladies elected by the people, it deliberately added a third by conferring in February, 1889, by a vote of 58 to 22, the aldermanic honor upon Miss Cons. This action on the part of the council was occasioned by no passing sentiment of enthusiastic gallantry, but was the result of a deliberate conviction which has been strengthened by experience. On taking her seat Miss Cons only asked to be appointed on two committees, but the council, after a short time, so appreciated her services that she was placed on eight committees and eleven sub-committees, whilst Miss Cobden was invited to join seven, and Lady Sandhurst three, besides several sub-committees. Months after the election of these ladies, and when ample time had elapsed for the council to discover its error,

had it made a mistake, on the Law-Courts deciding that women were ineligible to sit on county councils, it passed by a vote of 48 to 22 a deliberate and formal resolution petitioning Parliament to legalize the election of these and other women to similar positions. The words of the resolution were as follows:

"That this Council heartily approves of the principle of the bills now before Parliament for enabling women to sit as County Councillors, and directs that it be referred to the Parliamentary Committee of the County Council to draw up a petition in favor of the said bills."

The members of the London County Council are not singular in their desire to see women admitted to posts of responsibility in connection with the local government of the country, as out of the 86 public meetings held to discuss this subject, in only two has a vote been carried against the ladies. The bill which the House of Lords has been asked to read a second time is the outcome of the resolution of the London County Council, and a petition in favor of the measure was signed by 77 of its members. It is a serious matter for the legislature to inform the most important county council in the kingdom, representing three and a half millions of people, that it is ignorant of its own interests, and that Parliament, therefore, declines to permit it to make itself more efficient by the admission within its doors of women duly elected by the constituencies. It would be different had women proved themselves incompetent to fill the official positions which Parliament has of late years thrown open to them, but the very reverse is the case. Women have shown themselves to be preëminently useful as poor law guardians, and the services of many have been much appreciated on schoolboards. Women are daily demonstrating that they are capable of filling positions for which formerly they were considered to be unfitted. They have on several occasions, and notably in the course of recent years, proved that they are intellectually the equals, and in some cases, the superiors of men. The time has gone by, if it ever existed, when it could be said to be incumbent on those claiming for women a reasonable equality with men, to show the capacity of the former for positions of official authority. After all that women have done of late years to improve the administration of the British Poor Law, British hospitals, infirmaries, workhouses, jails, penitentiaries, and schools, we, who advocate the extension of the sphere of usefulness now open to women, are

quite justified in throwing upon our opponents the onus of demonstrating that women are incapable of filling these positions with advantage to the public service.

To hear some of our opponents speak, one would imagine that certain occupations had been divinely set apart for women and others divinely forbidden. The fact is that men and women have been placed in the world to mutually assist each other in carrying on its work, that owing to artificial restrictions women have not been in the past as well educated as men, and, therefore, were formerly not as well fitted to fill many posts which, through the advances they have made in education, and owing to the greater breadth which extended liberties of freedom have given to their minds, they are now perfectly qualified to occupy. This being the case, we should not necessarily be bound in this matter by custom, but in deciding whether a particular post should be filled by a woman, only consider whether by her admission the work would be better performed. In this instance there appears every reason to believe that better results would be obtained by inviting the female mind to bring its own peculiar powers to the assistance of that of the male in the solution of the very varied problems which occupy the attention of county councils. We should remember the words of Charles Kingsley:

"On every side the conviction seems growing (a conviction which any man might have arrived at for himself long ago if he would have taken the trouble to compare the progress of his own daughters with that of his own sons) that there is no difference in kind, and probably none in degree, between the intellect of that of a woman and that of a man, and those who will not as yet assent to this are growing more willing to allow fresh experiments on the question, and to confess that after all (as Mr. Fitch well says in his Report to the Schools Inquiry Commission) 'the true measure of a woman's right to knowledge is her capacity for receiving it, and not any theories of ours as to what she is fit for or what use she is likely to make of it.'

"What women have done for the social reforms of the last thirty or forty years is known or ought to be known to all. Might not they have done far more, and might not they do far more hereafter, if they, who generally know far more than men do of human suffering, and of the consequences of human folly, were able to ask for further social reforms, not merely as a boon to be begged from the physically stronger sex, but as their will, which they, as citizens, have a right to see fulfilled, if just and possible."

Unless we are prepared to argue that representative institutions are a mistake (and it is somewhat late in the century to take

up that position), we are bound to assume that electors, whose interest it is that good government should prevail, will vote for those whom they believe to be best qualified to carry on the public business. If women, therefore, are chosen to fill official positions it shows that the electors have confidence in them, and are willing to entrust to them the management of their affairs. Should these women prove incompetent to an extent sufficient to demonstrate that the fault lies not in the individual but in the sex we may rest assured that the constituencies will soon discover this, and will cease to choose women for similar positions. For let it not be forgotten that the passing of "the County Councillors (Qualification of Women) Bill" will not place one woman in power unless the electors believe her to be fitted for the place and desire her nomination. But if they seriously wish to elect women to county councils surely Parliament should not place hindrances in their way. Ever since the days of Wilkes it has been very generally acknowledged that the responsibility of election should rest with constituencies, and that it is a mistake for Parliament to fetter their choice. Whenever Parliament has attempted to do this it has ultimately suffered defeat, as it will again should it endeavor for any lengthened period to interfere with the choice of the people in the selection of their representatives either in the House of Commons or on county councils. The very fact of opposition will, in a free country like Great Britain, make the people more anxious to emphasize their claim to an unfettered right of selection by choosing their representatives from among the forbidden sex.

If it be hoped to close permanently against women the doors of the county councils, more solid reasons will have to be discovered than those to which the members of the House of Lords have on two occasions been doomed to listen. Some of the arguments of our opponents were beneath contempt. It was actually asserted by one speaker as a reason for the rejection of the bill, that if women were permitted to sit on county councils they would become less agreeable to men. It was said that the bill was being opposed in the interests of women. These self-appointed champions desired to protect poor weak woman from entering upon work which would be hurtful to her disposition and character. How thoughtful and kind of men to shield her from the consequences of her own foolish vanity and ambition! But, alas, for the ingratitude of

human nature! There are women (and amongst them many who have shown themselves to possess very sound heads upon their shoulders) who resent this interference on the part of men, and assert that they—the women—are of age and are quite capable of taking care of themselves and of judging what is best for their own characters. They add that they doubt very much whether the men would meekly acquiesce, if the women were in a position to turn the tables, and in all kindness and in the men's own interest were to legislate for their benefit, and for the improvement of their characters and dispositions; by, say, prohibiting the establishment of social clubs, those dangerous rivals of the domestic hearth and known sources of deterioration in the manners of men, or by suppressing the use of such unnecessary luxuries, so dangerous to morals and health, as the produce of the vine and the tobacco plant. Men would doubtless expostulate and protest against an arbitary interference with the liberty of the subject, and might point out that these luxuries, if used in moderation, were harmless to morals, even beneficial to health and a source of happiness to the individual; indeed they might go on to argue that man was so peculiarly constituted that his character and disposition decidedly improved when under a sense of physical comfort. But women, if they followed the example now set them by men, might shake their heads and say that they knew better, that men who indulged in these luxuries were not agreeable to them, and that they were determined to shield the male sex against all temptations to moral degeneration.

The defeat of this bill on the last occasion it was brought before the House seemed to be due more to prejudice than weight of argument. Indeed, with the exception of the selfish one I have mentioned, there did not appear to be any grounds of opposition other than those of novelty and lack of prescription. History shows us that all reforms, even such as have been universally acknowledged in after years to have been of service to mankind, have had to pass through years of struggle and of defeat. It is not, indeed, in the true interests of the desired change in the law that we, who advocate this act of justice to women, should be exempt from the common lot of reformers. "Lightly won is lightly held." Difficulty of acquisition enhances the value of the prize when gained. Should this measure be again rejected, it will give women all the more time to render themselves com-

petent to fill with honor the important and responsible positions which the bill seeks to place within their reach. On the next occasion when we try our fortune, should we meet with victory she will be welcome; if with defeat, we shall know how to make repulse itself instrumental to the attainment in the future of a more complete and perfect triumph.

The struggle for the enfranchisement of woman is not confined to British soil. There are many in the United States who believe that local government in that country would be purified, improved, and strengthened could a certain proportion of women be admitted to the municipal and county boards, and who would gladly welcome legislative reform in this direction.

This public recognition of the ability of women to work side by side with men is an encouragement to reformers on both sides of the Atlantic, and will undoubtedly exercise a beneficial influence in furtherance of her enfranchisement. A victory on one side of the ocean would soon be followed by an advance upon the other. I am sufficiently patriotic to hope that the honor of first admitting women to local councils may rest with the land of my birth, the land "where freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent."

MEATH.

II.—THE TYRANNY OF THE KITCHEN.

BY CATHERINE SELDEN.

There are found among those who enter domestic service certain defects of character which belong to the human race in general, supplemented by deficiences peculiar to the class itself. These deficiencies are no longer matters of conjecture; they are of the nature of ascertained facts, and come home to each of us with the force of accumulated experience. It may safely be predicted that the servant girl of the future, as of the past, unless forced to do so, will make no adequate preparation for the duties she assumes; that the housekeeper must continue to teach her ignorant employee, and at the same time to pay her the price which is due to skilled labor. Judging from the present tendencies, there will be a steady demand for increase of wages

(although few, if any, of the necessary articles purchased by the servant girl have risen in price within the past ten years), and a steady diminution in the amount of work that is done in return. The housekeeper must, however, recognize that ease and luxury play a large part in the ideals of life which take the strongest hold upon the masses; also that there is a very great inequality in the demands of different households. The chance which awaits every girl, of finding a situation in a luxurious home, where the work is light and wages high, is one never lost sight of. This, together with the innate love of change which secures relief from monotony, serves to bring about transitory engagements, and a chronic state of unrest.

Although the hours of labor cannot be definitely fixed, or the nature of the work so accurately defined as in a mill or other workshop, the employee in the private house has, as a rule, such wholesome accommodations, such excellent food, such good care in sickness, unattended by anxiety of mind concerning loss of wages, that these advantages and indulgences far outweigh any gain in other directions that the shop or factory may afford. She is, moreover, the recipient in the average household of a degree of care and consideration which she gets nowhere else, and which would be even greater than now, if the housekeeper found any substantial element of loyalty upon which she could repose. Fortunately the drudge or *slavey*, as she is known in Europe, does not exist in America in the houses of those who employ labor. She is only to be met when the chambermaid or cook marries and enters a house of her own.

In this question of domestic service, whatever apologies its defects may elicit, or whatever may be the inferences drawn from apparent or real causes, the effect remains the same. We find a condition of society wherein the advantages lie almost exclusively with the class which we are in the habit of regarding as one of the least intelligent in the community; a class, however, which has shown itself capable of being both aggressive and tyrannical; but we can hardly blame the servant girl, who, by means of a certain force of character, singleness of purpose and the aid of circumstances, has won a controlling position for herself, and has taken advantage of it. We rather look with astonishment upon that other class which has allowed itself to be thus dominated by persons of an inferior social grade. It seems surprising that employ-

ers should have so long postponed using their combined education and intelligence to mitigate some of the evils from which they suffer.

When an evil, such as we are considering, is so widespread, and is so little dependent, as we have noted, upon the character of particular housekeepers, there must be a deep-rooted cause which lies beyond the power of any one individual to create or to conquer. This cause is undoubtedly involved in the question of supply and demand, and such being the case there is no basis for the hope that the present state of things will pass away so long as there are more desirable situations ready to be filled than there are persons capable of filling them. One means of remedy lies in the more frequent employment of the Chinese and the Italians, since they combine many qualities essential to good servants. They are versatile, silent and economical. The great advantage of the Chinaman is that he is not a politician ; that he minds his business, makes his money and goes home. We could not have a better tool to work with if it had been deliberately planned for our use. We have still another resource in a co-öperative enterprise of some kind which by furnishing meals at a definite time or place, or by distributing them for home consumption, would lessen the demand for household service. Other palliatives will doubtless be thought of, and when this subject is once submitted to intelligent discussion we hope to receive many valuable suggestions, which, taken collectively, will furnish a basis for an enlightened policy.

The difficulties of the housekeeper are mainly due to the scarcity of a particular kind of labor. There is no scarcity of women laborers, taken as a whole. The labor market is indeed overstocked with them. It is, therefore, a question of distribution rather than supply. The heads of factories, stores and restaurants have no trouble, as a general thing, in getting all the labor they want. The problem is how to check the excessive competition in these quarters and divert a share of the labor seeking employment into channels where the services of women would yield a better return, both to the employer and employee. It is a well recognized fact that the women who seek situations in shops will not willingly enter domestic service. Their unwillingness to do so may be looked upon as an unreasonable prejudice. Nevertheless, it is a fact which cannot be over-

looked in any effort which may be made to introduce this class of bread-winners into the household. It is a needless waste of energy to try and overcome this deep-rooted dislike to domestic service. The sensible thing to do, therefore, is to devise some plan of housekeeping which, so far from conflicting with this prejudice will, on the contrary, make it easy to secure the much-needed aid of those who entertain it. There are many self-respecting, capable girls who are willing to work faithfully and well under the roof of an institution who would not for a moment submit themselves to the control of a mistress in a private house.

Owing to the absence of external facilities, the American house is the scene of a heterogeneous and persistent industry, which has taxed to the utmost the powers of those whose task it is to direct it. We can safely assert that no other women of the same social grade and standard of living, as those in this country, have ever had so heavy a burden laid upon them as that which is due to the variety of their undertakings and the inadequate and incompetent force at their command to achieve them; but out of their necessities has arisen the need and the opportunity for the development of some new system of living more in keeping with the social conditions of modern times.

The work of cooking is the most troublesome and necessary part of domestic life. It requires more intelligence than all the other tasks of housekeeping, and is the one upon which the comfort of the family most largely depends. Experience has taught us there are some things which can be better and more economically done elsewhere than in the average house. We are already accustomed to buy our confectionery and many other articles from establishments organized especially for their production. There seems no reason why cooked meat and vegetables should not be brought from similar sources of supply.

It would not be difficult to found establishments of the nature of club-houses from which wholesome and well-cooked food could be distributed. The club has not hitherto been reckoned an advantage to the household. In many ways, indeed, it has been a detriment to it; but the form of organization of which it is an example might with profit be made use of for the benefit of the family. Indeed, it would be well if some of the clubs which already exist could be so enlarged as to include a department for

the distribution of food. This could be effected without interfering to any great extent with their original purposes. A modification of this sort would, at the same time, give strength where at present there is an acknowledged weakness. The clientele of the family would furnish a much more certain basis for the purchase of supplies than the unforeseeable orders which now occasion one of the great difficulties in the management of clubs. Furthermore, the same capital, or perhaps it would be better to say the same plant, while subserving this double purpose might, in the nature of things, be expected to yield a larger return.

Ever since "the four thousand men, besides women and children ate and were filled" in Galilee, the simultaneous feeding of large numbers of people has been a matter of everyday occurrence. In the plan which we propose there is but one element of novelty and that is the sending out of food ; but even this, so far as the least essential articles of the table are concerned, is already a matter of common experience. The task of distributing and keeping hot the more substantial and necessary varieties of cooked food ought not to present any great difficulties to a people so habile in solving mechanical problems as our own, nor ought the cost of so doing to be greater than the in direct tax that is now paid for the distribution of uncooked provisions from the different stores.

The men who belong to club-houses give as one of the excuses for their membership the diminished cost of living, the excellence of the food and the greater degree of comfort that is secured. It is frequently urged, however, that food cooked in large quantities is insipid and without its distinctive flavor ; but such is not the case in first-class restaurants, and even if it were so, dishes prepared in the ordinary kitchens are not of such exquisite flavor or of such uniform excellence as to justify this criticism. But the membership of the family club should not be so large as to interfere with the gratification of individual taste. Indeed, one of the chief functions of its executive committee should be to see that no element which goes to give a home-like character to the institution is neglected. In other words, what we want to do is to combine the conveniences and organization of commercial life with the privacy of home and the independence of the individual.

In the ordinary club there is one great difficulty which is always met with, and that is the unwillingness of its best members to serve on its committees. To do so necessarily interferes, to a certain extent, with their regular occupations, and many would rather pay the indirect tax which comes from maladministration than give their time to preventing this evil. The same difficulty might be expected in any other association of a similar nature, but it doubtless will be far easier to get a body of good housekeepers to give their time and attention to the practical details of such establishments than it would be in the case of men.

The exact nature of the coöperation necessary for the experiment of keeping house on a large scale had best be determined upon by those who take an active part in such an enterprise. The idea of coöperative housekeeping was first set forth and advocated some years ago, but the experiment then made was incomplete and was never carried to the point of cooking and distributing food. An organization similar to that of the club-house especially commends itself, for the reason that this kind of coöperation is already familiar to the public and has proved itself a success, an advantage not to be underrated in endeavoring to overcome the inertia, if not positive resistance with which every novel enterprise is greeted. The initiatory management of the family club, whatever might be its final administration, ought to be undertaken by men. They are not only used to organizing large enterprises, but from habitude such burdens are lightly borne, and moreover such an undertaking in their hands would have the prestige which comes from experience and past success.

The one prime requisite for success and the principal element of cost presented by the scheme under discussion lies in the need of administrative ability of the order necessary to run a first-class restaurant. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable, for talent of this order is not infrequently found among men, and there is no small amount of it lying dormant among women, which in their case needs to be called into activity, either by the benevolent motive or by pecuniary reward, or by both. But the direction of such an undertaking should be in the hands of the comparatively young and enthusiastic. The mature housekeeper who has been cooped up in this one occupation has had the vexation but not the enlargement which, under other circumstances, might be derived from the net work of industrial

relations which encompass the household. Accustomed to the perpetual conflict and triumph in daily life of the commonplace over the ideal, she has a settled belief in the unconquerable and ever present power of evil as embodied in servants, pots and kettles, dust-pans and sewing machines. The skeptical state of mind induced by her experience is enough to check the enthusiasm of the most confirmed optimist.

There can be no doubt that the task of nursing, feeding and clothing humanity has had the effect of making women the most practical and disillusioned part of mankind. There is, nevertheless, a strong disposition on their part to seek consolation and refuge in the ideal when it is possible to do so. Such an organization as the above would serve as an outlet for aspirations founded upon practical ends, with a better chance of their realization than under ordinary conditions. It must be a very degenerate housekeeper who is not aroused to enthusiasm and emulation by the sight of a well-appointed, orderly, clean, and attractive kitchen and store-rooms, such as are to be found in good hotels and club-houses, and who does not find in these conditions the fulfilment of an ideal.

Without question the task of supplying a number of families with food is attended by its difficulties, but with our present system of labor it is hard to conceive anything more unsatisfactory, expensive and troublesome than the multiplied task of feeding small numbers. Indeed, the private kitchen is in many ways a monument of inefficiency. There is no doubt that the expense and labor in a restaurant is very much diminished in proportion to the numbers of its patrons. Thirty families might just as well have their dinners cooked in one kitchen by two or three cooks, as in thirty kitchens by thirty cooks. Instead of thirty ranges with their enormous consumption of fuel, one fire would be sufficient for the same purpose. There are also many labor-saving contrivances, economical devices and facilities now wanting in the home which could be made available, with the capital at its disposal, in the family club-house. The New England creamery serves in this connection to illustrate a very successful application of the coöperative theory. The unequal capacity and skill of the different farmers in a given district, and their unequal supply of water and other facilities for making good butter, have been avoided by the creamery. To these establish-

ments, provided with such conveniences and resources as can only be secured by an expenditure of money out of proportion to the means of the average farmer, the dairyman brings his milk and has it converted into butter and cheese of far greater average excellence than could otherwise be secured.

Even in cases where there has been no previous training, and where it is a question of saving rather than of making money, several very successful efforts have been made to feed a comparatively large number of men at a very small cost. The Foxcroft Club in Cambridge, Mass., was organized by some gentlemen entirely without experience in the caterer's art, for the purpose of enabling students to obtain at moderate prices a sufficiency of plain and wholesome food. This they are enabled to do for about $2.50 a week. At Memorial Hall board is obtained at from $3.50 to $4 a week; but young men at the most vigorous and active period of their lives undoubtedly consume far more food than would be the case with the members of an average family. Memorial Hall and the Foxcroft Club are both managed by the students themselves; persons whose business experience must of necessity be small. If the above share of success is obtained under circumstances, which from a business point of view are somewhat unfavorable, far better results might be attained with experience and the application of the best business methods.

Mr. Atkinson's tables of the cost of food afford encouragement, and show how far our present methods lag behind economic and gustatory possibilities. Besides the unnecessary direct tax that has been placed upon mankind by ignorance and inattention to proper feeding, the indirect tax from this source is beyond computation. The question of food enters largely into the problem of intemperance, and many instances of reform have been due, not to any great moral uplifting, but to good food taken at proper intervals and in sufficient quantities to give strength and vigor to the bodily frame, thus diminishing the craving for stimulus and increasing the power of resistance to temptation.

So far as household service is concerned, the distribution of food would lessen the demand which now exists for domestic labor or rather distribute it more equably. By such an arrangement many persons who ordinarily employ two or three servants

might dispense with one or more; those who have none might find it easier to get one, and those who so desired might altogether dispense with them. A liberal order for dinner might well include enough for luncheon, thus leaving but one meal to be prepared at home, and this the least troublesome of the three. The French have already taught us the sufficiency of coffee, eggs and bread for breakfast and the perfection to which these articles can be brought. It only remains for us to apply this lesson, together with other practical household experiments that have been made by these ingenious people.

The club as a centre of distribution should be conveniently placed with reference to its *clientele*, and being so placed might well have a restaurant attached for the benefit of such members as may prefer to take their meals abroad. There are conceivable instances where such a plan might afford greater comfort and diversion than the other, and in any enlarged scheme of life there should be room for all varieties of wholesome living. Multiplied opportunities and ways of healthful living give multipled chances for happiness. There are many households restricted within such narrow social limits, so impoverished in their occasions for diversion that any additional resource which gives a change of scene and relief from deadening monotony is to be welcomed. We cannot afford to despise any legitimate aid to enjoyment, and the embellishment, even of trifles, is, as Mr. Emerson suggests, not the least part of our duty in life.

It is needless to say the business of feeding humanity upon which every other enterprise is founded is of sufficient importance to awaken the interest of the imaginative, the practical and scientific minds. Indeed, it needs a coöperation of all these elements of thought; it offers a line of research which would seem to be especially fitted for women, and there can be no doubt that better education in the future will lead to the application of knowledge where hitherto ignorance only has prevailed. Such club-houses as those we propose afford ample opportunities for intelligent women of all grades to find useful employment; not only in the administrative offices but in all departments of practical work, and as we have before intimated, after the club-house had once been set on foot, its management might very properly devolve exclusively upon women. These establishments might be so conducted as to attract the better class of labor, and by

means of promotion and reward retain it permanently in service. Rooms simply appointed, to be used by the employees for recreation and reading might well enter into the plan of such a club. It might also in the course of time become a training school of the highest value; for the one thing of all others which commends institutions as such is the sense of continuity which they give. A great deal of teaching which elsewhere is dispensed in infinitesimal quantities and lost in dispersion is here crystallized into tradition, and an atmosphere is created in which it is easy to absorb knowledge without any tangible influence being exerted.

If, however, the choice were to lie between benefiting any any one class above another, we should say that, whatever pleasure and profit might accrue to others from such establishments, their primary object should be to give relief to the housekeeper, to diminish her daily task, and to free her mind from the hopeless attitude towards the problems of every-day life; but more especially to arouse her from her fatal predisposition to submission, when resistance, coöperation or organization of some kind would diminish her cares.

CATHERINE SELDEN.

III.—AMERICAN LIFE AND PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D., COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH OF THE STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK.

IT IS apparent to any man who will take the trouble to think, that, no matter what the learning, the knowledge, the ability or genius of the individual may be, these rest on the animal, and that without the animal, and, still further, without the animal in health, they are as nothing. Let but a little splinter of bone, no larger than the head of a pin, press upon the brain, and the wisest statesman that ever moulded the destinies of nations, the greatest judge that ever proclaimed the majesty of law, may be less than a little child. Little as we know of him, the most significant fact in the life of Shakespeare is that he never seems to have had any illness worthy of mention. Men may be civilized, they may be educated, they may be governed by the highest ideals,

yet under all and carrying all, even as the foundation carries the palace above it, is the animal, the creature with physical wants and governed by physical laws. In every act in life, in every thought for others, we have to reckon first with this animal. Nature has guarded it well. No act of the will usually is or can be as strong as an instinct, and the brain with its energy, its power of thought, its range of knowledge, is but the servant of the instinct of self-preservation. For while it is true that there have been men and women who have risen above this for the sake of truth, honor or love, they have been the exceptions which prove the general law.

While the instinct of self-preservation has been implanted in the animal in order to guard the individual, the second strongest instinct in existence insures the continuance of the race. As the first, so is this a purely physical thing; something which may be over-ridden and crushed down by the few, but which will dominate and rule the many, for without it the human race would cease to exist. Now, while it may be true that what we call the triumphs of civilization, the knowledge, the justice, the humanity, the right-doing of men are all that excuses the infinite wrong which members of our race have done each other, we must not forget that these rest on the animal in that race. If the race is to go on towards greater triumphs in the future it must be by keeping the animal strong and healthy.

I emphasize this fact because there is at the present moment in this country a condition existing among the women which is cause for the gravest alarm. So far as I can learn, first from that personal knowledge which comes to each physician in his practice, and second from that consensus of knowledge had by all physicians and reflected in medical magazines and journals, the problem before the medical men of this country to-day is the health of the educated women, of those women who represent the third or fourth generation born on the soil. While it is true that from time to time articles appear in the lay publications in which this problem is alluded to, it is only in medical publications that the evil is really reflected. None know better than I do the difficulty which makes itself felt when we would discuss this subject. Modern canons of taste forbid any but the most distant allusions to what is going on among us in many ways, and he is considered immodest or even indecent who seeks to draw the veil. At the same

time things have come to such a point that our progress as a nation may be seriously imperilled unless we can recognize the evil and find a remedy. Were this not true, the aggregate of torture inflicted on the American women would in itself be enough to make any one speak out who realizes what it is. When we read of the physical pain inflicted on those who were racked during the Middle Ages, or when we think of how the martyrs died, our sympathy with the victims and our abhorrence of the tortures is almost lost in our wonder that the people at large permitted such things to go on. Yet there exists to-day in the United States an aggregate of suffering alongside of which all the tortures of the martyrs were as nothing. Fox, in his Martyrology, gives 60,000 as the number who suffered under the persecutions of the Roman Emperors, and he is probably as near right as anyone will ever be. Great as those sufferings undoubtedly were, they were at least short. There are probably 60,000 women in the United States who suffer month in and month out, who have suffered for years and who are destined to suffer for years to come. Is not this cause for speech? More than this, there are probably 65,000 girls now growing up who will suffer as their mothers have suffered and do suffer. It seems to me that when we realize such a condition of things, we will realize that it ought to be seriously and candidly considered.

Let me briefly state facts as they are. An American girl, educated as it is our pride to educate her, marries the man of her choice amid the warm good wishes of all her friends. She is clever, bright, beautiful, and looks forward to years of happiness and of usefulness. One or, at most, two children are born, and if we meet her we can scarcely recognize her. She looks dragged and worn, she is fretful and peevish, she has become a burden on her husband instead of a help to him, she feels as if she were a nuisance to herself and to others; worse than all, because it is the cause of all, she is a confirmed invalid, doomed to suffer more or less during the coming years, and these, alas! may be many. None knows better than these women how fully the sympathy of their husbands is dealt out to them; how the love and affection surrounding them do what is possible to lessen the evil of their lot. Unfortunately, there can be in this world no bearing of the burden of pain for another, and the aching agony must be endured as best it may.

There sometimes comes to the physician, who reflects on what nature intended there should be and what he actually sees before him, a feeling of irritable impatience over the contrast. The pain and misery seem to be so useless, so uncalled for. Never is this feeling stronger than when one contemplates the condition of these women, for it is, so to speak, so utterly unreasonable. But this impatience does not prevent the existence of the evil, and as we are concerned with what is, rather than with what should be, regret, no matter how genuine, is useless unless we can find the remedy. Expressed in the fewest words, the evil is that an increasingly large proportion of the women of the American race are unable to perform their functions as mothers, and these women include the mentally best we have among us.

Under the law of natural selection the race can only improve, provided the best men and women are parents. Just as there are inherited muscles so there are inherited brains. We have found by experience that it pays the community at large to develop the brain of the boy or girl in order to fit him or her for the struggle, and in order that our form of government shall continue to exist. With universal suffrage ignorance is the only enemy to be dreaded, for on the intelligent vote of the individual rests the ultimate wisdom of national acts. The stream cannot rise above its source, and the rule of the majority is only safe when the average intelligence is high.

The ability of each, as shown in self-support, is the simple interest on the investment, while the continuation by each of the proper share in the cost of developing the brains of the next generation is the return of the capital loaned. But there is—to carry out the simile—a compound interest due to the community at large from this investment, namely, the greater natural ability to be inherited by the coming generations. The gravity of the evil confronting us lies in this, that we seem to be able to bring the women up to a certain point in mental development and then they cease to be able to be mothers. Why ?

It is to the last degree difficult to say why. The causes at work are very many, and while some are obvious others are merely suspected. It will be worth while, however, to consider those we can recognize because it is plainly true that the first step towards a remedy is fixing the reason of its necessity.

If what I have said concerning the animal be true, it follows

that the primary duty of the majority of women is to bear children. This is not less the fact because a large percentage of educated American women tacitly deny it and silently agree with the utterances of the small number who openly claim women were created for "something nobler than slavery to children." In view of its truth, the question arises whether we bring up our girls in the right way. I am aware of the weight of the arguments in favor of equality in education for the sexes, and certainly I have no wish to be understood as wishing that women should be ignorant. Yet I have examined the schedule of studies given to girls between the ages of ten and seventeen in our public schools with no small amount of interest. As a physician I have learned two things: First, that mental work exhausts the strength as much as physical labor without its compensating advantages in exercise; and, Second, that between those ages, girls go through a physical change in which very great demands are made on the strength. While reading over that list of studies, therefore, the question has risen in my mind whether they do not imply drafts on the strength so great as to seriously impair the physical health. From the girls in our schools we demand they shall keep up with their classes, and we have enlisted as whips to urge them their ambition, the rewards offered for success and the disgrace attaching to failure. Thus stimulated, they drive their brains and they do the work—judging from school commencements I have been at they do it splendidly. But while we see to it that this artificial drain on the strength is kept up, nature is making her demands, none the less surely because we do not see them. She has a use for strength and energy at this time and nature will not be refused. It must be remembered that by no possible means can we take more out of the body than there is in it, and the fact that both natural and artificial demands have been satisfied is itself sufficient to show that the strength was there. But what has been done in reality is this: we have used up all the strength.

What is usually called stamina is that reserve of strength in the body which nature stores up in some way we do not understand, to respond to unusual strains, such as those of illness. It is not enough that from the food we eat and the blood we make we gather strength and nervous energy enough to meet the demands of the present; we have in addition to this to keep up

the reserves. Now, it is perfectly possible to work ourselves to the point where the reserves are exhausted, and when a man breaks down with nervous prostration, that is what he has done. There are men who have never so broken down, but who, when they are attacked by some simple and slight disease, show an utter inability to rally. The reason is simple—they have no reserves left.

If Nature be left to herself she is to the last degree careful to supply an abundance of stamina to growing girls. Not only are girls who are really strong less apt to contract disease than are boys of the same age, but healthy young women if they contract a disease will, as a rule, have the less violent attack. In what is called the fever belt in Central and South America more young men than young women of the peon class catch the malaria fever. The deaths from yellow fever in such observed centres as Rio de Janeiro are less among the peon women from fifteen to twenty-five than among the men, and the percentage of those who recover is larger, the exposure being about equal.

Now, recovery from such a disease as yellow fever means that the patient has a reserve of strength which, when the disease has run its course, is sufficient to bring the patient back to health. Among these peon girls this reserve exists to a greater extent than among their brothers. But it is the fact that no such difference is observed between the girls and boys in this country. If anything, the results show the girls less able to endure any very exhausting disease. I am unable to find any reason for this reverse in nature's methods except it be in the tax which by our system of education we put on these girls. It is true, of course, that they are subject to hundreds of influences besides that of the schools ; some of which are to be found in society, others in the press and jostle of American life, others, again, in the many sources of mental excitement which have their effect on all of us. Still, no one of these involves such a direct tax on the energies as is found in study, as our girls understand the word, although their combined effect must not be left unmentioned.

I once heard a married woman say : "Women are growing very scientific in these days." It is a fact that a very large number of American women now refuse to bear children. Ideas have changed. The religious sentiment which forbids efforts to pre-

vent the accomplishment of the natural function of their sex has been greatly lessened in force for many of them. To no class in the community is the realization of what is going on so vivid as to physicians, because to them the sufferers from the results of their own acts must come for relief. It is almost useless to point out the terrible consequences of this interference with Nature, or to say the exchange is pain during a short period avoided and pain during life secured. I say "useless," because women and men alike rarely learn except by experience, and women, even to a greater extent than men, are functionally unable to realize the results of their acts. Herbert Spencer has this in view when he speaks of "the aptitude which the feminine intellect has to dwell on the concrete and proximate rather than the abstract and remote."

It is easy enough to hold up our hands in horror when we think of acts of this kind, and it is easy enough to find words of condemnation which shall indeed be strong. Probably there is no one who would say, whatever the thought might be, that the words were too strong or the horror too great; but when the physician, than whom no one knows better the ghastly folly of the act and its terrible punishment, reflects on its causes, he can find, if not excuses, at least less than utter condemnation. So far as the act is the result of a dislike to be deprived of the pleasures of society by the care of children, it is damnably wrong. So far as it results from the dread of the pain of child-birth, it is folly so absolute that it may not be expressed in words. But when it is the result of an innate feeling that there is not stamina enough to stand the strain—what then? It is true that the consequences of the act, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, involve far greater strains on the strength than can ever result from its alternative, but I seriously question whether women generally know this or whether if they know it theoretically they really believe it. It is impossible for a physician to say anything with a more absolute knowledge of its truth than when he declares that no matter what the evil results of child-bearing may be they are less than those following on criminal operations.

It is not to be supposed for a second that all or even the majority of women who have been broken down have their own folly to thank for it, but while the number is relatively small, when compared to the number of the sick, it is the reluctant belief of

those who have an opportunity of knowing "whereof they speak" that it is increasing. It is this belief which gives a part of its importance to the lowering of the birth-rate in the United States, as shown by the census of 1890. The other and greater part of that importance is derived from the enormous number of cases in which the women have broken down as the result of a lack of stamina sufficient to meet the physical strain of child-bearing.

It is, unfortunately, the fact that evidence of this evil is not confined to physicians. There is not a man or woman, and this is especially true of what we call the cultured classes, that does not count among his or her acquaintances married women who are confirmed invalids. The small average size of American families is a matter of notoriety. Let us see how this fact is reflected in statistics.

Massachusetts ranks deservedly high among her sister States in her patriotism, wealth, energy, industry, education and progress. On the roll of her public men are the names of many whom the nation delights to honor, and she has been foremost in all good deeds. Remembering that these all rest ultimately on the animal in her citizens, the following figures of the births per 1,000 population among her people during the years given are instructive:

1860	United States census	25.61
1870	" " "	22.63
1875	State census	20.60
1880	United States census	21.08
1885	State census	18.47
1890	United States census	19.22

Ordinarily speaking, the birth rate of a race is regulated by the food supply, and where there is an abundance of food the population increases in a ratio which may be easily ascertained. Now while I am willing to grant that the conditions of life in Massachusetts were easier in 1860 than they are now—that is, it was easier for a man to earn that which would enable him to buy sufficient food for his children—I do not think the difference in the conditions can correspond with that of the birth rate. If the opposite be alleged, we are required to believe in a deterioration of one-quarter in these conditions during a period of thirty years, and that with the knowledge that were the agricultural methods of Belgium applied to the soil of Massachusetts, the amount of food

produced would be two and one-third times what it is to-day. I submit this is a demonstration *ad absurdum*. Is it to be supposed that the conditions of life in Massachusetts are as severe as those in London, England ? In the year 1883 the percentage of pauperism in London, of persons receiving in-door or out-door relief, was 29.6 in the 1,000, while in Massachusetts it was less than 10. Yet the birth rate in London during the past eighteen years has remained nearly stationary, from 35 in 1875 to 33 in 1892.

The birth rate of the whole of the United States has steadily fallen from 1880, running from 36 in the 1,000 of population in that year to 30 in 1890. Dr. Billings, Director of the Division of Vital Statistics of the last census, to whose work I am indebted for the statistics given, says :

> "It is probable that the most important factor in the change is the deliberate and voluntary avoidance and prevention of child-bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people, who not only prefer to have but few children, but who know how to obtain their wish."

While I agree with Dr. Billings in thinking the number is "steadily increasing," I am forced to disagree with him in his estimate of the principal cause. I believe this can be found in the fact that an enormous and constantly increasing number of our women are so exhausted physically before marriage that the birth of one child, or at the most of two children, leaves them physical wrecks. This brings me back once more to the strains put upon growing girls, for it is apparent that there is nothing in the food supply of this country to account for the decrease in the birth rate. The United States has not as yet had one-third of its development, and the land of the country would support five times the present population. If it were utilized, as is land in parts of China, it would support a people twenty times as numerous.

It may not be denied that every girl or woman has the right to remain single if she so elect. It is equally apparent that if she chooses she may devote all her strength to mental effort. It therefore follows that could we know beforehand that a girl would refuse to marry, we could be certain that we were right in placing extreme mental strains on her. Unfortunately, no one may decide such a thing for another, and neither the parents nor the

community have a right to assume that such a decision will be arrived at. As the community can only exist by the continued birth of children, it is plain that any treatment by it of the girls which will incapacitate them to perform their natural functions is, to the last degree, suicidal. While the parents would naturally prefer that their daughters should be healthy and strong, they have not the same interest in that health and strength as the community, for their existence does not depend thereon. So far as the strains placed on the girls in the schools are to be considered, these are, under our system of public schools, regulated by the community. If, then, I am right in ascribing chiefly to these strains that physical exhaustion of the young women, which is showing itself in the birth rate, we have before us the extraordinary spectacle of the community making war on itself.

The most marked advance made by the human race during the last twenty years, an advance greater in importance than are all the discoveries and inventions of that period, has been in the enfranchisement of American women. To the person who looks at their status to-day and compares it with that of 1870, the change is wonderful. It is natural that the pendulum should swing as far one way as it swung the other, and that in their greater freedom, especially of the mind, the women should go to excess. Just as for centuries their minds were sacrificed to their bodies by the will of others, so now by their own will they are sacrificing their bodies to their minds. This will remedy itself in time; there need be no fear that it will continue forever, unless, indeed, the human race be destined to end in an apotheosis of intellect! But the time necessary for the reaction may be shortened by a free discussion of the evils of the present course, and no one who realizes the suffering and pain which results from causes now at work will hesitate to point out these evils. It is the duty of every physician to exert his influence to save the growing girls from strains too great for them, and it is the duty of the mothers to save their daughters.

There is another aspect of the question which was very forcibly brought to my attention in a conversation in which one of the speakers was a gentleman of very great wealth whose only son is engaged to a German girl. One of these present said laughingly that the prospective bridegroom had shown a lack of patriotism

in his choice, and that America contributed more than her fair share to the support of foreigners in the marriages of her girls. "I should like to have more than one grandchild, for there is money enough, and I do not want my son to bear the sorrow I have borne. It means a good deal to a man to be forced to watch the person who is dearest to him a hopeless invalid," was the answer. I could not help noticing the quick look of sympathy on the faces of half the men there.

While no one can respect or sympathize with this sorrow more than the physician, to no one does the scientific significance of the first part of the speech more forcibly appeal. If there be any truth shown by the history of the development of the human race—of any animal race for that matter—it is that the members of that race will not permit those causes to exist which threaten its continuance. One sex is as much interested as the other in the result, but the desire for offspring is stronger in the male than in the female. It follows, therefore, that if the system of education prevents American women having children, and if the influence of those women is strong enough to put a stop to any change in that system, or if those women refuse to be mothers, American men will, so far as they can, marry girls of other races. Nothing would be easier than to place a construction on this which would make it ridiculous, because the racial movement, of which it would be the expression, would be an exceptionally slow one and would be modified by a thousand influences. I do not mean, then, that there would be another "Rape of the Sabines," or that the young men of America would assemble in crowds to meet the emigrant ships even as the men of Louisiana assembled to meet the ships from France. I do mean that in time there would gradually permeate through the minds of men the understanding that health was a requisite in the women they would make their wives, and that this would probably show itself in health having that attraction for men which beauty now has. Healthy girls, girls with stamina, would then have the same advantage over their less fortunate sisters that is now possessed by the pretty girls over those that are ugly. Ultimately, therefore, the remedy for the evil lies in the hands of the men.

It is not, however, in the least degree probable that the remedy must be found there. The women of America are not fools, and it is impossible that they should not see to what end the

causes at work are now tending. More than this, they are the proper persons to move in the matter, for they are the greatest sufferers.

CYRUS EDSON.

IV.—WOMEN AND THE WORLD.

BY BERTHA MONROE RICKOFF.

How long before the spirited American society girl will have some higher ambition placed before her than social success? In learning, as she inevitably does, that society is a fabrication of forms, not feelings, she soon becomes surfeited with its artificial requirements, and, seeking some more vital contact with life, places all of her happiness upon her love and marriage, not comprehending that no one can be happy who has not some purpose outside the field of his emotions. Thus, in trying to make of love not only the foundation but the superstructure of her existence, she wonders when it fails to meet her exactions, and begins to question the reality of her romance. Since her love does not afford her the happiness which novels and relations have led her to expect, she begins to sigh for a love which will.

The world, therefore, graciously permits her to pursue her *ignis fatuus* and to take up flirtations leading to the divorce court, from which she returns to society an object of still greater interest than she was in her girlhood, if one may credit a clever sketch of the divorcée which recently appeared in a popular periodical. Or, her ideals denying her this *dénouement*, she may throw herself into a species of amateur performance called charity, where, while she succeeds in binding up wounds and satisfying her own boundless sympathies, she thwarts the efforts of the social scientist, and cultivates paupers at an enormous rate of increase. She is even permitted that pretence at industry, light handiwork, a routine accomplishment of what is better done by machinery, or in art studies and literary societies she may find occupations, which, while being more soul-satisfying than fancy work, lack the stamp of purpose, because essentially amateur. Society, while thus petting her, as the husband does Nora in the *Doll's House*, denies her the sustenance of an inspiring purpose and turns in upon her a force which tends, as do all unemployed energies, to render her morbid and unhappy.

The life and occupations of a society woman, in failing to awaken her to her full development, fail also in rendering her companionable to the business man, who has little time to indulge his taste for æsthetics. It is the wife's over-valuation of sentiment, and the lack of sympathy and comradeship between husband and wife, which lead to the well-worn statement that marriage is a failure ; but may not the truth rather lie in the fact that marriage is a failure in just so far as woman is a failure ? Can she ever grow to her full status and stand on the same plane with man as long as she continues a creature of cramped and undeveloped energies ?

Any approach to a solution of the problem of what else to do with the leisure of woman than to grant her undisputed social sway is met by the ideal picture of the mother and child. It is not for the mother with her child that any plea for a higher motive or a greater happiness need be made. No holier call can reach her than that of her children ; but the period when children engross all of a woman's life is transitory, and there comes a time when the child is better to walk alone, and when the mother turns to an empty home, where the college boy and the married daughter come but as guests. Even the early youth of a child should be free to form companionships other than that of its mother, and in the republic of a school should be developed the the force of its own individuality. It is for the woman in whose ears the cry of her children does not or may never ring that this special plea should be made.

So while never countenancing a forgetfulness of the responsibilities of motherhood, where are we to look for some purpose for the life of woman which will contribute to her more rounded development ? Some suggest a higher education, but these lose the very pith of their argument in confining their estimate of a higher education to the club life of a woman's college, where, shut off from domesticity, she never learns woman's peculiar duties, and where, separated from the opposite sex, she acquires an abnormal devotion to her own, depreciating the force man is and must ever be in a woman's life. The history of the evolution of sociology proves conclusively that a change in social conditions must take place, and may not the change which progress holds in store for society be that all women become self-supporting ? The expression " self-supporting " is used merely to give a stamp

to woman's work whereby it will be endowed with purpose and recognized as of value, for, as is the case with man, the money which work brings is the valid proof of its worth.

That many women are already self-supporting from necessity it is needless to say, but woman's work as a necessity can never win for it its rightful place, as woman's work for the fulfilment of her destiny must eventually do. If remunerative work become a recognized form of education for woman, it must become a social factor. Herein would lie a legitimate field for her misdirected energies; herein would she at last grow like a plant taken from the darkness into the light, developing to her highest possibilities until she would become indeed a helpmate for man. At present she is clamoring at closed doors with the cry of woman's rights, but if she controlled large industries and corporations her rights would come seeking her. And if women did engage in business affairs and saw the effect which elections would have upon their prosperity, they would not long lack interest in the franchise.

The present attitude of society towards the working-woman is disapproving, and not without reason. In the first place, the positions she has assumed are as a rule subordinate and not such as would entitle a man to social recognition; the tutor, the secretary, the stenographer, for instance, are not usually invited to the dinners of the capitalist. Society is even gracious in opening its doors to the working-woman on sufferance, regarding her as one of fallen fortunes, to be commiserated, not blamed. It is this spirit towards them which prompts a large number of women, if they must work for money, to shield name and family distinction behind the sign of an "Exchange for Woman's Work," a cowardice which should elicit little sympathy, for a work of which its master is ashamed can never contribute to the development of his character.

In the second place, women deprive their work of dignity by refusing to regard it as permanent as long as they may hope to escape from it by marriage. This fact not only gives to their work an adventitious character, but injures its money value, for an employer is loth to pay to an employee who may leave him at any moment the same that he would pay to one whose support must continue to depend upon his work. For this same reason it is almost impossible to arouse any *esprit de corps* or to establish any self-helping organization among working-women. The

world is, however, cruel in placing a certain stigma upon the bravely self-supporting woman, regarding her as one who, through lack of personal attractions, has failed to find a husband to support her, whereas the stigma should rather rest upon the woman who marries to be supported.

A grave consideration, which always meets the idea that women have any other sphere than that of domesticity, is her duty to the home. But, in arguments of this kind, the duty of every woman to her home is regarded as coincident with that of the farmer's wife, while the fact that the American woman of to-day should be competent to supervise the management of her household by no means necessitates that she become a practical workman in each branch of its industry. Nor need the household be less cared for because she is self-supporting, for a business or professional training will rather give her a more thoughtful direction for her energies, and she will learn the money value of system and concentration. Her household will be dominated by the spirit of an enlightened woman, who, in losing the attribute of womanishness, has gained the element of womanliness, and home will become, not merely the hotel which best cares for one's physical necessities, but a divine institution where woman's spirit is supreme, a perfect republic where liberty is combined with unity.

It will be argued that freedom from the duties better relegated to servants is the province of the rich woman, but were women self-supporting, money would be forthcoming for service in the home, where the supported woman feels bound to save by contributing her otherwise unremunerative hours to a domestic's duties, as such economy is her only means of adding to the family exchequer. The very question of household service would begin to solve itself did it become a recognized and permanent industry, not a makeshift preceding marriage.

If educated women engaged in work worthy of their capacity, by this influx of energy the hours which a business or a profession demands of a man would be decreased, and he would be afforded opportunity to share in the influence over his children, an influence which should be exerted by the father as well as the mother, and which the exigencies of modern life usually leave to the mother, nor would the father find the softening influence of his child's unworldly nature without its value, needing, as he

does, to be lifted at times into an atmosphere above selfish competition.

There is continual complaint that man is overworked, but is this overwork occasioned by the necessities of his family more than it is by the indulgence of thirst for financial conquest? He may be slow to yield a share of his triumphs to woman, but one day he will see that her desire to partake of the elixir of genuine success is by no means a desire to deprive him of any part of his glory, for this she will ever cherish more dearly than her own, but that her sharing in his enthusiasms will bring her nearer to him, and, in turn, affording him opportunity to share in her life, will once more render possible to him a realization of his early ideals of love and happiness.

Not only will the relations of man and wife thus become more sympathetic, but if woman become an active element in the world of affairs, she will be afforded opportunities for contact with desirable men, which are denied the society girl; for while for the best of our womanhood society is the recognized aim, for man it is an episode, to be endured or shunned, more wisely shunned if he have earnest purposes; and men of force, those whose characters are being forged in our national struggles, those who are building up our colossal industries, are not usually recruited from the so-called "Four Hundred."

The busy man, who hesitates to risk the happiness of life in the lottery of a fashionable marriage, will in this association with her have opportunity to estimate woman for something besides her sensuous charm, and his love will grow upon a more practical foundation than a fascination which, being largely physical, must come to an end as soon as its novelty has worn off; while the *débutante*, whether or no she possesses the superficial attractions of the ball-room, will have opportunity to show the attributes of her character as well as her personal charm, and be able to command a love in which the spirit shall rule the flesh, a love founded on congenialty of character and pursuits.

BERTHA MONROE RICKOFF.

AN EPISCOPAL VIEW OF HEAVEN.

BY THE REV. REGINALD HEBER HOWE.

THE question, what Heaven is, is one with which the mind of man never ceases to engage itself. It has been so from the earliest times, it doubtless will be so to the end. The Greeks had their Elysium, where, in the words of Pindar, "The righteous dead inherit a tearless eternity." Here was the place, a plain at the end of the earth, where the air was always tempered by the zephyrs wafted in from the ocean and there was neither snow nor storm, heat nor cold. There were the asphodel meadows which none but the pure in heart, the truthful and the generous could be suffered to tread. The Egyptians had their Amenti, the hidden place into which, identified with or protected by Osiris, the righteous dead passed. The Scandinavians had their Walhalla, where fallen heroes were and where the favorite horse and armor were ever ready for use; and

> "Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind,
> His soul proud science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk and milky way.
> Yet simple nature to his hope has given
> Behind the cloud cap't hills a humbler heaven.
> To be content's his natural desire,
> He asks no angel's wings, no seraph's fire;
> But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company."

Probably every man has at some time or other asked himself the question, speculated or wondered what heaven is. What may we believe with regard to it?

Very few words will suffice to tell what the Episcopal Church has had to say on the subject. It is not one on which she has

spoken definitely or except in a very general way, and for the best of reasons. There is little definitely revealed. If we turn to the two great symbols which she has adopted as the expression of her faith, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, all that we shall find there are the articles: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." "He" (Jesus Christ) "ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." "I believe in the communion of saints, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting." These in the Apostles' Creed, and in the Nicene the additional clause: "Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven;" and the somewhat different phraseology of the closing sentences: "I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."

If we turn to the Articles of Religion we discover absolutely nothing but the single sentence in Art. IV. answering almost exactly to the language of the Creeds: "Wherewith He ascended into heaven and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day."

In her Prayer Book are constant and beautiful references to Heaven. Almost the first word spoken to the worshippers when they assemble in the house of God bids them to "the throne of the heavenly grace." "So that at the last we may come to His eternal joy," ends one Form of Absolution, "and bring you to everlasting life" the other. The familiar words "Our Father, who art in heaven, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" are used again and again. "Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory," sings the *Te Deum*. "When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." "Make them to be numbered with Thy saints in glory everlasting." "Finally after this life to attain everlasting joy and felicity." "We may rise to the life immortal." "That we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for those who unfeignedly love Thee." "Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity."

Such are representative fragments only of prayers which the church is continually putting into the lips of her children.

Her authorized Hymnal bids us sing hymns the burden of which is much the same, only with the larger license of song, and hardly to be appealed to for accurate teaching. But this exhausts her voice on the subject. So far as she has spoken as a Church this completes her testimony as to what heaven is, and the future life of the blessed. In the main, and wisely, it is positive witness to the fact of the everlasting life, and silence as to its opposite. But from it we may derive not a little light in answer to our question what heaven is?

Our immortality is not an immortality of the soul only, which was the belief of the ancients. "I believe in the Resurrection of the body and the Life everlasting," so says the shorter of the two Creeds.

The doctrine of the Resurrection of the body has been carried to such absurd lengths that there has not unnaturally been a reaction from belief in it in any form. But it states unquestionably a truth. Death, so far as we know anything about it, is a separation of soul and body. The dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it. Coming to life again, or resurrection, is their reunion. That the soul will have a tabernacle in the future life; that this tabernacle will be such that each one's identity shall be preserved; that it will be fitted for its new mode of being and the changed conditions of the heavenly life, this seems to be clearly taught. Indeed, as we know ourselves, a soul without a body is beyond our conception of what constitutes man. So far as we can tell, the body is necessary to the completeness of our being. "Nothing is more common," says Westcott, "than to hear it assumed that the soul is the real self. Yet nothing can be more clear, upon reflection, than that the only self of which we are conscious is made up of soul and body. The workings of these two are absolutely inseparable. We cannot contemplate the independent action of the two for an instant." Metempsychosis does not at all meet the case. "And therefore," he continues in language and in statement which cannot be improved, "I believe in the resurrection of the body. I believe, that is, that all that belongs to the essence of my person will remain through a change which the imagination cannot realize. But that of which we speak as destined to a resurrection is not that substance which we can see and handle measured by properties of sense. It represents, as far as we now see, our-

selves in our actual weakness, but essentially ourselves. We, in our whole being, this is our belief, shall rise again. And we are not these changing bodies which we bear. They alter, as we know, with every step we take and every breath we draw. We make them, if I may so speak, make them naturally, necessarily under the laws of our present existence. They are to ourselves, to use a bold figure, as the spoken word to the thought, the expression of the invisible.

> 'For of the soul the body form doth take,
> For soul is form and doth the body make.'

When, therefore, the laws of our existence are hereafter modified, then we, because we are unchanged, shall find some other expression truly the 'same' in relation to that new order, because it is not the 'same' as that to which it corresponds in this."

We cannot do better than to keep to what St. Paul teaches in regard to it under the figure which he thought best expressed it. From how many misconceptions this would have saved us. "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain : but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him and to every seed *his own body*. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption ; it is raised in incorruption : it is sown in dishonor ; it is raised in glory : it is sown in weakness ; it is raised in power : it is sown a natural body ; it is raised a spiritual body."

In such a tabernacle is the soul to abide forever, and so far as the form in which we are to live the everlasting life is concerned, this, as far as it lies in our power to give it, is the answer to our question.

"Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity." These words give us another feature of the nature of the future life of the blessed, in regard to which there can be no doubt. It is to be one of perfect peace and happiness. And this involves certain deductions. No sin can be there. It would be an exotic in that clime. The imagery of heaven we may not be able to interpret, nor to comprehend all for which the wealth of figure used to describe it may stand, but we know that "there shall in nowise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie."

"Without holiness shall no man see the Lord;" it would not be happiness to him if he did. John Henry Newman has wonderfully expressed the thought in the words to the soul which he puts into the angel's mouth in the *Dream of Gerontius:*

> "And these two pains, so counter and so keen,
> The longing for Him when thou seest Him not;
> The shame of self at thought of seeing Him
> Will be thy veriest sharpest purgatory."

And the story of Norfolk Island illustrates it. Put a man in a place he is not fit for and which is not fit for him and he would not be happy. Men make their own heaven here, and in a very true sense they will make it hereafter.

And as there will be no sin, so there will be no sorrow. The two are intimately associated here. Eliminate one and you eliminate the other. How happiness comports with knowledge of others who have not inherited heaven, if we shall have such knowledge, is a question that has always perplexed mankind. We cannot answer it. We only know that in the new heaven and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, "God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away."

Finally there shall be the happiness, perhaps as high as any that we know, of service. We are apt to forget this. So much has been said and written about a future of ceaseless antheming, the singing of unending psalms, "an eternity of the tabor," as some one has slurringly and irreverently expressed it, that we think of the heavenly life as consisting in this, and the thought is unsatisfactory and repellent. But "His servants shall serve Him," it is also told us, and we pray that our Father's will may be done on earth as in heaven. What form this service shall take we do not know, but it agrees with every instinct of our being to believe that great gifts brought to high possibilities of effective use here, and then apparently extinguished in death, have not really perished nor accomplished all that they ever shall. They must live on, we feel, in some other sphere to do still better service for God and man.

> "Somewhere, surely, afar,
> In the sounding labor house vast
> Of being, is practised that strength."

As Matthew Arnold wrote of his father, after death, in heaven, as in the intermediate condition in Paradise, the righteous shall be in perfect happiness, for there shall be no more sin or sorrow, only the bliss of the perpetual service of God, and of dwelling forever within the beauty of His countenance.

Beyond these limits we enter the region of individual opinion and speculation, to which there is no end. Of these are born the crudest and most grotesque conceptions of the nature of the future life, as various in character as the varieties of the human mind. Every image has been pushed to its utmost, and with the fullest literalness of interpretation, and heaven has been conceived of accordingly: a veritable city, with its walls and its gates and its streets, with its trees and its river, and its sea of glass, and the nations of them that are saved walk in it.

If such conceptions help any one to think of heaven as more real, to long for it, to long to be fit to dwell in it, who shall find fault or restrain them? Only let us remember that these are speculations in more or less degree, the forms under which revelations of the life after death are made, not the revelation itself.

REGINALD HEBER HOWE.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY AND THE POPE.

BY JOHN BIGELOW.

In the summer of 1863 it was decided by the Confederate statesmen at Richmond that they could not afford to depend entirely upon the arm of flesh for the success of their cause, and thereupon they determined to appeal to the sword of the Spirit as wielded by the church of Rome. The considerations which may be presumed to have prompted this appeal were

First, The numerical strength of the Catholics in the Northern States who would be likely to relax their zeal in the prosecution of the war if the Pope discountenanced it and,

Second, A desire to enlist the active sympathies of the Catholic countries of Europe, and especially of France and Austria, then already embarked in the ill-fated scheme to reëstablish monarchial and prelatical supremacy in Mexico.

Perhaps, too, they were encouraged to hope that a sympathetic word or two from Pius. IX. would help to weaken the faltering loyalty of Maryland and Missouri, the two Southern States in which members of the Catholic communion exert much influence upon public opinion. Upon the evangelical principle of gathering up the fragments that nothing be lost, it was accordingly decided at once to lay siege to the Vatican. Dudley Mann, who became a superfluity in London on the arrival of Commissioner Mason at his post, was authorized by Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, to repair to Rome and open the trenches with the secular arm, to be speedily followed and reënforced by such spiritual enginery as could be found available and brought up in season.

At the same time that Mann was sent to Rome, Father Bannon, of Richmond, was sent with instructions from Benjamin "to enlighten the people of Ireland in regard to the true character of

the war, etc." He was clothed with authority to go also to Rome "for the purpose," said the Secretary, "of obtaining such sanction from the Sovereign Pontiff as will strengthen your hands and give efficiency to your action." Father Bannon was to receive £20 a month for his personal expenses and fare to and fro. The fiscal agent of the Confederacy in London was instructed to provide for his other expenses, such as printing, extra travel and a suitable remuneration for an associate from the North, "if,"—so ran his instructions,—"you can find one entirely trustworthy and you find it advisable to secure his aid." This also was to be a Catholic priest. What Father Bannon accomplished, if anything, by his mission, beyond getting out of Richmond, which had already become anything but a cheerful residence, and having his expenses paid during his absence, the records of the Confederacy have left no trace. We can imagine from what occurred of public notoriety that his labors were not rewarded with any such measure of success as to deserve more attention from the historian than they seem to have received from the Secretary of State, and that could hardly have been less.

A few months after Father Bannon embarked on his mission, as if the Richmond government was already aware that he was not accomplishing nor likely to accomplish much, either with St. Patrick or with St. Peter, Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, was sent out, armed with a letter of introduction from Benjamin to Slidell, the Confederate Commissioner in Paris, and with something more than a strictly apostolic equipment, to labor exclusively with the Pope. In his letter of introduction Benjamin did not explain the purpose of this mission, but said simply that Lynch "is proceeding to Europe on a visit which he will fully explain to you." He doubtless thought, as Mason did in regard to his troubled dinner-table interview with the Earl of Donoughmore, that what was afoot "had better not be spread upon the records of the State department."

Of his mission we shall have more to say presently. We now return to Mr. Dudley Mann and his ecclesiastical mission. Happily he has acted as his own historian. His preliminary successes were recorded in the following epistle to Benjamin :

Dudley Mann to Judah Benjamin:

ROME, November 14, 1863.

SIR: At three o'clock of the afternoon of yesterday I received a formal notification that His Holiness would favor me with an audience, embracing

my private secretary, Mr. W. Grayson Mann, to-day at twelve o'clock. I accordingly proceeded to the Vatican, sufficiently early to enable me to reach there fifteen minutes in advance of the designated hour. In five minutes afterwards—ten minutes prior to the appointed time—a message came from the Sovereign Pontiff that he was ready to receive me, and I was accordingly conducted into his presence.

His Holiness stated, after I had taken my stand near to his side, that he had been so afflicted by the horrors of the war in America that many months ago he had written to the Archbishops at New Orleans and New York to use all the influence that they could properly employ for terminating, with as little delay as possible, the deplorable state of hostilities; that from the former he had received no answer, but that he had heard from the latter, and his communication was not such as to inspire hope that his ardent wishes would be speedily gratified.

I then remarked, that "it is to a sense of profound gratitude of the Executive of the Confederate States and of my countrymen, for the earnest manifestation which Your Holiness made in the appeal referred to, that I am indebted for the distinguished honor which I now enjoy. President Davis has appointed me special envoy to convey in person to your Holiness this letter, which I trust you will receive in a similar spirit to that which animated its author."

Looking for a moment at the address and afterwards at the seal of the letter, His Holiness took his scissors and cut the envelope. Upon opening it he observed: "I see it is in English, a language which I do not understand." I remarked: "If it will be agreeable to Your Holiness my secretary will translate its contents to you." He replied: "I shall be pleased if he will do so." The translation was rendered in a slow, solemn and emphatic pronunciation. During its progress, I did not cease for an instant to carefully survey the features of the Sovereign Pontiff. A sweeter expression of pious affection, of tender benignity, never adorned the face of mortal man. No picture can adequately represent him when exclusively absorbed in Christian contemplation. Every sentence of the letter appeared to sensibly affect him. At the conclusion of each he would lay his hand down upon the desk and bow his head approvingly. When the passage was reached, wherein the President states, in such sublime and affecting language: "We have offered up at the footstool of our Father who art in Heaven prayers inspired by the same feeling which animates your Holiness" his deep sunken orbs, visibly moistened, were upturned towards that throne upon which ever sits the Prince of Peace, indicating that his heart was pleading for our deliverance from that causeless and merciless war which is prosecuted against us. The soul of infidelity, if indeed infidelity have a soul, would have melted in view of so sacred a spectacle.

The emotion occasioned by the translation was succeeded by a silence of some time. At length His Holiness asked whether President Davis was a Catholic. I answered in the negative. He then asked if I was one. I assured him that I was not. His Holiness now stated, to use his own language, that "Lincoln and Co." had endeavored to create an impression abroad that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery and that it might be judicious in us to consent to gradual emancipation. I replied that the subject of slavery was one over which the Government of the Confederate States, like that of the old United States, had no control whatever; that all ameliorations with regard to the institution must proceed from the

States themselves, which were as sovereign in their character, in this regard, as was France, Austria, or any other Continental power; that true philanthropy shuddered at the thought of a liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by "Lincoln and Co."; that such a procedure would be practically to convert the well-cared-for civilized negro into a semi-barbarian; that such of our slaves as had been captured or decoyed off by our enemy were in an incomparably worse condition than while they were in the service of their masters; that they wished to return to their old homes, the love of which was the strongest of their affections; that if, indeed, African slavery were an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its sudden overthrow. His Holiness received these remarks with an approving expression. He then said that I had reason to be proud of the self-sacrificing devotion of my countrymen, from the beginning, to the cause for which they are contending. "The most ample reason," I replied; "and yet, scarcely so much as of my countrywomen, whose patriotism, whose sorrows and privations, whose transformation in many instances from luxury to penury, were unparalleled and could not be adequately described by any living language. There they had been from the beginning—there they were still, more resolute if possible than ever—emulating in devotion, earthly though it was in its character, those holy female spirits who were the last at the Cross, and the first at the Sepulchre.

His Holiness received this statement with evident satisfaction and then said: "I would like to do anything that can be effectively done, or that even promises good results, to aid in putting an end to this most terrible war, which is harming the good of all the earth; if I knew how to proceed."

I availed myself of this declaration to inform His Holiness that it was not the armies of Northern birth which the South was encountering in hostile array, but that it was the armies of European creation, occasioned by the Irish and Germans, chiefly the former, who were influenced to emigrate (by circulars from "Lincoln & Co." to their numerous agents abroad) ostensibly for the purpose of securing higher wages, but in reality to fill up the constantly depleted ranks of our enemy; that these poor unfortunates were tempted by high bounties, amounting to five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred dollars, to enlist and take up arms against us; that, once in the service, they were invariably placed in the most exposed points of danger in the battlefield; that, in consequence thereof, an instance had occurred in which an almost entire brigade had been left dead or wounded upon the ground; that, but for foreign recruits, the North would most likely have broken down months ago in the absurd attempt to overpower the South.

His Holiness expressed his utter astonishment repeatedly, throwing up his hands, at the employment of such means against us and the cruelty attendant upon such unscrupulous operations.

"But your Holiness," said I, "Lincoln & Co. are even more wicked, if possible, in their ways, than in decoying innocent Irishmen from their homes to be murdered in cold blood. Their champions, and would your Holiness believe it, unless it were authoritatively communicated to you?—their pulpit champions have boldly asserted this as a sentiment: 'Greek fire for the families and cities of the rebels, and Hell-fire for their chiefs.'"

His Holiness was startled at this information, and immediately observed: "Certainly no Catholic would reiterate so monstrous a sentiment."

I replied, "Assuredly not. It finds a place exclusively in the hearts of the fiendish, vagrant pulpit buffoons whose number is legion, and who impiously undertake to teach the doctrine of Christ, for ulterior sinister purposes."

His Holiness now observed: "I will write a letter to President Davis, and of such a character that it may be published for general perusal." I expressed my heartfelt gratification for the assertion of this purpose. He then remarked, half inquiringly: "You will remain here several months"? I, of course, could not do otherwise than answer in the affirmative. Turning to my secretary he asked several kind questions personal to himself, and bestowed upon him a handsome compliment. He then extended his hand, as a signal for the end of the audience, and I retired.

Thus terminated one of the most remarkable conferences that ever a foreign representative had with a potentate of the earth. And such a potentate! A potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race, and who is adored by that immense number as the Vice-regent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere.

How strikingly majestic was the conduct of the Government of the Pontifical States in its bearings towards me when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which some of the governments of western Europe have had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our commissioners. Here I was openly received at the Department of Foreign Affairs, openly received by an appointment at Court, in accordance with established usages and customs, and treated from beginning to end with a consideration which might be envied by the envoy of the oldest member of the family of nations. The audience was of forty minutes' duration—an unusually long one.

I have written this despatch very hurriedly, and fear that it will barely be on time for the monthly steamer which goes off from Liverpool with the mail for the Bahama Islands next Saturday.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, C. S. A.

As the Pope did not speak nor even read English there is no occasion to be surprised at the greater fulness with which Mr. Mann's remarks are reported than those of his interlocutor. In fact the missionary's confidence in the complete conversion of the Pope to his views seems to have been inspired not by anything the Sovereign Pontiff said, for he said nothing to the purpose, but to have been extracted from his features "which no picture can adequately represent," while listening to the translation of Davis's letter.

But the stage of this interview at which Mann's gifts as a diplomatist stand out in boldest relief is when asked if he or Jefferson Davis was a Catholic. At that question almost any one less earnest and single-eyed in the prosecution of his work would have seen that the string of his kite had broken; that, as Uncle Remus would say, "he had dropped his molasses jug." Justice to Mr.

Mann compels us to admit that he did nothing of the kind; on the contrary he was prepared to say in the language of King David, replying to the anti-terpsichorean reproaches of his Philistine wife: "I will be yet more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight."

This curious interview occurred on the 13th of November. On the 8th of December following Mr. Mann received an official reply to the fateful letter of which he had been the bearer, that overcame him scarcely less than the personal presence and appearance of the Pope. He evidently thought it would not only end the war, but make him its hero—the Washington or rather the Franklin of the new republic. Because the Pope addressed Davis by the title which he found subscribed to that functionary's letter, Mann leaped somewhat precipitately to the conclusion that the Confederate government had been acknowledged "by as high an authority as the world contains."

In order that his left hand should not be in ignorance of what his right hand had been about he proffers the Confederate Secretary of State his advice to have his correspondence, including the Pope's letter, published officially in Richmond, but meantime proposes on his own responsibility to put the obligations of the Confederacy to him in this business out at interest as soon as possible by having the documents published without delay in the London *Times*. This purpose, together with the triumphant results of his mission, he thus announced to his chief in Richmond.

Mann to Benjamin:

ROME, December 9, 1863.

SIR: The Cardinal Secretary of State Antonelli officially transmitted to me yesterday the answer of the Pope to the President.

In the very direction of this communication there is a positive recognition of our government. It is addressed "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America." Thus we are acknowledged by as high an authority as this world contains to be an independent power of the earth. I congratulate you, I congratulate the President, I congratulate his cabinet, in short, I congratulate all my true hearted countrymen and countrywomen upon this benign event. The hand of the Lord has been in it, and eternal glory and praise be to His holy and righteous name.

The document is in the Latin language, as are all documents prepared by the Pope. I cannot incur the risk of its capture at sea, and therefore I shall retain it until I can convey it, with entire certainty, to the President. It will adorn the archives of our country in all coming time. I expect to receive a copy of it in time for transmission by the steamer which carries

this (*via* New York) to Nassau. I shall leave here by the 15th inst., and will proceed to Paris and from thence to Brussels and London.

The example of the Sovereign Pontiff, if I am not much mistaken, will exercise a salutary influence upon both the Catholic and Protestant governments of western Europe. Humanity will be aroused everywhere to the importance of its early emulation.

I have studiously endeavored to prevent the appearance of any telegraphic or other communications in the newspapers in relation to my mission. The nature of it, however, is generally known in official circles here and it has been mentioned in one or more journals. The letters, in my opinion, ought to be officially published at Richmond, under a call for the correspondence by the one or the other branch of Congress. In the meantime I shall communicate to the European press, probably through the London *Times*, the substance of those letters. I regard such a procedure as of primary importance in view of the interests of peace, and I am quite sure that the Holy Father would rejoice at seeing those interests benefited in this or any other effective manner.

I have the honor to be, etc.

We learn from the following, which accompanied the Pope's letter "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis," that the Christmas holidays were fixed upon as "the most propitious season for enlightening the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope," and for reasons which are in the highest degree edifying.

Mann to Benjamin :

ROME, December 12, 1863.

SIR : Herewith I have the honor to transmit the copy sent to me yesterday of the original, in Latin, of the letter of the Sovereign Pontiff to President Davis. I have taken a duplicate of it. A period of more than a week elapsed between the date of the letter and the delivery of the copy.

I shall repair to Paris immediately, where, after conferring with Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason (from each of whom I have just received the kindest of letters), I shall proceed to Brussels. After a stay there of a day or two I shall go to London. The Christmas season will be a propitious period for exciting the sympathies of the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope. The people of England are never better at heart than during the joyous anniversary of the birth of Him whose cause was "Peace on earth, good will towards men."

Strange to say, a recent number of the *Court Journal* of London contains one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of character of His Holiness.

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Why it was so strange that "one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of character of His Holiness" should have appeared in the *Court Journal*, there is probably no one now living who can explain.

After reading these enthusiastic accounts of the Pope's letter and the revolutions of public sentiment it was destined to work in Europe as well as in the United States it is interesting to read the letter itself to see how much more Mr. Mann's penetrating glance and lively imagination found in it than it disclosed to his official chief when it reached him.

Pius P. P. IX. Illustrious and Honorable Mr. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, Greeting:

We have lately received with all kindness, as was meet, the gentlemen sent by your Excellency to present to us your letter dated on the 23d of last September. We have received certainly no small pleasure in learning both from these gentlemen and from your letter the feelings of gratification and very warm appreciation with which you, Illustrious and Honorable Sir, were moved when you first had knowledge of our letters written in October of the preceding year to the Venerable Brethren, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans, in which we again and again urged and exhorted those Venerable Brethren that because of their exemplary piety and episcopal zeal they should employ the most earnest efforts, in our name also, in order that the fatal civil war which had arisen in the States should end, and that the people of America might again enjoy mutual peace and concord, and love each other with mutual charity. And it has been very gratifying to us to recognize, Illustrious Sir, that you and your people are animated by the same desire for peace and tranquillity, which we had so earnestly inculcated in our aforesaid letter to the venerable Brethren above named. Oh, that the other people also of the States and their rulers, considering seriousiy how cruel and how deplorable is this intestine war, would receive and embrace the counsels of peace and tranquillity! We indeed shall not cease with most fervent prayers to beseech God, the Best and Highest, and to implore Him to pour out the spirit of Christian love and peace upon all the people of America, and to rescue them from the great calamities with which they are afflicted. And we also pray the same most Merciful Lord that he will illume your Excellency with the light of His divine grace, and unite you with ourselves in perfect charity.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the 3d December, 1863, in the eighteenth year of our Pontificate. PIUS P. P. IX.

By the time the Pope's letter had crossed the Atlantic it ceased to have the intoxicating effect which it had when first placed in Mr. Mann's hand and in the disguise of a learned language. Messrs. Davis and Benjamin had not encountered the paralyzing gaze "of a potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race"—exclusive of Davis and Mann—"and who is adored by that immense number as the Vice-Regent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere."

Though he had never been in Rome, Benjamin knew the difference between a formula of politeness and an international engage-

ment. In due course of mail Mr. Mann received from the Richmond Secretary of State the following commentary upon the pontifical rescript:

Benjamin to Mann:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
RICHMOND, 1st February, 1864.

Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc., etc., etc., Brussels:

SIR: The President has been much gratified at learning the cordial reception which you received from the Pope, and the publication of the correspondence here (of which I send you a newspaper slip) has had a good effect. Its best influences, as we hope, will be felt elsewhere in producing a check on the foreign enlistments made by the United States. As a recognition of the Confederate States, we cannot attach to it the same value that you do, a mere inferential recognition unconnected with political action or the regular establishment of diplomatic relations possessing none of the moral weight required for awakening the people of the United States from their delusion that these States still remain members of the old Union. Nothing will end this war but the utter exhaustion of the belligerents, unless, by the action of some of the leading powers of Europe in entering into formal relations with us, the United States are made to perceive that we are in the eyes of the world a separate nation, and that the war now waged by them is *foreign*, not an *intestine* or *civil* war, as it is termed by the Pope. This phrase of his letter shows that his address to the President as "President of the Confederate States" is a formula of politeness to his correspondent, not a political recognition of the fact. None of our political journals treat the letter as a recognition in the sense you attach to it, and Mr. Slidell writes that the Nuncio at Paris, on whom he called, had received no instructions to put his official *visa* on our passports, as he had been led to hope from his correspondence with you. This, however, may have been merely a delay in the sending of the instructions. . . .

I am, very respectfully, etc.

Upon the receipt of this letter Mr. Mann disappeared from the Confederate stage, the Pope remaining unconverted and impenitent. Not wholly discouraged however by the colorless tone of his letter, Davis and Benjamin seem to have received impressions from some quarter which warranted them in making another effort to enlist the sympathies of the Roman Curia in favor of the Confederate government; for early in the spring of 1864, they decided to send another missionary to the Vatican. This time they thought to make their emissary more acceptable by selecting him from the hierarchy. They found the man for their purpose, as they supposed, in Bishop Lynch, of Charleston. The most interesting particulars that are preserved of this mission are set forth by the Bishop himself in a letter to Benjamin written just before he embarked.

Bishop Lynch to Benjamin:

CHARLESTON, S. C., 25th March, 1864.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State:

SIR: Since my return to Charleston I have devoted my time to the task of such arrangements as are required by my approaching departure, a task which the recent acts of Congress on the currency and taxes have rendered onerous and puzzling. Still I anticipate that I will be in Richmond on the day indicated by you, April 5, perhaps on the 4th. General Wise has written to me on the subject of Mr. W. C. Chapman going out as secretary, and the young gentleman has called on me on the same. I explained my own purposes; I intended, unless otherwise instructed, to procure a secretary in Europe, a person of standing, and who could write Italian and French well.

Mr. Chapman explains that what he desires is the secretaryship during the trip to Rome, leaving me as free to choose another secretary there as if this appointment were not made. In this view his appointment would be perfectly agreeable to me, and I stated so much to General Wise, and left it to him and Mr. Chapman to arrange the matter with you.

The suite of a Bishop travelling consists properly of two persons, a chaplain and a servant. I have chosen the first, a Rev. Mr. Renouf, a French clergyman, who will accompany me. I have not selected a body servant, and may not do so. But I presume there will be no difficulty in allowing both a passage in the same vessel I go on to Bermuda.

I have also written to Hon. S. R. Mallory, asking the privilege of taking out five bales of cotton, in the same vessel, with a view of covering some personal expenses, or to meet any emergency that may arise.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
P. N. LYNCH, D. D., B. C.

The Bishop's mission, as we all know, did not prove a success. Unhappily, the record of his experiences, which could hardly fail to possess a peculiar interest, to the political student at least, can not be found. His letters to Benjamin, with the exception of the one already cited, if he wrote any, appear to have been abstracted from the Confederate archives, whether before or since they came into the possession of our government we cannot say. We trust they have not been destroyed and that the time may come when it will be no one's interest to withhold them from the public eye.

In the autumn of 1865 and several months after peace was restored in the United States our Minister in Paris received the following letter from Mr. A. Cochin, a member of the Institute and a more or less conspicuous member of an anti-slavery society organized about that time in Paris under the auspices of Messrs. Laboulaye, Guizot, the Duc de Broglie and others. He was also author of a book against slavery which had procured for him an election to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

Cochin to the American Minister :

(Translation.)

AZY, Nievre, September 2, 1865.

M. LE MINISTRE: I am in receipt of a letter from Doctor Lynch, Catholic bishop of Charleston, who is detained at Rome unable to return to his diocese in consequence of his exclusion by the amnesty proclamation of President Johnson.

I do not know precisely the cause of his exclusion. I believe Monsignor Lynch consented to come to solicit the intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff in favor of peace, and that this mission with which he was charged by the rebel States has been esteemed a blamable act. In any case, now that the war is ended, and that it has become desirable to reconcile the disaffected, to relieve the destitute and protect the enfranchised, the return of the bishop of Charleston to that city, so justly but so severely punished, appears to be desirable. Should Irish emigrants be invited thither to reorganize labor, collisions may occur between them and the blacks which would render the presence of this prelate particularly useful.

The letter of Monsignor Lynch proves that he would consecrate himself with an exclusive devotion to these social duties. He is a loyal, intelligent, charitable man, worthy of respect and confidence.

He prays me to address you in his behalf, and I do so in the name of my friend the Count de Montalembert as well as in my own, well persuaded that you will kindly transmit to your government, with your favorable recommendation, the request for amnesty and permission to return which we make on behalf of the Catholic Bishop of Charleston.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my respectful and devoted sentiments. (Signed) A. COCHIN.

To this letter the American Minister sent the following reply :

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, PARIS, September 5, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. COCHIN: I have your note of the 2d inst. interceding for the pardon of Bishop Lynch, now or late agent near the court of Rome of persons in rebellion against the United States. His case comes under the first and seventh categories of exceptions from the President's amnesty. He was a foreign agent of the pretended Confederate government and he was an absentee from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. The proper course for him to pursue will be to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the President in his proclamation of 29th May, 1865, before the most convenient minister or consul, and then to address a personal application, to the President setting forth his claims to a pardon.

If he prefers it I will transmit his petition, though it would go more regularly through the legation at Rome, where, I infer from your letter, the bishop is sojourning. In any event, if thought desirable, on receiving copies of the bishop's petition and evidence that he has taken the oath prescribed, I will give him the benefit of your interest in his case near the President.

However, I may as well assure you now that nothing will go so far towards propitiating the pardoning power, in my opinion, as evidence that the Bishop is himself conscious of and sincerely regrets having betrayed his country and degraded his church by prostituting his sacred functions to the service of a foul and unnatural conspiracy against his country and government.

Permit me also to suggest that, in setting forth his claims to the clemency of the President, Bishop Lynch will do well not to give prominence to the importance of his presence in America to prevent collisions between the Irish immigrants and the blacks. I cannot refrain from saying to you, my dear Mr. Cochin, that it is precisely such prelates as Bishop Lynch, partisans at once of slavery and treason, that have planted in the breasts of many of our Irish adopted citizens prejudices against the blacks, which have proved one of our most serious obstacles to the suppression of the late rebellion, and which, on quite a recent occasion, resulted in a massacre which deluged the streets of our commercial metropolis with African blood.

While the President may be persuaded to consent to Bishop Lynch's return to Charleston upon proper evidence of his contrition, I beg you will not remain under the impression that the Bishop's influence over any class of our population is in the least degree necessary to our people or government. Happily, Bishop Lynch's place in the Church can be readily supplied by men whose influence with their flock has never been weakened by treason, or by the denial to a part of the human race of the right which the great Head of the Church died to secure to all.

Receive, my dear sir, the assurance of my sentiments of respect and devotion, etc., etc.

In just five weeks after the Minister's letter to Mr. Cochin was posted, the Bishop appeared at the Legation in Paris and took the oath of loyalty required by the terms of President Johnson's proclamation of May 29, 1865. Why he did not take this oath at Rome before Mr. Marsh has not transpired. In due course of mail Mr. Seward informed the Minister in Paris that Bishop Lynch's pardon had been granted. "Some explanation," he said, "might not be improper, but the case is not of sufficient importance to make a record." The Bishop returned to Charleston a much wiser man than when he left and for the remainder of his life, I believe—he died in 1882—wisely confined himself pretty strictly to the duties of his episcopate.

Nothing more was ever heard of Confederate diplomacy at Rome or from Rome.

A perusal of the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederate government of which we have here given fairly characteristic specimens demonstrates two very important facts about which without it there might be room for an honest difference of opinion:

First, While it might have been difficult to organize an army of better soldiers or more competent officers in the whole United States than those who fought under the flag of the Confederacy, the men who planned the rebellion, controlled its policy,

and directed its operations from Richmond, were about the most inadequate men that ever had their names prominently associated in history with the conduct of any great military enterprise in which it was necessary to enlist the sympathies of other enlightened nationalities. The admirable military qualities displayed by the Confederate army is a source not merely of sectional but of national pride; and they have rendered an enduring service to our country, of which, happily, the incompetence of those who controlled and directed its extraordinary energies can never deprive us.

Secondly, The best judgment, talent and virtue of the South were not responsible for the rebellion, were never fairly represented in its prosecution, and but for the ascendancy which a group of desperate demagogues had acquired in the politics of the South by causing it to be believed that they only could be trusted to protect the people from the confiscation of their slave property, the South would never have permitted its solicitude about slavery to ripen into rebellion. But for the four men whose names figure most conspicuously in the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederacy, Davis, Benjamin, Slidell and Mason, it is not rash to say that the late Civil War would never have stained the annals of our country.

Could anything accentuate the infatuation of these men in their attempt to equip from the old world a republican fortress for the protection and propagation of slavery in the new, it had to be sought in this effort to enlist the Pope and his church in their support. It is not so very surprising that neither Davis nor Benjamin nor any of their agents abroad was aware of the hostile attitude which the Church of Rome had always occupied towards chattel slavery, and that wherever it has prevailed in Catholic countries it has prevailed by permission or encouragement from the civil, not from the ecclesiastical, power. The studies of these statesmen may be presumed not to have ranged very widely in the domain of Ecclesiastical history. But how a bishop could have indulged the expectation for one moment, if Bishop Lynch did indulge it, that Pius IX., with a half dozen bulls of his predecessors, against holding our fellow-creature in bondage, staring him in the face, could have taken the first step towards countenancing this pro-slavery crusade in the United States, is quite incomprehensible. It is not unlikely that he was prepared

to welcome any pretext for quitting a land where bishops, unless they were able-bodied and good marksmen, were not then of much use. If so, to one of his profession and rank, there was no pretext more available, it is to be presumed, than a mission to Rome, and it may have accomplished his objects, though it failed to prolong the life of the Confederacy or to add any lustre to the names of those who projected it. It was destined that they should learn through tribulation and shame that slavery, if it ever had been, was no longer king anywhere; that the time was past when it was possible to introduce a new slave State into the family of nations or for men of their ilk separately or together "to create a nation."

JOHN BIGELOW.

TWO DRAMATIC REVOLUTIONS.

BY CLEMENT SCOTT.

THIRTY-THREE years have passed away since I first took an active part in chronicling the history of the English stage. Week in week out, month after month, year after year, I have been fighting with all the earnestness that is in me not only to gain this most important end, that the theatre should be before all things the amusement of the people, but that the drama should be, in a certain sense, the religion of the people also; helping them when they wavered, encouraging them when they felt inclined to fall away, strengthening them against scepticism, irreverence and doubt, and bringing before them, dinning into them and persuading them of the important and vital truth that human nature is the best, the truest and the safest guide after all. In the course of these thirty-three years there have been two distinct revolutions. By revolutions I mean two manifest upheavals, two volcanic eruptions as it were of slumbering passions and rival animosities, two determined changes of front, two indisputable instances where the critical trained band which is supposed to be the guard of the dramatic fortress found that it was a house divided against itself, a scattered regiment in mutiny. With the exception of my old and most respected friend Joseph Knight, still the dramatic critic of the *Athenæum*, and the author of the best dramatic biographies now extant, I do not believe there is any man now living who took an active part in the two dramatic revolutions of 1860 and 1890 except the writer of these lines.

In 1860 I fought as a youthful enthusiast to bring back vigor and intellectual life to the stage. Thirty-three years ago I fought for freedom, for universality, for fair play. The stage of 1860 was cramped and cabined and confined. Protection was killing and smothering the stage. I fought for free trade,

for the observant study of the foreign actor and for every phase of art! In 1890 I found myself a veteran and with my old sword still in my hand. But the cause was different. Then and now I find myself fighting on the defence and not on the attack. I was a dramatic Radical in 1860, I am a dramatic Unionist in 1893. I am fighting now to preserve the stage from the specious friends who are in reality its worst enemies. I am fighting still under the banner of human nature, but with the whole plan of the campaign reversed. It is briefly this: In 1860 the intellectual public cold-shouldered the stage because it was so brainless. In 1890 the self-respecting portion of the intellectual public began to suspect the stage because it was lending itself to the propagation of dangerous heresies and becoming a platform for the discussion of subjects that are generally in good society debated with closed doors. "The Stage for the People" has ever been my cry. The People were with me in 1860 when I protested against slovenliness, boorishness, unintellectuality and want of art. It has yet to be proved that the public are against me when I argue in favor of a theatre that shall be as pure and as blameless as are the average English homes that contribute the bulk of the playgoers to sustain the drama of to-day.

Let me try to explain the condition of the stage when as a mere boy I buckled my armor on to fight for a cause that had become part and parcel of my nature. The stage in 1860 was virtually without a leader. William Charles Macready had retired in 1851, nine years before, and was living moodily as a recluse, a solitary hermit at Cheltenham. Charles Kean had ended his brilliant campaign at the old Princess's Theatre, and William Shakespeare had no active defender worth the name in the land of his birth. They did more for him in America and Germany than they could do in England three and thirty years ago. Gustavus Vaughan Brooke, great actor as he was, but never born to be a leader of men, had met with his tragic, and, I may be permitted to say, heroic death. The campaign of Samuel Phelps at Sadler's Wells, one of the most noteworthy events of the century, was at an end. He had produced every play by Shakespeare with a minimum of exceptions, and the "grand old man" did not care to put himself in the forefront of the battle again. Charles Dillon, a fine actor in his way, but always his own worst

enemy, had not the tact or skill to take the lead in a great revival. As I said before, the stage was without a leader. Henry Irving was hovering in the background with the mark of destiny on his young forehead, but the hour of Irving had not yet sounded in 1860. The stage was in the hands of fossils or adventurers, of tradesmen and traders. No one disputes the skill or artistic capacity of a Benjamin Webster or a Buckstone. But as managers they were very seldom in earnest. Art was not spelt with a big A in those days. They were the leaders, but they did not think very much of their mission. They played into the hands of the promoted box-keepers and the plethoric acting managers who fingered the till and helped to degrade the stage as much as it well could be degraded in the eyes of the public.

Helpless and impotent as these men were they hoped to drift on with the feeble aid of the cry of protection which, had it not been stopped, would have retarded the progress of the English stage by ten or twenty years. They hated the foreign actor as they hated poison. If a Wallack or an Edwin Booth came over to London they howled against him, flinging into his face the silly charge that he was "taking the bread out of the mouth of the English actor." If Rachel came from France, or Devrient from Germany, he was allowed to play in a corner of the Royal Palace at St. James's or not at all. A French company from the *Théâtre Historique* was hooted from the boards of Drury Lane. Webster, who ought to have known better, and who literally lived on French plays, with a crowd of ignorant and impecunious satellites at his heels, started the ridiculous cry of "the English stage for the English." Little did these selfish men know or dream what free trade was destined to do for the English stage. Little did these snarling dogs in the manger imagine that the day would come when the English people, free from the tyranny of protection, would cry aloud and shout for Jefferson, and Booth, and Owens, and McCullough, and Florence, and Thorne, and Ada Rehan from America; for Bernhardt, and Lafont, and Desclée, and Delaunay, and Lafontaine from France; for Salvini, and Ristori, and Rossi from Italy; for Barnay from Germany; for Modjeska from Poland; in fact, for the dramatic stars in the world's heaven of heavens. The death knell of protection was rung when Charles Fechter played Hamlet in English, and when Stella Colas played Juliet also in English—both at the old Prin-

cess's Theatre. This paved the way for Lafont and Fargueil, and for the glorious time when the whole troupe of the *Comédie Francaise* was first seen in London in 1870, ten years after the first revolution began.

Our first champion of the natural school was Charles Fechter, the best romantic actor I have ever seen. For him we fought tooth and nail against the mouthers and ranters and bow-wow gentlemen of the old school who had all the faults of Macready without any of his virtues. There never was such a set of strutting and mouthing "out-termagasting" termagants as caught up Macready's mantle and groaned themselves into notoriety. Charles Fechter came as a revelation. His Ruy Blas was the very finest romantic performance I have ever seen on any stage. And we, who were the enthusiasts of 1860 and thereabouts, preferred the Hamlet and Iago of Fechter because we preferred the broken English of the Frenchman to the bastard English of the so-called Shakesperian actors of those days. With Fechter we certainly got in the thin edge of the wedge. Charles Dickens and his many literary friends were with us. Old stagers as they were they did not disdain the natural school; indeed, it was Charles Dickens who first prophesied that Henry Irving would do great things when he first saw him play a melodramatic villain.

But the revolution of 1860 was necessary on other grounds. It was not only that the general acting was so contemptibly bad, but that the mounting of plays was so execrable in every detail. Stage archæology suddenly died with the Princess's revivals of Charles Kean, for Chatterton's idea of Shakesperian production at Drury Lane did not commend itself to students or scholars. It was W. S. Gilbert, the now celebrated lyrist and dramatist, who, in the columns of a comic periodical called *Fun*, ridiculed the props and supers of sensational melodrama as "Adelphi guests." "Charles, his friend" was a ridiculous spectacle in those days. The actors who represented gentlemen in society were rigged up out of the pawn shop and the theatrical rag-bag provided the dresses for the ladies.

How some of the enthusiasts of the present generation would have roared had they seen how Webster and Buckstone dressed a modern comedy in those days! On we fought sword in hand, for the battle was not nearly won. But with each rising dawn came

hope. We lived and rejoiced to see the start of the naturalistic and orderly school under the Bancrofts at the little old Prince of Wales's Theatre, in the Tottenham Court Road. It is the fashion—the stupid and ignorant fashion—nowadays to cry down Robertson and all his works. People turn up their eyes and wonder how any sane being could be influenced by the teacup-and-saucer school. Presumably because teacups and saucers were clean and homely, Robertson played on the heart's strings. He understood human nature. In what theatre or country to-day are *Caste*, or *Ours*, or *School* acted that they do not touch our better nature? They may be simple, but they are never strained. But then some of us prefer the daffodil to what Browning calls the "gaudy melon flower." These plays are witty—they are never rude. They come from a clear mind and a pure heart. We do not rise from these plays suffocated, but satisfied. There is no nasty taste in the mouth after a course of Robertson. The age has advanced since then. I do not say that Robertson or his works would be very highly eulogized if they came before us for the first time in this curious age that regards sentiment as a crime and human sympathy a sin. But I maintain and I know that Robertson's plays came at the exact time when they were wanted and that the acting of those plays started the natural acting of which we are so proud to-day, and gradually led to that general improvement in English acting which is acknowledged by every country in the world except France, the one country in the world which has retrograded in acting as much as England and America have conspicuously advanced.

The intellectual dramatic citadel was well won when Henry Irving was able to plant his flag on the topmost tower of the Lyceum. It had been a hard and desperate fight, but we were at last able to lay down our arms. The opportunity was always there. But here at last was the man. What he has done for the English stage no one knows better than the man who has studied the English stage. No country in the world has more generously applauded the artistic endeavor of Henry Irving than the great, liberal and generous country of America. The stagecraft of Irving has been to America a wonder and a surprise. Even those who disputed his artistic method acknowledged his heroic artistic endeavor. But we were not content to leave well alone on the English stage, not even when our foremost actor and the artist's devoted friend had

given us *Becket,* which, to my mind, in literary excellence, in artistic design and histrionic ability, is one of the noblest stage achievements in the last half century. The audience that could study Lord Tennyson's *Becket,* and, unmoved, watch Henry Irving in what I call the ante-martyrdom scene, does not deserve a good play or soul-acting for its reward. This is the sublime elevation of the actor's art. With such acting as this the inner life of a man, his purer being, and his better self are lifted up. The grossness of his nature is purged. Steeped in Scripture as we are, we see how a good man can die for a holy cause. The true martyr spirit is instinctively spread, and the artistic atmosphere is sweeter for it. We arise from the theatre as chastened as when we have strayed into some old cathedral and heard the solemn organ played in the fading evening light. The awful, the mysterious, and the intangible are nearer to us than they have ever been before. I repeat, we arise from that play of *Becket* proud for the sake of our fellow-creatures that such plays can be presented to us and such acting seen, and the next morning we take up the paper and read, forsooth, that one of the foremost dramatic critics of our time, a representative of the new, morbid, pessimistic and unhealthy school, has taken the trouble to write a letter advocating suicide ! and using the old schoolboy, childish argument, that as we were not consulted when we were brought into this world we should be fools to consult any one about going out of it. And yet, presumably, this "*advocatus diaboli*" has a mother, or a wife, or some friend or companion who would lament his self-inflicted, cowardly death.

Yes, it is the pessimistic craze, the fury of irreverence, the morbid love of disease in mind and nature, the arrogant determination to call a spade a spade at every turn and under any circumstances, that brings us to the dramatic revolution of these last three curious and eventful years. The fight has begun and we are in the thick of it. As in 1860 I fought that the stage might be recovered for the people, so do I fight now that the stage may be retained for the people. Our opponents started with Ibsen and the public voice sent Ibsen back about his business. But the trail of the Ibsen serpent has been left on the stage, and our cleverest and most literary dramatist, Arthur Wing Pinero, has been ensnared into the pessimistic net. It may be a freak, an eccentricity, an example of wilfulness, but certainly *The Second*

Mrs. Tanqueray is not only the boldest, but one of the most objectionable plays I have ever seen on the English stage during an experience of thirty-three years. It is quite possible that Mr. Pinero may not be beyond reason and argument. He has tried every school of dramatic thought with more or less success. He has imitated Dickens, Thackeray, Robertson and Hardy on the English stage. He has succeeded as a humorist and as a sentimentalist. He has ranged from *Sweet Lavender* to *Dandy Dick*. In the *Profligate* he was as unnaturally moral as the woman's-rights heroine, Evadne, in the *Heavenly Twins*. His *Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is a woman more outrageously revolting than all the heroines of Ibsen put together. But though the play may be merely a clever dramatic exercise, a bold and reckless attempt to become for the nonce more Ibsenitish than Ibsen, does Mr. Pinero in his serious moments think that *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is a work that helps and encourages the English stage and contributes to the general amusement of the people?

For over thirty years we have been combating the narrow, bigoted and puritanical opposition to the stage. We have shown that the theatre is not the godless institution that it is represented to be. We have proved that the general doctrine of the stage is as upright and pure as the average doctrine of the church pulpit. The more the clergy have fought against the stage, the more we have pleaded for it as inculcating the noblest and purest lessons and setting the noblest of examples. And so it has been up to the hour of the Dramatic Revolution of 1890, when unfortunately it was held that every subject capable of discussion by men and women together, or men and women apart, ought to be discussed in public on the English stage. Here we join issue with our friends, the "new critics", who advocate suicide and glorify the dramatization of the Contagious-Diseases acts. I say that in the course of thirty years we on our side have broken down the Puritanic spirit that preached against the stage as the opening to the pit of hell, and the players excommunicated, vile and unfit for christian burial. Ours has been the doctrine of the "Little Church Around the Corner." I say that for thirty years we have kept the stage in such a condition that no man—if he were not a Puritan—would prevent wife or daughters from entering the theatre door. I say that the rule I have followed for my own sure guidance has been invariably this, that every-

thing may be discussed in public on the stage that is discussed at every liberal dinner table in refined and polite society. Society has certain rules and the stage cannot do better than follow those rules. But I absolutely deny that the subject of Ibsen's *Ghosts* could ever be discussed at any dinner table or in any mixed society in the civilized world, unless indeed we are so advanced that we discuss hereditary disease with our soup and over an entree enlist the conversation of a pretty woman as to the ravages of contagion derived from sensuality and the sins of the fathers inherited by the children. Nor do I think that society as I see it is as yet so advanced—or degraded—as to debate about *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and her illicit amours and the various men for whom she has "kept house" in any society where good taste, to say nothing else, is respected.

They ask me why I am such a violent opponent of this particular play. They demand why, when I came home and found it a great success, I could not leave it alone and hold my tongue? in fact, what business was it of mine to raise any discussion whatever? I can only answer that I fought as a volunteer in the revolution of 1860, and am prepared to fight as a veteran in the revolution started in 1890 and growing to a climax in 1893. And I will tell you why I fight against the plays whose heroines are monsters and whose atmosphere is Mephitic. I fight against them because I love the plays of humanity and I detest the plays that are in essence irreligious and irreverent. The drama of recent times may occasionally have been too goody-goody, but grave is the responsibility of the dramatist who by the power of his art makes evil good on the stage. We don't always want to make it all right in the end. We don't want *ad infinitum* to pat virtue on the back and to execrate vice. But on the other hand it is to my mind no less than a crime to preach from the stage the ridicule of virtue and the splendid courage of suicide. I am no Puritan, I trust, no bigot, I hope; but though I have protested against the Puritan and bigot, and Philistine and Pharisee, for their uncharitable dealings with the stage all my life long, still were Puritan or bigot to stand up and preach against the danger and the disgust that are the outcome of the study of the new drama I for one could not answer one word. I could not say him nay. When it is proved to me that the public voice indorses the new drama then

I shall lay down my arms and quit the field, knowing I have done what I can for the art I have loved since childhood. But the public voice has not spoken, and I do not believe ever will speak in favor of plays that discuss indecent topics and whitewash immoral connections. The hero of *Ghosts* with his interviews with the maid servant and the heroine of *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* with her brutally cynical confessions will never be popular with the English people at large. Such plays as these may tickle the jaded dramatic appetite, but they will not last in esteem or in literature.

In all my experience I have never known a play of true humanity fail with the people. The only two plays with a hideous and indefensible moral that have ever succeeded in my time are *The New Magdalen* of Wilkie Collins and *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* of Arthur Pinero. And as you will see anon in America the better it is acted the more hideous it becomes. Whilst by its supreme cleverness this new class of dramatic literature attracts the intellectual few it will assuredly empty the theatre of those who still go clothed or wear the rags of reverence, religion and self-respect!

CLEMENT SCOTT.

LATEST ASPECTS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

It is refreshing to think that if an Englishman writes for the American public on matters of international politics he is not read with any sentiment except that of a generous neutrality. America is too large, physically and morally, to cherish the petty jealousies and suspicions that torture countries less favorably placed. For instance, it was most comical to hear comments which were made in the French press some little time ago on an innocent article contributed by an English writer to a review published at Leipzig for Germans, and written in German. The English author, without a thought of writing anything displeasing to the most sensitive "susceptibilities," alluded to the vast emigration taking place annually from Germany. He pointed out that, although the German immigrants become, in any State to which they may direct their steps, a most valuable source of national strength to their adopted country, Germany derived no benefit from this out-wandering of her people, unless it were in the prevention of disturbance at home from too great crowding. The German leaves his home, and quite as often as not he leaves it for good,—for good to himself in that he betters his condition, and possibly for good to his fatherland in that if he stayed at home and could not get a good living he might become a bad citizen. He goes and he becomes a good citizen of another country. If he goes to the United States he is specially exempted by treaty from any liability to military service at home, should he desire to return to pay a visit to his German kinsfolk. The treaty that secures him this privilege is a point in the consideration of a matter to which I wish to refer in another moment. It is a treaty which greatly encourages Germans to emigrate to America, and it gives encouragement which the German Govern-

ment has steadfastly refused to extend to Canada, or any other government either in South or North America. Well, it was pointed out in the article to which I refer that this state of things was a curious one, for Germany sending out annually so much good manhood could not make the exodus tell in her own favor as a power. All the men who leave her become the strength of alien states. She cannot call upon these citizens who leave her for any contribution to her home strength, for it is optional with them whether they return or not. It was suggested further that the countries Germany has lately taken over apparently for purposes of colonization—New Guinea, East Africa and such like—lie too much in the tropics to be of use as a home for a German population. They are too hot, and will never attract any one unless they tempted Germans, as Java tempts Dutchmen, to stay awhile in the land to make money and then return home. It was pointed out that in the case of such countries as the Argentine Republic and the temperate lands in South America, these objections on the score of climate do not exist, and that it might be possible to direct some of the superabundant stream of German emigration to these regions, so that gradually Germany might possess some power and influence in them, working for good in making some of the finest regions on the earth's surface do justice to themselves under a just government.

It would be imagined that any sane person would welcome such a possibility, but no, anything that would do good to Germany must, in the eyes of her rival for European greatness, be construed as an affront to France. It matters not that the conditions of the two countries, Germany and France, are wholly different. There is no superabundance of population in France ; on the contrary each census shows the numbers to be almost at a standstill. The Teuton, on the other hand, increases fast in numbers, and this increase must have an outlet. When the United States is full enough this redundancy in Europe must be relieved by an outpouring to other territories. Is France always to consider the formation of colonies by powers who have these arrows in their quiver an injury to herself because her family is not so numerous ? If she take such a line the woes she is laying up for herself in the future are manifold. Her own inabilities cannot give the time for the march of others. Nor need she fear to take a generous part, and to rejoice that offshoots of other nations will

spring up in other lands beyond the seas. Should any European power take measures to direct her emigrants to healthy regions, such a power would benefit herself, and the countries to which such an influx of good citizens might come could do France no harm, but good, in giving her new markets for her trade.

This argument would certainly not have made Americans angry. They would, perhaps, have said that it was a pretty wild idea, and that they themselves as the chief power in the New World would need to have a say in such a matter, but no one writing on the subject and evidently desirous of benefiting half-breed little defaulting states and the honest Teuton out-wanderer would have been held up to scorn as a hater of the American government and people. But this was what the excitable French newspaper writers said as regards any good will manifested to any German ! The author of any proposition to do Germany good must be the mortal enemy of France ! It is really most sad to see such spiteful childishness shown by grown people. Such feminine and, at the same time, ferocious fear can only be exhibited when the position of a people is weak. France is too great and too noble a country to allow her writers to pose her as a feverish lunatic, restrained only by a strait waistcoat of temporary helplessness. She is strong enough to learn the lesson of self-respect and national dignity, which is not learned by flying at the throat of all who are friendly to other powers as well as to herself.

To Americans this febrile condition is fortunately unknown. Except with a few they can look on calmly at the progress of other nations, believing the United States is too strong to be harmed, and knowing further that no one desires to harm it. The eagle's flight cannot be quickened or hindered by what King David called the " beasts of the people " on the earth below. She has her own empire, which they cannot touch, and indeed much of their contention may fall out greatly to her advantage. So it is with discussions on matters which do not now concern America, but which may interest her later on in the world's history. If the somewhat visionary speculations result in practical good, she may indeed become one of the factors of their success in aiding them for her own benefit. It is doubtful if she can forever be as free from all connections with the troubles of other people as she is at present. The eagle's flight cannot continue without a rest, and whenever she touches earth and condescends

to feed there, she must see that her food is not poisoned. Can she not do so by having some slight understanding with meaner mortals ?

The natural tendency of identical language and laws is to draw people possessing them towards each other, because they can understand each other's feelings better than can foreigners. Is it not possible that the ideas vaguely adumbrated under the name of "Imperial Federation" may only be a development of the American idea as shown in the United States Constitution ? If not alike, the ideas are certainly not antagonistic. The general conception is that just as Great Britain made the old colonies hostile to her by insisting on exactions, so through other causes, operating none the less surely, will England again see great colonies like those of Australia, the Cape, and Canada, slip away from her and become new nations, finally waging war against her. Should not some arrangement be made to interest them more vitally in the general concerns of the family of nations to which they have hitherto belonged. Both Australia and Canada have more people within their borders than the United States had at the time of their war of independence. The idea then is to retard or extinguish this tendency to separation by arrangements for mutual good. Is this action such as to harm the United States ? On the contrary, it will probably be made to favor them. It does not by any means follow that Australia or the Cape or Canada, sundered from the merely nominal imperial tie they now have, to keep, or cast away as they choose, would be more friendly to the Washington Government, than as constituent parts of a confederation of English-speaking lands, such as is contemplated by the imperial federationists. On the contrary, sundered English countries, each fighting for its own hand, would be as suspicious, jealous, irritable and combative as the French now are ; as morbidly liable to see insult where there is none, as little filled with that repose which is the sign of true strength, and as ready to join alliances with foreigners to put down or check the growth and actions of America or any other English-speaking people not in strict alliance with them. Any bond among states governed on English law would be a bond acting in favor of friendship and alliance with the United States. The want of such a bond and the gradual dismemberment of the group of nations, called rather euphemistically "British," would

tend to give the United States rivals, rather than allies. Is the United States indifferent to this ?

We may see some reasons why they had best not be indifferent, and why they had best welcome an English-speaking confederation, for that is what "Imperial Federation" would come to. Names are nothing, for they are only the passing nicknames given by other boys who happen to be in the same class at the moment, and are not abiding baptismal descriptions. We may, then, rather think of the talked-of federation as the "English" federation than as the "Imperial." The use of the word "imperial" had a good deal to do with the taxing of the Boston tea, and it is probably too expensive an ornament to be always worn in everyday life. If properly managed, such an alliance might be made a very potent league of peace, and America has shown of late by the votes to increase her fleet, that she knows that there are considerations which may make it desirable for her to have allies, and where would she find a better alliance than among her own kith and kin?

The so-called "movement" in favor of a federation alliance is very young. Very young, also, are most of the utterances that point at any special proposal. But the idea has a blood pumper that may in time send vital energy through veins which are hardly developed. There is heart in the "movement." The voices that urge quicker action, for fear that the limbs may mortify and drop off if not rapidly supplied with blood, are chiefly voices that speak from London. London is certainly a big heart, but a heart of very variable action. Very variable have been the words of the quickeners of the "movement." One of them who, some years ago, came back from America full of theories fed by a free-trade heart, declared at that time that the Western "Granges" would sweep the Eastern State Protectionists quickly to perdition. His judgment was wrong, even if his heart was in the right place. Another gentleman with an "imperial" sweep of the hand wants to command the attendance of all the representatives of all the colonies at Westminster. Westminster may understand the proposal, but Montreal, Sydney, Melbourne and Cape Town don't. Another, who has been impressed by Mr. McKinley, wishes to McKinleyize all the world which now sees the Union Jack flying. In short, the idea is so large that men are apt to become "excessive" over it. Another gentleman

some time ago gave his countrymen the wise advice "go slow." This they have done for the last few years, not because of set policy, but because so many leaders say "We must go one way," only to be answered by others as wise who say "We must go the other." Of course the best plan is to await events, and for each state of the group of mother and children to supply the needs of the others as occasion may serve. The chief helper in the cause has been Mr. McKinley, but we do not know how long that happy irritant may be "to the fore." Meantime a good deal has been quietly done. A conference held in London at the incitation of the government of Lord Salisbury gave opportunity to leading men in the colonies to say what they wanted and what they did not want, and the interstate strengthening of armaments for mutual defence dates from that time, for up to that period each country had gone its own way under a half-and-half understanding with departmental chiefs in the mother land. The withdrawal of regular troops from the larger colonies has certainly induced these to augment and improve the quantity and quality of their home forces, so that in the event of trouble the imperial and home army and navy may join with effect. The main difficulty is the old one, namely, how to have representation and taxation joined. Armaments involve expense, and of the necessity of expense the colony insists on judging, and is apt to believe the mother country's warnings an old woman's fears. None of these new nations have been purged by war of their cocksureness and of the pleasant conceit that they are invulnerable because they have never been wounded. I speak only, of course, of the last forty or fifty years. The Cape wars with blacks and Boers cannot be counted as having wrung any withers.

It is obvious, then, that any heavy increase in war power can only be arranged by conference. The first conference has been successful in this regard, and it will probably be followed by others. But there is no use in speaking of long forward steps to Americans or English until some necessity arises to make it patent to the people that they must devise some novelty. We all hate novelty, unless it comes in the form of a new dance, romance or theological dispute. We have walked on our feet too long to admire the novelty of being told suddenly we must take to standing on our head. Change is disagreeable unless it be in the shape of new dishes at dinner. We don't want a change

that may deprive us of dinner, or even much alter its hour. It is this innate English conservatism which has made America and Britain wait to take "occasion by the hand" when she came, but we do not like to lead out occasion to make her dance a solo. And as with matters of land and sea defence, so it is also with fiscal matters. Each geographical group must go its own way until it sees it is its interest to make conjoint plans. Geography determines political economy more than do the text books of the philosophers, who take no account of the wilfulness of human caprice. The people make fiscal tariffs to benefit powerful sections of population for a time. The philosophers say they are all wrong and their children will find it out. The people reply that their children will shape their laws in their own time. And no doubt those children will have other philosophers to tell them they are wrong should they pursue a policy of their own, though it may be the reverse of that condemned by the philosophers of our day.

The idea of a Federal union between what are practically independent communities, separated from each other by wide oceans, is a new thing. Similar conditions have never prevailed in the history of the world. Never has a mother country produced so marvellous an array of colonies, chiefly consisting of people of her own blood, wholly adopting her own laws and rejoicing in her tongue, while at the same time insisting on a totally separate political frame for the picture which they delight to paint as English. The notion that they can be united for certain common purposes is natural. America need certainly not look with prejudiced eye on such a project. Such work for the world's good may on the contrary have her sympathy. Is there not more sympathy with American aspirations among Australians and English than there is among Italians, French or Russians? There is no doubt that there is. Trade and language go much together. Would it not be for the United States' advantage that it should have the sympathy of a sound, strong English federation in any dispute with the outside foreigners? Self-contained as the United States is, and quite able to adjust any little trouble within its borders, it is quite conceivable that the friendship of its own kin beyond sea may be worth more to it in time than the indifference with which its national life is usually regarded by the average careless foreigner.

A league of kindred states that would make maritime war difficult, nay almost impossible, might have an understanding with the United States, while America kept outside any engagement, and might thus insure the very neutrality which the United States would desire to keep and which might otherwise be endangered. As their own foreign element, Italian, or German, or French Canadian gets stronger and more segregated in special spots in the Union it is quite conceivable that race or national questions under some specious name may trouble them, and that the "national" population may love to hoist a tricolor or some foreign flag in preference to the Stars and Stripes. The French in the northeast corner might well form such a "national" cave of Adullam. Then how about the foreign elements in the South, half Congo and half Creole? Yes, these things may be out of sight for the present, but the present becomes the distant past very soon in politics, and an English "Bund" is not a bad antidote to certain schemes and dreams which are very un-English, using that adjective in its best sense—the sense in which we each and all of us desire to keep "our noble England whole," if that England is to mean the power to spread abroad the principles of ordered freedom as exhibited in the laws and in the language of those who trained themselves into self-government and whose patriotism is not the unbridled reign of selfish passion, but the outcome of the experience of those who are not young in the knowledge of what is license and what is liberty.

LORNE.

THE COMING TARIFF LEGISLATION.

BY REPRESENTATIVE BENTON M'MILLIN, OF TENNESSEE, REPRESENTATIVE JOHN DALZELL, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM J. BRYAN, OF NEBRASKA; ALL OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

THE HON. BENTON M'MILLIN:

WE HAVE now tried the tariff law of 1890 for three years. During that period the country has been under the highest rate of duty ever imposed here. Its authors boldly announced that it was not framed for revenue, but for protection. It was put into operation when the country was in a prosperous condition. To see what should be done in revising it, let us examine the nature of the measure, and the result of its operation.

It is the accumulation of many years of increase in tariff rates. When we started on the up grade of protection in 1861 we were told it was only temporary, to meet the expenses of a costly war, and when that war was over we should have a reduction. The war closed, but no relief came except to the manufacturers. The internal tax imposed on them when the import duties were increased was repealed. There was, it is true, a horizontal cut made of ten per cent. in the tariff rates in 1872, but only a few months elapsed before it was restored without adequate excuse. After many efforts by the Democracy to revise the tariff without success, the question was intensified by President Cleveland's famous message of 1887 to Congress urging tariff reform. The Mills Bill was framed and put through the House only to fail in the Republican Senate. When the Republicans came into full power under President Harrison they set about making a new tariff which outstripped all other protection measures, which should give capital

remunerative dividends, labor constant and better-paying employment, and prosperity to the entire country. According to its advocates and framers an industrial millennium was to dawn upon the entire country. The rates upon every schedule except one or two were greatly increased, while the taxes on many luxuries were permitted to stand where they were or were lowered ; those on the necessaries of life were made higher.

The manufacturers were called in and allowed to frame the schedules in which they were interested, and raised the duties to suit themselves. Whole sections of the bill were thus framed, and inserted bodily as they were made by interested parties ; and are now a part of the law of the land. This is notably true of sections increasing the duty on women's dress goods, which was prepared by one of the greatest manufacturers of those goods. It was true of others. Does anyone deny this ? The members of the Ways and Means Committee who "edited" the bill will not deny it. Sixty-five million people groan to-day under exactions prepared by interested makers of the articles taxed, and placed in the bill by their dictation. Is it strange that the burdens were made too grievous to be borne ? Is it surprising that they made rates such that none but themselves could flourish. The framers of that bill found the average rate of duty a little more than 40 per cent., they left but little (if any) less then 60 per cent. They knew the farmer would complain about having the price of his clothing, his household and kitchen furniture, and his implements of industry thus increased by excessive taxes intended to enhance prices, while the price of the produce of his farm was fixed in the free-trade markets of the world in competition with the most poorly paid labor. They went through the farce of increasing largely the duty on corn, wheat, rye, and barley. They evidently thought the people very gullible. They put additional taxes upon raw materials, and still further weighted the industries of the country and oppressed the people using the goods. They repealed the sugar tax because nine-tenths of it went into the Treasury ; and gave a bounty on sugar which was raised by a tax on other articles of necessity where three-fourths of the cost of taxation went to the manufacturers. Other bounties were provided—notably a bounty on silk.

Under pretext of bringing about reciprocity with other nations—which in this case was free trade on a small scale and to a

favored few—they surrendered to the President the right to impose and remit taxes without calling on Congress or consulting the people.

Under this tariff gigantic trusts have been formed to restrict productions and put up prices. Whilst it is not contended that the formation of a trust is never seen or is impossible except under the influence of tariff laws, it is certainly true that their organization has been and is greatly facilitated by tariff laws which destroy or limit competition in production.

Such are some of the provisions of the law of 1890 which the Democratic party is called upon to revise. I defy anyone to show one laborer whose wages it has increased in the three years it has existed. A period of greater financial depression was never known in our history. Under it unemployed labor ready to work has begged bread in the streets and almost starved at home. Under it furnaces have been banked, factories have been shut down and foundries have ceased to glow. Under it there have been innumerable lockouts and reductions of wages. Under it the great increase of tariff rates has been accompanied by no corresponding increase in the wages of labor. Under it the rich farm lands of the country have continued to fall in price. To show that I do not overdraw the picture I quote from an article contributed by Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the September number of this REVIEW. After lauding the prosperity prior to 1890, he gives this gloomy but true account of years since that date :

"What a contrast to this picture the position of our country presents to-day. It is doubtful if a more disastrous financial cyclone ever blasted a country to such an extent in so short a time. . . . We see the woollen and cotton mills stop in New England, the blast furnaces closed throughout the South, banks and business firms failing to an extent before unknown, and hundreds of thousands of workmen idle, when before every one was employed. And while a few thousands engaged in business suffer, the sufferers among the wage-earning classes are already numbered by hundreds of thousands. The country has fallen from the apex of prosperity to the depths of industrial depression. Adversity has taken the place of prosperity, stagnation in business has succeeded activity, confidence has given place to distrust, and, as is always the case when business is disturbed, the chief part of the loss and suffering is falling, and must fall, upon the workingmen—upon the poor millions and not upon the rich few."

It is true the great manufacturer, whose own works unfortunately have confirmed the truth of his gloomy description, attributes the ills to other causes. Still the unprejudiced must

admit that very much has come from a system of unequal taxation, and all will admit the high taxes imposed have not been a remedy for any ill that afflicted the land.

And now the grave responsibility of revising and reducing this system of oppressive tariff devolves upon the Democratic party by reason of the great victory of 1892. For a quarter of a century that party has exhorted the people to return to the Democratic idea of reduced duties. By an unprecedented victory this party again comes into full power, and cannot and will not surrender the cause of tariff reform either by non action or inadequate action. To do so would be to acknowledge themselves either insincere or incapable. It would betray the high trust reposed in them. The Democratic party does not seek to tear down or injure our industries. Under it they flourished in the past. Under it they will flourish in the future. It seeks rather to place them on a firmer and surer basis; to extend their markets; to give them cheap raw materials, and then require them in return to forego some of the exactions they have been making upon our people. The people of this country can make more than they can eat or wear, and must find a market for their surplus or be reduced to enforced idleness periodically. Protection in Germany and France is often cited to justify it here. Nothing is proven by the citation. The situation of our people is entirely different from that of those countries. There, from half a million to three-quarters of a million of men in the prime of life, at the period of their greatest earning power, are taken from industrial pursuits and placed in the army, where they cease to be producers. All the time they go on consuming. Here we have no great navy, and no vast standing army drawing the flower of our young men from the industries and placing them where they cease to create wealth. Hence we have more need for markets to take the products of their labor.

Hearings are now in progress before the Ways and Means Committee and the manufacturers are urging non-action. Certain prints that perennially champion their cause take up the refrain and clamor in unison against tariff revision; or as they sometimes put it alliteratively—against "tinkering with the tariff". This is no new sound. It has always been heard when reduction of duties was proposed, but never when an increase of rates was asked. They never complained at "tariff tinkering" when it was upwards, but abhor it when it has a tendency downwards.

When the country is prosperous they claim it will destroy prosperity to decrease the rates. When it is in panic they say it will retard prosperity to reduce them. Therefore, if we follow them we could never reduce taxes. There should be a general revision of the tariff and reduction of duties to a revenue basis. The reduction should be greatest in the necessaries of life, and less on luxuries. So far as may be, raw materials should be made free, that manufactories may be unhampered in the competition of the world, and goods be supplied at a cheaper cost to our people. The right of the President to impose and remit taxes should be taken away as undemocratic and unAmerican. Taxes should be substituted for bounties, it being the object of government to impose taxes "for revenue" to carry on government; and not to raise money from one citizen to be paid over to another to increase his profits. Make the tariff what it should be. When this is done, we can regulate our revenues, as we do now, by our internal revenue taxes.

If more money is needed it can be obtained by an increase of the tax on spirits and by such other internal taxes as the Congress may in its discretion impose. Among other feasible means is a legacy tax which never makes its exactions till the party who worked for the money no longer needs it; till one is to get it who never earned it. There is no point where Government can with more propriety make a reasonable exaction for that protection through which alone it could have been accumulated than on large legacies and inheritances.

BENTON M'MILLIN.

THE HON. JOHN DALZELL:

THE interest generally attaching to the tariff question at this time has little relation to the correctness or incorrectness of any theory. Throughout the country, free-trader, protectionist, and the tariff reformer—who denies that he is either—alike compulsorily stand paralyzed in the presence of uncertainty. All men know that Congress is to revise the tariff; it is doubtful whether anyone knows how it is to be revised. Accurate foreknowledge now of coming legislation would mean fortune to its possessor. Doubt and distrust rule the hour. And not without good reason; the elements of uncertainty are many.

The party that for thirty years, with marvellous success,

guided the destinies of the nation, has been expelled from power, and responsibility rests upon a party trained not to up-building but to down-pulling, not to construction but to opposition. Conceding to it the fullest measure of patriotic purpose, the fact remains that in this generation it has not had a chance to put into practice the art of governing. Nor does it appeal by its history to the confidence of the American people. While it brings to its responsible task a recent record of inexperience it brings also an earlier record full of disaster.

One of the characteristic features of Republican rule is the system of protection. By its means home industries have been developed to a variety, importance and wealth difficult of accurate measurement, and the field of remunerative labor enlarged to the wonderful material prosperity and moral and social advancement of the wage-earner. The assertion is incontrovertible that never in our history were the necessaries of life cheaper, or wages and the condition of labor on a higher plane, than when Mr. Harrison went out of office. Without claiming this condition of things to be due solely to the system of protection, it must be admitted that that system is entitled to a large, if not the largest, amount of credit therefor. But even if it be granted that the protective system had nothing to do with it, still it must be conceded that a large proportion of our people believe to the contrary; and a prevailing popular sentiment is potential in influencing social and enconomic conditions.

Suddenly, inexplicably, the people—as was their right—at the last Presidential election changed for a time the party of their choice, and placed the Democratic party in charge of all the departments of government. That party came into power upon a platform that would reverse the industrial policy of a third of a century.

A glance at the history of that platform's adoption will not be without profit. Had it been adopted as originally reported to the Convention it would have contained, with respect to the tariff, this declaration:

"In making tariff reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved."

This declaration the Convention deliberately refused to make, and in strong contrast with it thus announced the party creed:

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, etc., etc."

If we could accept a Democratic platform as meaning what it says there would not now be any uncertainty as to the future of our tariff policy. Assuming honesty in a Democratic convention in formulating the creed of the Democratic party, the horoscope of our tariff future is easy to be read.

Protective duties are to be abolished; they are unconstitutional, and a tariff whose sole purpose shall be revenue is to be enacted, that is to say a tariff so levied as to raise the greatest amount of revenue by the imposition of the least rate of duty. The legitimate subjects of such duty are the necessaries of life, tea, coffee, sugar and the like.

The result of such tariff is easy to predict. The mine, the mill, the furnace and the factory must cease to operate, or the owner thereof must put himself on the plane of his foreign business rival, and so in the last analysis the burden will fall on the wage-earner reduced to the level of his foreign competitor.

But how is it possible to believe that the platform of the party now in power necessarily indicates that party's intended policy?

In the remarkable debate recently concluded in the House of Representatives on the silver question nothing was made so conspicuous as the uncertainty attaching to the proper interpretation of the Democratic platform. The most familiar instance of each day's debate was the assertion by one Democrat that the money plank of that platform was a distinct pledge in favor of free and unlimited silver coinage, and the assertion by another Democrat that it was exactly the reverse. By Democratic construction the platform seems to have been intended for convenient service, equally well suited to Colorado and to New York and New England, a good enough lure alike for Wall Street and the prairie.

Furthermore, time and again in that same debate the announcement was made that party platforms mean nothing, and that the candidate is the exponent of party principles and policy. How much this means, a glance at the vote upon the bill repeal-

ing the purchase clause of the Sherman Act and the attitude of prominent Democrats with respect thereto will make very apparent. Representatives in great numbers, and grave and reverend senators, heretofore the advocates, in speech, in the press and in magazine articles, of free and unlimited silver coinage, jostled each other in their mad haste to sustain the policy recommended by the President. Like Saul of Tarsus, they were suddenly converted by a great light. The light, we may allow, came from heaven, but by way of reflection from the White House.

With respect to tariff revision there is as much ground for uncertainty as to Democratic intentions as there was in connection with silver legislation. It is true that the Chicago Convention refused to embody in its declaration of principles a denial of any intention to injure any domestic industry. It is equally true that, having deliberately rejected this proposition, it declared in terms that a tariff except for revenue was unconstitutional. But then, again, it is also true, that Mr. Cleveland has uniformly coupled with his declarations in favor of tariff revision a pledge against harmful interference with industrial interests and the wages of labor.

"In a readjustment," said he, "of our tariff, the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers." That he is not a believer in the doctrine of Calhoun and the Chicago platform that protection is unconstitutional is clear. He says "it may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperilling the existence of our manufacturing interests."

Will the party in power embody in legislation the declaration of its platform and erase from the statute book protective duties as unconstitutional; or will it follow the voice of its leader and revise the tariff, "with especial precaution against imperilling the existence of our manufacturing interests"?

This is a question upon the answer to which tens of thousands of American men, women and children anxiously stand waiting in the hush of idleness. It ought not to remain unanswered long.

No forecast of the future of legislation can approach accuracy that ignores the dominant influence of local interests. Free trade

is always a lovely thing in theory and on paper, and sometimes a good thing in practice; but the latter is the case only when it operates in some other person's congressional district. The average voter—and his member of Congress does not differ from him—may be very devoted to principle when making party platforms, but when laws are to be made it is interest rather than principle that he wants considered. Free raw material would, beyond doubt, be a prominent feature of any bill framed by a Democratic Congress if there was no raw material in any Democratic district; if, however, such material should exist in such district, it is safe to say that it would not be deprived of tariff protection—at least, by the vote of the congressman therefrom. It will be remembered that when the Mills Bill came from the Ways and Means Committee, in the Fiftieth Congress, it had a conformity to theory which it sadly lacked when passed upon by the House. One by one articles produced in Democratic districts were transferred from the free to the dutiable list, and, in some cases, duties were advanced, as the price of Democratic votes.

Aside from this influence proceeding from particular districts, it must be borne in mind that there is a dominant force in the prevailing popular opinion which always influences legislation. And, whatever claims may be made from a partisan standpoint as to the real meaning of the political revolution of the last election, it would seem impossible of belief that the American people really intend to abandon the policy of protection. Any party undertaking to legislate upon that assumption must anticipate speedy rebuke and defeat.

It is to be remembered that the National Treasury is now in a depleted condition, and that its main source of replenishment must be customs duties. To accurately foretell the effect upon the revenue of a change in duties is an utter impossibility, and there probably never was a time in our history when there was more danger to be apprehended from tariff revision than now. This fact is, of course, appreciated by those in control of legislation and must largely influence their judgment against any radical experimental measures.

The elements that produce uncertainty in the present situation are the newness of the Democratic party to power, the meaninglessness of Democratic platforms as outlining party legislation, and the existence of a divided sentiment amongst Democrats upon

the question of protection ; while some elements to be considered on the other hand are the effect on legislation of local interests, the influence of general popular opinion, the necessity for revenue, and the existing conditions which render radical or experimental legislation dangerous.

It being generally accepted as inevitable that the tariff is to be revised, it seems to be of the utmost importance that it be done speedily. Capital and labor alike, to a large extent, stand idle awaiting the result, desirous of adapting themselves to new conditions. And if there are to be new conditions, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to give some time to capital and labor to prepare to meet them. No tariff law ought to be enacted to go into immediate effect ; its operation should be postponed a reasonable time so as to interfere as little as possible with the prosecution of the business of the country.

JOHN DALZELL.

THE HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN :

IN so far as elections can determine a political principle the elections of 1890 and 1892 have committed this country to a tariff for revenue only. The immediate cause of this emphatic expression of public sentiment was due to the attempt on the part of the protected interests to push their battle line a little further forward, notwithstanding a popular demand for tariff reduction. This last move, on the part of those who, grown rich at public expense, added arrogance to their wealth, focussed public attention upon the issue and in the succeeding conflict all arguments in favor of the protective principle were met and answered.

In the earlier days of the Republic the main argument made in favor of a protective tariff was that it would encourage the establishment of new industries and guard them from competition with older foreign rivals until they became firmly rooted. Such a tariff was intended to be temporary only. Mr. Hamilton said in his report on manufactures in 1791 :

"The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy, because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success."

Mr. Clay said in 1833 :

"The theory of protection supposes, too, that after a certain time the protected arts will have acquired such strength and perfection as will enable them subsequently, unaided, to stand against foreign competition."

And again in 1840 :

"No one, Mr. President, in the commencement of the protective policy, ever supposed that it was to be perpetual."

Time, however, exhausted that argument. The child becomes ashamed to nurse as it grows older, but the industrial infant is not separated from the breast by any such sentimental reason. It is as scantily endowed with modesty as it is plentifully supplied with appetite, but, as the industry could no longer conceal its corpulent body and its extending limbs in childhood's attire, it sought some new excuse for continued public support, while it changed its attitude from that of a temporary ward of the nation to that of a permanent charge upon all profitable industries. The contention now is that we are not able to compete upon even terms with industries in foreign lands and that the government must make good the difference either directly by a bounty, as in the case of sugar production, or indirectly by a protective tariff, as in the case of wool.

Mr. Lawrence, of Ohio, in addressing the wool growers in a speech made about two years ago, said :

"And these are the existing conditions. In Australia merino wool can be and is produced at a less cost that it can be in the United States, because (1) pasturage can be had there for a few cents an acre, and (2) the climate there is such that substantially no winter feeding is required. The same is true of South America."

As protectionists do not claim that their system will reduce the price of pasturage or moderate the climate so as to make winter feeding unnecessary, they must defend the wool tariff as a perpetual tax. The same is true of other industries where the tariff is maintained for the ostensible purpose of paying higher wages than are paid abroad. As it is not contended that protection will finally reduce wages and thus enable us to reduce the tariff, protection in these cases must be justified as a permanent system by which the price of certain goods shall be increased by operation of law for the immediate benefit of those who produce the goods and for the pretended benefit ultimately of every one else. The operation of the tariff is simple. Under a 50 per cent. duty an article worth $1 is imported, the 50 per cent. duty added,

and the consumer buys it for $1.50, plus expenses and profits. This tax is either paid by the foreigner who sells to us, or by the consumer in this country, who finally uses the article. If paid by the foreigner, then in the case above referred to the foreigner reduces his price from $1.50 to $1, so that when the duty is paid the price with the tariff will be the same that it would have been without the tariff. To show the absurdity of this position it is not necessary to inquire why the protectionist advocates such a variety of duties (why not treat all foreign nations alike and subject them to equal duties?), but it is sufficient to say that a tariff which is not paid by the consumer is of no benefit to the protected industry. If the producer of the protected article receives the same price for his goods with or without a tariff, what difference does it make to him whether the duty be high or low? If he cannot compete without the aid of a tariff, how can it help him except by enabling him to charge a higher price for his product? How can he charge a higher price unless he can compel the consumer to pay it? And how can he compel the consumer to pay it unless the tariff increases to the consumer the price of the competing article? The only reasonable or logical purpose of the tariff, therefore, is to compel the consumer to buy at home at a high price by preventing a purchase abroad at a lower price. It is here that the principle of protection violates the right of the individual, and its establishment disregards the spirit if not the letter of the constitution.

In what is known as the "Topeka, Kansas, Case" (20 *Wall*, 655), the decision of the Court contains these words:

"To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms.

"If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the innkeeper, the banker, the builder, the steamboat-owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town."

In other words, it means that the sheriff, representing the

power of the law, shall not collect from the individual a sum to be given by the government as a bounty to a more favored individual. Will it be contended, then, that while this cannot be done directly by a tax or a bounty, that it is more lawful for the sheriff to hold one individual while the more favored individual collects the bounty from him himself through an increased price secured by a protective tariff ?

If it is difficult to defend the principle of transferring one man's money to another man's pocket by law, it is equally difficult to defend the policy of such a system. Whenever a legislative body announces that it has opened up business for that purpose, it is at once beseiged by those who seek to use the taxing power for private gain.

Assuming that no member can be bribed, either directly by cash in hand, or indirectly by the promise of contributions to campaign funds, or by pledges of the votes of employees, there is still great danger that the beneficiary will obtain an unfair advantage over the tax-payer, because the former is ever present and clamorous, while the latter silently bears the load because it is impossible for him to present any petition or protest other than that which he places in the ballot-box. He who defends protection must prove, first, that it is right in principle ; second, that it is wise ; third, that its application is necessary to the extent asked. It is safe to say that the advocates of the system do not attempt to establish these three necessary propositions. They presume that it is right, assume that it is wise, and take it for granted that it is necessary. In attempting to show that we must have a tariff duty in order to enable our industries to exist they content themselves with showing a difference in wages per day in favor of our employees, whereas the only test is the labor cost of the article produced. The pay per day is wholly immaterial. The labor cost is material. In most of our industries, while manufacturers pay higher wages per day they get more work for the same amount of money than foreign manufacturers. There are innumerable instances where our manufacturers compete in foreign markets without protection with the pauper labor of the world, and yet where they persistenly demand a tariff, in order to produce goods for sale in this country, where they have the advantage of transportation, even if they had no tariff.

In order to maintain a protective system the beneficiaries of

the tariff have been compelled to stand together, and those who were demanding a tariff upon raw material could count on the assistance of those favoring a tariff on manufactured goods, although the tariff on the raw material was a burden to the manufacturer. So long as raw material is taxed our manufacturers are at a disadvantage when thrown into competition with those producing like goods in countries where no such tax is levied. To relieve our industries to some extent of this disadvantage the law has provided for a rebate to the exporting manufacturer nearly equal to the duty paid on the imported raw material. This provision, however, offers to the manufacturer an inducement to buy his raw material abroad rather than in this country, and in that way operates against the home producer of raw material, and it also enables the manufacturer to sell his product abroad cheaper than he can sell it at home. The fact that the manufacturer is thus encouraged to sell to the foreigner for less than to the man living by the side of the factory is one cause of the uprising against the system.

In the reform of the tariff which will soon be made the duty will in all probability be removed from a number of articles classed as raw material. Those who consume manufactured articles recognize that any tariff placed upon the material from which the goods are made must at last find its way to the consumer, and those who are anxious that our industries may be employed, not a portion, but all, of the year, recognize that the only way to secure this is to place manufacturers on even terms in respect to their material with foreign producers of like articles.

The reduction of the tariff instead of resulting in damage to this country and its industries will give employment to more people and will give to the consumers of protected articles an advantage by taking away from the manufacturer the right to impose not only unjust but unnecessary burdens upon the rest of the people.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A NEW SCIENCE AT THE FAIR.

ANTHROPOLOGY is a new science in America, although for thirty years it has attracted considerable attention in Europe. In order to show its development in the United States, Department "M" of the World's Columbian Exposition was established, and Prof. Frederick W. Putnam, Director of the Peabody Museum, one of the foremost anthropologists in the country, was appointed chief.

The Department recognizes three main divisions of the subject: Physical Anthropology and Sociology, Ethnology, Archæology. These seem at first sight dry and uninteresting to the general reader. Recognizing this, the exhibit has been so managed that all will be pleased. The Indian villages are near the building, the reproduction of gates, statues, basreliefs, and hieroglyphics from ancient Maya cities of Yucatan are directly in front; the costumes and objects illustrating the customs of both living and extinct peoples are within.

Physical anthropology is of more importance to men and women of today than either of the other divisions given above. It deals with the present and the past. Many subdivisions might be mentioned, but suffice it to refer to several of the more important—the study of the human body and its skeleton (the cranium in particular)—the physical peculiarities of different tribes compared—the practice of deforming the skull in infancy, etc.

Sociology compares religions, studies folk lore, traditions and superstitions. It deals with society and the mind. At the annual meetings of the American Folk Lore Society many papers are read upon sociology of more than usual interest. Myths have been traced from one nation to another around the whole world.

Criminal anthropology is attracting much attention at present. Not many years ago Lombroso, the great Italian anthropologist, advanced the opinion that crime was the result of disease—that criminals were born—that crime was hereditary. He instituted a series of measurements, which are observed in all large cities and by prison officials, whereby criminals may be identified by more certain proof than by photography. Men have investigated the thoughts and actions of barbarous tribes of one part of the world, and then compared notes with others who studied among savages in other regions. All this study of the mind, of both savage and civilized man, has been largely conducted under the auspices of anthropological societies. In Paris, London, Berlin, Washington and New York are societies whose members are devoted to research.

In Ethnology proper, in both the Government exhibit and Department

"M," the houses, implements, ornaments, utensils, and costumes of savage and barbarous people are truly shown. A series of groups has been constructed representing the old skin tepees of several Plains tribes. The figures are of plaster and show the facial characteristics of each tribe remarkably well. The scenes, which represent children at play, women dressing hides, hunters cutting up a deer, are strikingly life like, and I can truly say that at no former exposition has been exhibited their equal.

Another display illustrates the manufacture of stone implements. The specimens are in cases, and above each case is a series of photographs and maps showing the various stages in the process of making the implement, and also the quarries from which the stone was obtained.

It is very encouraging to those who have the welfare of this new science at heart to observe the character of the work now being done in the United States. Thirty years ago travellers among the tribes of the West took brief notes, made a few sketches or paintings, and gathered up a collection of gewgaws and trinkets, published books, and gave their cabinets to museums. Then there were no great linguistic maps; no one worked for years on a bibliography of Siouxan tongues; nobody spent several thousands of dollars in a single season's exploration of Ohio Valley mounds and village sites; and, as for criminal and physical anthropology, they were not dreamed of.

What awakened the present prevailing interest? The story is a long one, but I will make it as brief as possible. Fifty years ago, at St. Acheul, near Paris, there lived a man named Boucher de Perthes, whose neighbors said he was crazy. In the early fifties he published a book which was destined to raise a hub-bub in scientific circles and among the clergy. He claimed to find in early quaternary gravels flint implements made and used by an ape-like man. He also found associated with them the bones of extinct animals. For a few years the world laughed, and Boucher de Perthes went quietly about finding the implements. In the latter part of the fifties two Englishmen went to France and helped De Perthes in his investigations. They were both good geologists, and became convinced of the truth and importance of the Frenchman's claim. Supported by men of unquestioned ability, an interest on the part of scientific men was awakened, and similar finds were made all over western Europe. Before his death De Perthes saw, with great satisfaction, quaternary man fully established.

From France the news of the discoveries spread over the world—men became interested in prehistoric times; and caverns, rock shelters and terraces were assiduously searched for evidences. To-day Europe can divide her quaternary man into several epochs, bring him through polished stone, bronze and iron ages, to our present age of steel.

Men naturally turned their attention to kindred studies. Some considered living savages, read about them, dwelt with them. Others studied the wretched, the superstitious, or the peculiar among ourselves. And so the new science of anthropology was established, and given a dignified and important place among the other sciences.

The investigators in prehistoric Archæology have given food for thought to the clergy and to the student, and have furnished interesting data to the general reader. They have filled in the links in the chain of Egyptian history; they have told the Bible student all about the primitive occupations of Palestine, the adoration of the sun, the worship of the serpent and of Baäl. They have given men a pre-Columbian history of Mexico, of Yucatan, of Oceanic Island tribes and of our own Mississippi

Valley. Their work in the light of modern science is critical, thorough and ceaseless. The savants have penetrated every corner of the globe, and their literature embodies upwards of 20,000 volumes in many languages.

The Smithsonian Institution has faithfully explored, collected and published concerning the ancient remains within the limits of this country. No matter what may be said by jealous curators of smaller museums its collections stand foremost in size and importance. Second are those gathered by Department "M" of the Fair. Here is represented the pre-Columbian life of every tribe of size, from the most wretched Eastern savages, whose oyster shell mounds are so numerous along the Atlantic Coast, to the village sites of the Pacific tribes. From the Ohio Valley there is a great collection. Much has been written concerning the "Mound Builders" and their state of culture. Some have maintained them to have been highly civilized; others have said they were but intelligent savages. All the museums of the Central States are filled with relics from their burial places. The Chief of the Department desired to do away with the prevailing erroneous impression concerning mound-building tribes. He wished to make an extensive exhibit to illustrate the life of the Mississippi Valley tribes as it was. He appointed me as an assistant and told me to find the largest and most promising village and burial site of pre-Columbian times, in the Ohio Valley, and to dig over the whole of it. Accordingly a survey located upon the North Fork of Paint Creek, in Ross County, Ohio. It comprised a good anatomist and artist and several subordinates. There were at this place (the Hopewell Farm) twenty earth mounds of various sizes and two village sites. The group was surrounded by an embankment some four feet in height. Originally the wall stood at an altitude of eight feet. The number of acres inclosed were one hundred and ten. During the course of the explorations we gathered the largest collection ever taken from a mound group. It shed a flood of light upon the primitive occupations of Ohio.

The exhibit includes the concessions of foreign museums. One of the largest displays is that from Peru. The collection of bronze, copper, gold and silver is especially complete. In pottery there is a great variety, varying from minute funeral urns to large jars, five feet high. Most of the pottery is in effigy. The human face sculptures are not grotesque as are those of the Aztecs, but faithfully portray the features of the Peruvians. Thus the pottery is of paramount importance. The mummies comprise three hundred persons. They do not in any way resemble those of Egypt. Those who see the exhibits of Department "M" will better understand the importance and the interest of this new study. It is to be hoped that Americans will take more interest in anthropology. Those who are in the field or in the museum have much to do; they need co-laborers. To the man of means the science offers a pleasant and profitable occupation. He can aid the explorers, contribute to the support of a museum or help a worthy investigator publish the result of his observations. In return for his outlay he receives the commendation of intelligent people, and the assurance that he has taught the world something new concerning man and his works.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

CO-EDUCATION IN THE WEST.

IT IS, perhaps, difficult for persons living in the Eastern States, where the admission of women to men's colleges is an innovation and a hard won privilege, to appreciate the absolutely matter-of-course way in which co-

education is regarded in the West. Nevertheless, it is in the West, where the experiment has been most frankly tried, that doubts are beginning to arise among those best acquainted with the system.

In the older places it has required a certain amount of courage for a woman to avail herself of the permission to enjoy the advantages of a college or university where men are largely in the majority, and she is apt to be a person who has arrived at years of discretion, who is already well advanced in her studies, and who has some earnestness of purpose. In short, the experiment has not, in those institutions, reached a point where the women as a rule, are really exactly on the same level as the men. Moreover, in such places they are usually guarded and cared for in a way somewhat in conformity with the ideas of propriety that prevail in an older society than that of our Western States.

In order to see the experiment of co-education tried fairly, fully and without prejudice, we should go to a Western college town. There the girls are no older, no more advanced and no more serious than the boys. They all go from the high school to the university. Some colleges have dormitories and boarding-houses for the girls, but the more general custom, particularly in the larger institutions, is for them to select their boarding places quite independently. It is an extremely rare thing for a parent to ask any one to assume the least control over the girl. She would resent it, and it is not considered necessary. She is as independent as her brother, free to make what friends she likes, to keep what hours she likes. Her comings and goings concern no one but herself. Luckily, she generally chooses to do well, according to her lights, but, frequently with the best intentions in the world, she makes unfortunate mistakes.

I believe it is claimed by the advocates of co-education that the system will tend to elevate young men, both mentally and morally, and will especially improve their manners. This latter claim scarcely seems well founded when one observes the extreme familiarity with which the young men in our Western colleges are apt to treat their girl classmates. Doubtless they do not mean to be indecorous or uncivil; they treat women as well as they treat one another, and no better. But, unfortunately, it is just the old-fashioned attitude towards women that is relied on to elevate college men. There are, of course, many who behave with perfect propriety and treat women with all the respect that can be desired, but *en masse* they have not a respectful manner, and instances of ill-bred familiarity can be multiplied by any one who chooses to take the trouble to use his eyes.

In the matter of study, it may be doubted whether the lessons learned by a young man and a young woman, sitting out of doors under the shelter of one sun-umbrella, are really as well learned as they would be under less distracting circumstances. As to the claim that the standard of morality will be raised by the constant companionship of women, I think that any professor who has worked under both systems will say that there is about the same element of lawlessness to contend with in one college as in another, and that gambling, for instance,—the great vice of the West,—is probably not diminished by the fact that women are admitted to the colleges. In considering the effect of co-education on women, it must be understood, once for all, that only the average college girl is considered, and that there are many brilliant exceptions to all that is said of either boys or girls as a class.

In respect to scholarship the girls are on the whole equal to the men, perhaps in some directions superior. Doubtless the circumstance of co-

education is more stimulating to them than to the men. For this there are various sufficiently obvious reasons. They are in the minority, and they know the usual masculine criticisms of the feminine intellect. So far the stimulus is healthy. But there does exist also the excitement of the emotional nature. I have the authority of a woman, who is a physician and a graduate of a co-educational college, for saying that the conditions are too exciting and the physical strain is too great. Of course there are always idlers who get along as easily as possible, but that is not the class of students whom one especially considers.

However reluctantly one may approach that part of the subject which deals with the relations of the students to each other as men and women and not as students, it is a point that, in any fair consideration of the whole matter, cannot be shirked. Under all the circumstances, how would it be possible that there should not be regrettable indiscretions? In the case of an Eastern college that some years ago opened its doors to women every precaution was taken for their care. They were obliged to live in a building of their own, and were placed under the care of a lady of social position and experience, whose sole duty was to look after them and instruct them as far as they would receive instruction in social matters, and to protect them by acting as their chaperone. And yet, even there, annoying things have happened. Thoughtless girls, innocent in intention, merely ignorant and wilful, have committed acts of indiscretion, the memory of which undoubtedly causes them the keenest mortification. In such cases, if the escapade is discovered, the offenders are promptly and quietly sent home and the whole affair is consigned to oblivion.

If such things can happen under such circumstances, what can be expected where there is no safeguard but the sense of propriety of an unsophisticated and often wilful girl? It cannot be repeated too often that the majority of young men and women attending college conduct themselves discreetly but the minority is large enough to be considered, and many a woman must blush when in maturer years she remembers the escapades of her college life. That most of the girls come out unscathed from dangerous situations is no reason why they should be exposed to such dangers.

The people who send their sons and daughters to college are not in general the ones who know the drawbacks of co-education, but those drawbacks are beginning to be recognized by persons who live in college towns, and particularly by professors and teachers. I do not wish to draw too dark a picture nor to underrate the really good work that has been done by both men and women in our Western colleges. With all their drawbacks, these colleges have been an inestimable blessing, for the conditions of life in a new country were such that in no other way could women of small means have obtained the education that they desired. And the education of the women of the West has been, and will be, a powerful factor in the civilization of the country. But after giving the present system its due, we must still recognize its faults, and it may be that as wealth and civilization increase in the West we shall grow out of this system and found separate colleges for men and women.

JANE COOPER SINCLAIR.

THE SALOON AS A CLUB.

OF LATE years the leading periodicals of the country have published so many articles on "The Saloon," from ministers, doctors and other pro-

fessional men, who of necessity must give their best thoughts to other and totally different subjects, that it may perhaps be of interest to the public to read something from within the lines; a defence, if you please, of this much criticised institution, by one who for years has necessarily come very much in contact with it.

The saloon exists because the public demands it, and for no other reason. It is moulded into shape by public sentiment and by legislation, and is as much the creature of circumstances as is the man who patronizes it. Oppress men and they retaliate by developing qualities opposed to public security and to the development of the higher forms of civilization. Oppress the saloon and it likewise degenerates and retaliates.

If the saloon is an evil *per se*, it will fall before an enlightened public sentiment; but until the public is convinced that it is so all attempts to repress it must fail. While it remains an institution in our midst, a factor in the shaping of our civilization, it would seem desirable that its influence should be for good rather than for evil. For one thing, the saloon should be removed from politics; but this can only be accomplished by relieving it of unjust taxation, by offering licenses freely to all who conduct law-abiding places, and by relieving saloon-keepers of the constant spectres of "High License," "Local Option" and "Prohibition." The saloons should be operated by a better class of men; but this can only come to pass when saloon-keeping is no longer reckoned a disreputable calling. The saloons should observe the laws; but this can be brought about only when the laws are made to correspond with the public conception of right and wrong. The saloons should handle pure and well-matured wines and liquors; but a high license or the probability of a non-renewal of license is a practical prohibition on this point, as a large and immediate profit promises best under such circumstances.

So long as the inhabitants of the United States consume hundreds of millions of gallons of whiskeys, wines and beers annually, the saloon will be retained by the public as the most convenient and agreeable medium, through which to supply its wants. All of this talk of abolishing the saloon and of each man buying by wholesale and mixing his own drinks is the merest nonsense. It requires an expert and an array of materials and conveniences to prepare a cocktail, a mint julep, a whiskey sour or any other of the many beverages so delightful to the average palate, and until something better and more convenient offers, the saloon will be retained to fulfil this office.

Looking at the saloon as a fixture, therefore, is it not best that society encourage those engaged in the business to remove it from politics, and to conduct it in such a way as to improve and not degrade those who visit it? The saloon should be in every sense a club. It should offer seats, tables, papers, magazines and games to its patrons, and incidentally it should serve those who so desire with pure wine, beer or spirits. The saloon should be taxed reasonably and not exorbitantly, and licenses should be extended to all law-abiding men, but never to felons, or to men who disregard common decency. The saloon can be elevated in every respect, and to the great good of society, but it cannot be accomplished by repressive legislation, but by the adoption of a broader policy on the part of the public in the handling of this question and by this means only.

THOMAS MADOR GILMORE.

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THE STRUGGLE IN THE SENATE.

I.—MISREPRESENTATION OF THE SENATE.

BY SENATOR WILLIAM M. STEWART, OF NEVADA.

CUNNING, stimulated by avarice, is the weapon employed by concentrated capital to enrich the few and impoverish the many. The circulation of money in every section of our vast domain is as essential to the health and growth of civilization as the circulation of the blood in every part of the human body is to health and life. Contraction of the volume of money produces the same effect upon civilized society as strangulation does upon the human system. The first effect of contraction is stagnation of business, and the first effect of strangulation is stagnation of the vital organs. The ultimate effect of contraction is human slavery and barbarism, as shown during the Dark Ages while the eighteen hundred millions of gold and silver coin which existed at the time of Augustus was being reduced to less than one hundred and fifty millions.

During the past four hundred years the supply of gold and silver from the mines has been continuous and more regular than in previous times, and contemporaneously with the new supply of the precious metals a new civilization has developed and progressed. The output of the mines has furnished a metallic basis of circulation and kept alive a spirit of liberty, enterprise, and independence.

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In 1873 when the energies of the human race were in more active operation than ever before, and when prosperity and progress were universal, cunning devised a plan to reverse the current of human affairs, inaugurate a retrograde movement towards the darkness and despair of the Fourteenth Century, when the heart of civilization ceased to beat for want of the vitalizing influence of a circulating medium.

The gold of California and Australia had been increasing the volume of metallic money for more than twenty years. The gradual rise of prices from 1850 to 1873 had inspired a universal desire to create and acquire property. It was more profitable to use money than to hoard it. Its value was not appreciating. The energies of the civilized world were directed to the development of the resources of nature and the creation of wealth. Credit was extended to assist enterprise because legitimate enterprise insured the means of payment. The aggregate debts of the world reached nearly one hundred thousand millions, more than one-half of which were national, municipal, and corporate bonds. All obligations were payable in either gold or silver at the option of the debtor. The supply of money of ultimate redemption was the world's stock of the precious metals with its annual accumulations from the mines. The rejection of either gold or silver as a money metal would reduce the world's supply of metallic money about one-half, and double the purchasing power of the remaining half.

The bondholders determined to destroy one of the precious metals long before it was decided which metal should be rejected. England rejected silver in 1816, because it had been the plentier metal for the preceding three hundred years. But, when the gold fields of California and Australia were discovered, it was proposed to demonetize gold. The yield of gold soon declined and new discoveries of silver were made.

A monetary conference was held in Paris in 1867. The United States joined England and secured a recommendation for the demonetization of silver. Rivers Wilson represented England and Samuel B. Ruggles the United States.

Mr. Ruggles reported to the Secretary of State that:

> The establishment of a single standard exclusively of gold is, in truth, the cardinal, if not the all-important, feature of the plan proposed by the conference. . . . On this vital point the delegates from the nineteen nations represented in the conference were unanimous. . . .

On all these questions the interests of monetary unification were materially advanced by the publication at Paris of the concise but admirable letter from the Hon. John Sherman.*

Mr. Ruggles throughout his elaborate reports attributes his success in securing the recommendation by the conference of the single gold standard to the powerful aid rendered by the Senator from Ohio.

The Senator from Ohio, aided by Samuel Hooper, a banker from Massachusetts, who was chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures of the House of Representatives, and a few others, succeeded without observation and without discussion in eliminating the silver dollar from the list of coins in the United States.

The true history of the clandestine legislation which demonetized silver is contained in a speech delivered by me in the Senate on September 5, 1893, and will be found in the *Congressional Record* of that date. The Senator from Ohio who procured that legislation declared in his place in the Senate on March 6, 1876, that "the United States as usual was influenced by Great Britain in making gold coin the only standard." He said:

Our coinage act came into operation on the 1st of April, 1873, and constituted the gold one-dollar piece the sole unit of value, while it restricted the legal tender of the new silver trade dollar and the half-dollar and subdivisions to an amount not exceeding $5 in one payment. Thus the double standard previously existing was finally abolished, and the United States as usual was influenced by Great Britain in making gold coin the only standard. This suits England, but does not suit us.

What influence has induced the Senator from Ohio to adhere to the single gold standard since that time he has not informed the public. But English influence has not only closed the mints of the United States against silver, but it has also closed the mints of Europe and India. Closing the mints of Europe caused a decline in the price of silver and called attention to the demonetization of that metal by the act of 1873, about two years after the passage of that act.

From that time until now the American people have been anxious to right that wrong and restore silver to the place it occupied as a money metal previous to that unfortunate legislation.

Concentrated capital in money and bonds has baffled all efforts of the people to regain their constitutional rights and restore the money which they had promised to pay. Every admin-

* Senate Ex. Doc. No. 14, Fortieth Congress, Second Session, pp. 99-100.

istration has coöperated with concentrated capital to thwart the will of the people, enhance the value of money, and reduce the price of property and the wages of labor. The Bland act was passed over a Presidential veto. The Sherman act was a compromise with a hostile Executive. Since the passage of the Sherman act two bills for the free and unlimited coinage of silver have passed the Senate by good majorities. The Sherman act, as admitted by the leader of the gold monometallists in America, the Senator from Ohio, Mr. Sherman, saved the country from financial panic in 1890 and worked no injury during the last administration. It has furnished up to date more than $150,000,000 of legal-tender treasury notes, without which financial disaster would have come three years ago.

The financial disaster did not come from the operation of the act of 1890. The financial distress of the last three months is the result of the effort of the present administration and its London and New York aiders and abettors to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act and reduce the United States to the single gold standard.

An attempt to repeal that clause was made in February last while General Harrison was still President, and was defeated in the Senate by a majority of 19. The leader of the administration forces, the Senator from Indiana, Mr. Voorhees, in the Senate on the 18th of February, 1893, characterized that attempt in the following just and appropriate language:

> I should have voted the other day to take up what is known as the Sherman act and for its repeal, but for the fact that its passage would absolutely demonetize silver and leave it supported by not one word of legislation. I thought the measure was audacious; I thought it an outrage to ask men, like myself and others, to absolutely sweep from under the silver currency every vestige of law. That is not what we meant at Chicago; that is not what the people mean.
>
> I should vote for the repeal of the Sherman act simply because it is vicious in principle, but it must be in connection with something better. You might as well authorize a circulating medium based upon tobacco by the hogshead or cotton by the bale as upon silver in its bullion shape. It must be coined into money, and such is the position of the Democratic party as declared in national convention.

After the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland the gold press demanded an immediate call of an extra session of Congress to repeal the Sherman act. The President and his advisers realized that there was a majority in each House of Congress against such

repeal. They determined that coercive measures must first be employed; that Members of Congress must be made to feel the power of patronage and money. Frequent interviews appeared in the daily press between the Secretary of the Treasury and the bankers of Wall Street, and between the President of the United States and faithful friends and reporters, looking to a financial squeeze to bring pressure upon Congress. Ex-Senator Bayard, of Delaware, a distinguished monometallist, who shares the unenviable distinction with the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) of being on the committee which planned and secured the demonetization of silver in 1873, was sent as Ambassador to the monometallic court of St. James's, where active operations were necessary to intensify the panic and stampede Congress.

The Gladstone administration suspended coinage in India. The principal reason assigned for such suspension by the Herschell committee was the anticipation of an early repeal of the Sherman law. The language of the report of that committee plainly indicates that the British cabinet was in possession of official information that the Sherman act would be repealed. On the suspension of silver coinage in India the price of silver declined about twenty cents an ounce.

The banks of Denver, Colo., were doing business with smelters of silver ore, and dependent upon the purchase by the Government under the mandatory Sherman act of the silver bullion produced by the smelters. The bullion was offered to the Secretary of the Treasury to the extent of 6,068,000 ounces in the month of July at lower prices than ever before prevailed in the history of the world; but the Secretary refused to purchase the four and a half million ounces as required by law, and only purchased during the month of July 2,392,618.77 ounces, nearly all of which was bought in the latter part of the month. The banks of Denver, unable to get money on account of the refusal of the Secretary to execute the law, failed. The West had an "object lesson," and the panic was inaugurated in earnest. To intensify the panic, the President issued an inflammatory call for an extra session of Congress to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act which he alleged was the cause of the trouble which had been brought about by the money powers of London and New York coöperating with the Executive of the United States.

Before Congress assembled, the gold press demanded that there should be no debate; that it was the duty of Congress "to vote first and debate afterwards." The House of Representatives was stampeded, and a recognized majority of two-thirds in favor of silver was converted into a two-thirds majority in favor of the single gold standard. The foreign bondholders and the metropolitan press exerted every means of persuasion, importunity, coercion, and threat to prevent any discussion of the bill in the Senate which repeals every law of the United States recognizing silver as a money metal, ratifies the infamous act of 1873 which everybody has denounced, and reduces the United States to the single gold standard.

The issue presented is regarded by the Senators and Representatives who believe in the principle of bimetallism and who have not surrendered their convictions, as the most important and far-reaching in its consequences of any measure ever presented to the Congress of the United States. They earnestly and sincerely believe that the clamor for its repeal is manufactured by parties interested in increasing the value of their property—money and bonds—by confiscating and absorbing the earnings of the toiling masses. They regard the creation of the panic by the money powers and the calling of an extra session by the President as an attempt to take an unwarranted advantage of the people of the United States.

All parties and all platforms since silver was demonetized have declared in favor of bimetallism. No party dares go before the people with a declaration in favor of the single gold standard. If the language of any of the platforms was equivocal, it was intended that the people should understand, and the people did understand, that honest bimetallism was intended. Mr. Cleveland, in his letter accepting the nomination, used language which the people understood, and which his party managers declared, to be a pledge in favor of restoring bimetallism by the legislation of Congress. It was not until after his election that the President made it known that the principal object of his administration was the establishment of the single gold standard in the United States.

If the question of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act without a substitute had been submitted to the people by the Democratic party in the last campaign, and Mr. Cleve-

land had been elected on such an issue, the silver Senators would not have attempted to resist the repeal. The act of 1873, demonetizing silver, has been universally condemned, not only on account of the ruin it has wrought, but also for the undue advantage that was taken of the American people.

The means used to secure the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act are equally fraudulent with the methods employed to demonetize silver in 1873, and much more cruel and oppressive. In the legislation of 1873 only the cunning of the fox and the habits of the gopher were employed, but in the proposed legislation of 1893 the cunning of the fox, the roar of the lion, and the ferocity of the tiger have been brought into requisition to deceive the people, intimidate their representatives and devour their substance.

Under these circumstances the silver Senators deemed it their duty to make good their pledges to their constituents, and resist the great wrong which threatens their liberties by the exercise of the right of free speech and free debate guaranteed by the constitution and the rules of the Senate. Every moment of time has been expended in earnest and legitimate debate. The speeches on each side have been about equal in number. The silver Senators have remained at their post at all times during the unusual and cruel hours required by the majority, and they have furnished more than one-half of the number requisite to make a quorum during the whole course of the debate. They believe that the passage of the proposed measure will reduce the United States to a financial colony of Great Britain and deprive the people of the right to mine and coin their own money which was guaranteed by the Constitution.

The success of Great Britain in making the world tributary to her is alarming. When a motion was made in Parliament last February to reconvene the Brussels Conference Mr. Gladstone denounced it as supreme folly for England to consider such a proposition, and he declared that the world outside of the United Kingdom owed the United Kingdom as much as ten thousand million dollars. This statement was received with approbation and approval. He argued that the use of silver as legal tender money to supplement gold would depreciate the value of the money which other countries were bound to pay Great Britain, and would be in the nature of a bounty or gift, which would be

thankfully received, but which would not increase the respect of the world for the financial ability of British statesmen.

The position of the United States is quite different. We are a debtor nation with unbounded resources to develop and with mines of gold and silver sufficient to supply a basis for all the circulating medium required. The United States is not interested in enhancing the value of money to make foreigners pay her people in dearer money than the contract required. On the contrary, we have to pay Great Britain from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 annually in interest on the obligations she holds against us, and we pay that interest by the sale of our wheat and cotton at a price below the cost of production. The appreciation of gold which has been about 50 per cent. since silver was demonetized is the principal, if not the only, cause for the decline in the price of farm products.

The legislation proposed means a perpetual gold standard and a more violent scramble for gold. The great mass of gold coin has already left the channels of trade and is hoarded for extortion or war. When silver is rejected as standard money to be kept afloat by redemption in gold, the United States will have over a thousand millions of stuff to be redeemed with less than $100,000,000 of gold available for its redemption. The next step in the programme of the extra session is to issue bonds, buy gold, increase debt and taxation, increase the wealth and power of national banks by paying them interest on their bonds, and furnishing them circulation equal to ninety per cent. of the face value of the bonds upon which the Government pays interest to loan at such rates as avarice may dictate.

The advocates of legislation to put up gold and put down property call gold "honest" money, because it is worth twice as much as it was twenty years ago. Nothing is honest, in the estimation of the gold ring, which will not take the property of one man and give it to another without consideration. Honest money measures labor and property honestly. The silver Senators advocate the parity of money with labor and property according to the rule of honesty and fair dealing.

Which is honest money; silver or gold? An ounce of silver in any part of the world will buy as much of labor and property as it would twenty years ago, and no more. An ounce of gold will buy twice as much of the necessities of life as it would twenty years ago.

But it is said that gold would go out of the country if silver is remonetized. It is assumed that the loss of gold means disaster. I deny it. The colossal growth of the manufactures and exports of India during the last twenty years proves conclusively that a stable standard of value which at all times measures property and wages honestly is conducive to prosperity. It was impossible for the manufacturers of England with dishonest gold to compete with the less civilized people of India with honest silver.

The manufacturers and producers of England have, by their various publications, shown beyond controversy that England's trade with the East was lost if India remained on the silver basis and England on the gold basis. In the matter of textile fabrics, particularly in the coarser articles, India not only supplied herself during the last two or three years, but she has largely supplanted England in supplying China and Japan. One of two things had to be done. England was either compelled to abandon her cherished scheme to rob other countries by the enhanced value of the bonds she holds and adopt bimetallism, and by that means give the people of England an equal advantage with India in the Asiatic trade, or she must destroy India, put her on a gold standard, and deprive her of prosperity to prevent her supplanting England in the Asiatic trade.

The bimetallists of England, who constitute the intelligence, virtue, and enterprise of the Empire, and who are dominated by the gold ring in the same manner that the people of the United States are, pointed out to the Gladstone administration that the destruction of India's manufactures was not enough, that there might be other silver standard countries which would manufacture and supply the Orient and supplant the English trade. The suggestion was made that possibly, after all, the United States might adhere to silver and establish a common coin with all the silver-using countries, and in that event the trade of England would be destroyed.

To prevent that result and also to enhance the income of the bondholders every man of enterprise in this country who owes a foreign debt is threatened with destruction. The engine of the press which is now in the hands of the gold ring is brought to bear to misrepresent public opinion, defend wrong, and denounce right. The patronage of the administration, which is simply

colossal, is used for the gold ring against the people. The purchasing clause of the Sherman law itself, which Congress was called together to repeal because it required the purchase of four and a half million ounces of silver bullion per month, is not obeyed. The administration, backed up by patronage and the gold press, is above the law.

The only obstacle between the absolute rule of the bondholding syndicate of London and New York is the silver Senators who dare to do their duty, exercise their constitutional right of debate for the purpose of informing the country through the *Congressional Record*, of the scheme of the gold monopoly to enslave the masses. The commercial press does not and dare not publish both sides of the controversy.

But the people are beginning to understand who are their friends, and who are their enemies. Contraction and hard times are an object-lesson which the violence, the slanders, and the falsehoods of the press cannot obliterate. The silver Senators are satisfied with the record they are making. They believe the United States will not always remain a financial colony of Great Britain. They recognize the power of money to nominate candidates for Presidents, to elect them, to hire the press to deceive the people, to defame and destroy honest men, but in this case they are thankful for the privilege of recording their own acts in the *Congressional Record* as a part of the history of the country. They do not believe that the gold ring will be able to continue to control all the national conventions of the great parties which have any hopes of success. They believe that the people will assert their independence of British financial rule, which now seems so formidable and before which leading statesmen and politicians

> Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
> Where thrift may follow fawning.

But whatever may happen—financial slavery, feudalism, poverty, and misery, or financial independence, prosperity, progress, and happiness—the silver Senators are conscious that the cause which they advocate is just, and that if justice is done the cause will ultimately prevail.

WILLIAM M. STEWART.

II.—OBSTRUCTION IN THE SENATE.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PARLIAMENTARY obstruction has, of late years, engaged public attention to a degree quite unusual for a subject so technical in its nature. When the Reed rules, which first brought the subject into prominence in this country, were under discussion, I pointed out in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* that the question was widespread and general and in no sense local or peculiar to the United States. At that time the Democratic orators and the Democratic newspapers seemed to think that the effort to do away with parliamentary obstruction in the House of Representatives was a malignant invention of the Republican party and particularly of Mr. Reed. If they had taken the trouble to inform themselves—a form of mental exercise in which they rarely indulge—they would have discovered that it was nothing of the sort. They would have learned what is now evident to all men that the Republican reform of the rules of the House was but part of a general movement against an abuse which in the process of time had become intolerable. Not only in many States of the Union but in England also the matter of parliamentary obstruction had reached the proportion of a great and a very grave public question. This was neither accidental nor the result of partisanship. It was the outgrowth of conditions which had been slowly developed.

The English-speaking race are the originators of free representative government. Among them this great system has grown to maturity and by them its details have been gradually elaborated. The fundamental principles of popular representation and of free speech, of the control of taxation and of public expenditures, were established long since as the result of many hard fought battles. With this development of representative government there should have gone hand in hand a development of the rules by which the representative bodies transacted their business. This, however, did not occur. As so often happens in history, the substance of things changed, but the forms survived. While the power and the business of representative bodies both in England and the United States expanded enormously, the rules in accordance with which these powers were exercised and this business transacted remained unaltered. Ordinarily forms are

not of much consequence provided the essence of things is preserved, but in this instance it happened that forms and rules were of vital importance, although it is only very recently that this fact has been fully and properly realized.

The rules and practices of the Congress of the United States and of the House of Commons were adopted under conditions widely different from those which exist to-day. They were formed for representative bodies, in this country at least, much smaller in number, and for the management of the public affairs of small populations, with industrial and commercial interests absolutely insignificant when compared with the vast volume of business to-day, quickened as it now is by the telegraph and the railroad, and beating with a pulsation which is felt in every corner of the globe within twenty-four hours. The result has been that the old rules and forms have not only proved inadequate for the transaction of business, but have furnished the means for indefinite resistance to action. When parliamentary rules were first formulated, the preservation of freedom of debate was rightly considered to be of the last importance, and, so far as these original rules, which were in great degree haphazard, could be said to have any principle, the protection of freedom of debate was their controlling purpose. All danger to freedom of debate in English-speaking countries at least has long since vanished, and the tendency of the old system is to encourage debate, of which there is now too much, and to prevent action, of which there is now too little.

The primary and the only proper and intelligent object of all parliamentary law and rules is to provide for and to facilitate the ordinary action of public business. When any set of parliamentary rules ceases to accomplish this object they have become an abuse—and an abuse of the worst kind. They not only prevent action, but, what is far worse, they destroy responsibility; for, if a minority can prevent action, the majority, which is entitled to rule and is entrusted with power, is at once divested of all responsibility, the great safeguard of free representative institutions.

This question has been fought out in the English House of Commons and the passage of the Home Rule Bill is conclusive evidence that the system of enforcing action is not only necessary in England, but that it is finally and firmly established. The same battle has been fought out also, and the same result attained,

in our own House of Representatives. The great reform which Mr. Reed carried through and which marks an epoch in parliamentary government in the United States has been in principle finally established. Received at the moment with much passionate oratory and many loud objurgations, such as always accompany the onward march and the ultimate triumph of a great reform, it has at last prevailed. As the dust of that memorable conflict cleared away, it was discovered that Mr. Reed had only been enforcing principles which were accepted in nearly every other parliamentary body in the world and that he had not invented them himself for the mere gratification of a tyrannical spirit. Then it was further discovered that his methods, instead of being illegal and unconstitutional, had received the sanction of every judicial body before which they had been brought, and they were finally upheld by the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The last stage, the acceptance of the reform by the opposite political party, has just been passed. Mr. Speaker Crisp, with a large democratic majority at his back, has enforced Mr. Reed's principles by stopping dilatory motions and bringing the House to a vote. The only difference has been that Mr. Reed put his principles into practice under accepted methods and in accordance with parliamentary law, while Mr. Crisp very unnecessarily, because no such violence was required, enforced action with entire disregard of the usual and proper forms. He is not, however, to be too severely criticised for this. It was quite natural that the Democratic party in the House should writhe at adopting the principles and carrying into effect the very methods which they had denounced so exuberantly only three years ago. They appeared to think that they could get around by some by-path to the Republican result, and thus escape a march through the valley of humiliation, if they discarded the forms under which their adversaries had performed the same work. Unfortunately such evasions are never possible and the valley of humiliation cannot be avoided by those who have opposed what is righteous, and then, after a short interval, have accepted righteousness for their own purposes. In any event the result is the same. The right of the majority to rule, and to pass after due debate such measures as it sees fit, has been firmly established in the House of Representatives.

As a practical public question in the United States, parliamentary obstruction has now shifted to the Senate, where it has aroused lately the keenest public interest owing to the condition of business and the intense eagerness of the country for the passage of some measure of relief. The case in the Senate is very different in many particulars from what it was either in the House of Commons or the House of Representatives. The Senate of the United States is still a small body; it has great powers conferred upon it by the Constitution and weighty responsibility. It is properly very conservative in its habits and very slow to change those habits in any direction. There could be no better example of this than in its parliamentary procedure. The rules of the Senate are practically unchanged from what they were at the beginning. They are the same now to all intents and purposes as when they were first adopted more than a hundred years ago. There has never been in the Senate any rule which enabled the majority to close debate or compel a vote. The previous question, which existed in the earliest years, and was abandoned in 1806, was the previous question of England and not that with which every one is familiar to-day in our House of Representatives. It was not in practice a form of closure and it is therefore correct to say that the power of closing debate in the modern sense has never existed in the Senate.

The rules of the Senate are few and simple. Formed for the use of a body of twenty-six Senators, they have continued in force unchanged, until they now govern the deliberations of eighty-eight. That rules so simple should have worked so well during so long a period with an increasing number of Senators and an enormous growth in the volume of business is no slight tribute to the character of the body which has worked under them. But they are now beginning to show the same defects and abuses, arising from the same causes, which have produced such fundamental changes in larger representative bodies.

The rules of the Senate, providing for no form of compulsion, rest necessarily on courtesy. In other words, as there is no power to compel action, it is assumed that the need for compulsion will never arise. For this reason, obstruction in the Senate, when it has occurred, has never taken the form of dilatory motions and continual roll calls, which have been the accepted method of filibustering in the House. The weapon of obstruction in the Senate

is debate, upon which the Senate rules place no check whatever. Practically speaking, under the rules, or rather the courtesy of the Senate, each Senator can speak as often and at as great length as he chooses. There is not only no previous question to cut him off, but a time cannot even be set for taking a vote, except by unanimous consent. This is all very well in theory, and there is much to be said for the maintenance of a system, in one branch at least of the government, where debate shall be entirely untrammelled. But the essence of a system of courtesy is that it should be the same at all points. The two great rights in our representative bodies are voting and debate. If the courtesy of unlimited debate is granted it must carry with it the reciprocal courtesy of permitting a vote after due discussion. If this is not the case the system is impossible. Of the two rights, moreover, that of voting is the higher and more important. We ought to have both, and debate certainly in ample measure ; but, if we are forced to choose between them, the right of action must prevail over the right of discussion. To vote without debating is perilous, but to debate and never vote is imbecile. The difficulty in the Senate to-day is that, while the courtesy which permits unlimited debate is observed, the reciprocal courtesy, which should insure the opportunity to vote, is wholly disregarded.

If the system of reciprocal courtesy could be reëstablished and observed, there need be no change in the Senate rules. As it is, there must be a change, for the delays which now take place are discrediting the Senate and this is something greatly to be deplored. The Senate was perhaps the greatest single achievement of the makers of the constitution. It is one of the strongest bulwarks of our system of government, and anything which lowers it in the eyes of the people is a most serious matter. How the Senate may vote on any given question at any given time is of secondary importance, but when it is seen that it is unable to take any action at all the situation becomes of the gravest character. A body which cannot govern itself will not long hold the respect of the people who have chosen it to govern the country.

No extreme or violent change is needed in order to remedy the existing condition of affairs. A simple rule giving the majority power to fix a time for taking a vote upon any measure which has been before the Senate and under discussion, say for thirty days, would be all-sufficient. Such a change should be made and

such a rule passed, for the majority ought to have and must have full power and responsibility.

On this point of the power of the majority, however, there is a great deal of popular misconception. It is customary to assail with bitter reproaches, as we have seen during the struggle over silver repeal, the minority who are resisting action. This is putting the blame in the wrong place. The minority may be justly censured for not conforming to a system of courtesy, but when that system has been overthrown, as is the case in the Senate in regard to voting and debate, the fault is no longer theirs. No minority is ever to blame for obstruction. If the rules permit them to obstruct, they are lawfully entitled to use those rules in order to stop a measure which they deem injurious. The blame for obstruction rests with the majority, and if there is obstruction it is because the majority permit it. The majority to which I here refer is the party majority in control of the chamber. They may be divided on a given measure, but they, and they alone, are responsible for the general conduct of business. They, and they alone, can secure action and initiate proceedings to bring the body whose machinery they control to a vote. The long delay on the repeal of the purchasing clause of the silver act of 1890 has been due, without any reference to their internal divisions on the pending question, solely to the Democratic majority as a whole in full control of the chamber and of the machinery of legislation. There never was a time when they could not have brought about a vote with the assistance of the chair, whose occupant was also of their party, if, as a party, they had only chosen to do so.

No further argument is, I think, needed to show the necessity of some rule which, after allowing the most liberal latitude of debate, will yet enable the majority of the Senate to compel a vote. The prospects, however, of any such change are not very promising. It is not probable that any form of closure will be adopted by the Senate for some time to come. It will certainly never be attained unless the popular demand for it is not only urgent but intelligent. Newspapers and people generally have a way of rising up and demanding that filibustering be put down and closure enforced whenever some measure in which they are specially interested at the moment is obstructed. On the other hand, filibustering is often regarded as very patriotic by people who do not want

a given measure to pass. Many of the newspapers, for example, which have been shouting themselves hoarse over the obstruction to silver repeal in the Senate, loudly applauded precisely the same methods of obstruction when directed against the Federal Elections Bill a few years ago. It is this fact which takes all weight from the demands of the most vociferous shouters for action at the present time. Obstruction must be always good and proper or always bad and improper. It cannot be sometimes good and sometimes bad as a principle of action. If the power to close debate is righteous for one measure it is righteous for all; and until that principle is accepted there is no possibility of reform. For example, the Democratic majority in the Senate refuses to change the rules in order to pass silver repeal. They cannot, then, go on and introduce closure to pass the Federal Elections Bill and the tariff. They must apply closure to all or none.

The only way in which proper rules for the transaction of business in the Senate can be obtained will be through the action of a party committed as a party to the principle that the majority must rule, and that the parliamentary methods of the Senate must conform to that principle. The change must also be made at the beginning of the session, so as to apply to all measures alike which are to come before Congress, and it must be carried and established on its own merits as a general principle of government and not to suit a particular exigency. Whenever this reform is made it will come and it can come only in this way.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

HIGHWAYMEN OF THE RAILROAD.

BY WILLIAM A. PINKERTON.

THE recent epidemic of train robbing in different sections of the country has naturally caused considerable discussion as to the best means of checking this peculiar class of crime. Train robbing has been practised pretty steadily in the South and West during the last twenty years, but during the last few months outrages of this character have increased at an alarming rate. The greater portion of these occurred south and west of the Missouri River. Texas, more than any other State, has suffered from this newest and just now most threatening form of crime.

My experience with train robbers began with the earliest operations of these daring criminals. There were no train robberies of any importance before the war. The first our agency had to do with were perpetrated by the Reno brothers, of Seymour, Ind. Four of these brothers became noted as train robbers. They commenced their robberies immediately after the war and became terrors to the community in which they lived. It was impossible to get the necessary evidence to convict them, as, to a certain extent, they controlled, through terrorizing, some of the local judges; and the local authorities, either through sympathy or fear, were afraid to do their duty. The downfall of this gang commenced in 1867 with the arrest of John Reno, who, in company with others, had robbed the county treasurer's safe at Savannah, Mo. He was tracked back to Seymour, and, as there was no chance of his being extradited, a party of masked men went into Seymour and bodily carried him on board a train that was about to start for Missouri, where he was convicted and sentenced to twenty-five years of imprisonment. Later on, Frank, William and Sim Reno committed a number of

train robberies throughout Indiana, extending their operations as far west as Iowa. In the winter of 1868 they "held up" a train near Marshfield station, Ind., forced their way into the Adams Express car, threw the messenger from the car while the train was under headway and robbed the Express Company of $80,000. Sim and William Reno were arrested at Indianapolis. Frank Reno and Charles Anderson, another of this gang, were also arrested at Windsor, Canada. After bitterly contesting their extradition in all the courts of Canada they were finally brought to Indiana and confined in the jail at New Albany. The people in the vicinity of Seymour became aroused to the fact that war had actively commenced against the Reno brothers, and, as they had been terrorized by these men for years, they were willing to take a hand in exterminating them. One stormy night the jail at New Albany was surrounded by a band of masked men, the sheriff and jailer were overpowered and the three Renos and Anderson taken from their cells and hanged in the corridors of the jail. Their execution was rapidly followed by that of the other members of the gang, their sympathizers and abettors, who lived in the vicinity of Seymour, no less than nine being hanged by the vigilance committee. For years after that, and in fact up to the present time, Seymour, Ind., has been noted as a model, flourishing city, and I do not recall a single case of train robbing in southern Indiana since the execution of the Renos, whereas previous to this a train was usually robbed there about every sixty days.

The next train robbery of any importance was committed by Levi and Hillary Farrington, William Barton and William Taylor. These people came from western Tennessee. Levi Farrington was arrested by us at Farmington, Ill., after making a desperate resistance. We arrested Hillary Farrington and William Barton near Venetta, Ind. Ter. The house where they were in hiding was surrounded by a posse, the door broken down, and the house fired, when they were compelled to come out with their "hands up." William Taylor was arrested by our men at Red Foot Lake, in western Tennesse. While conveying Hillary Farrington and William Barton from the Indian Territory to Union City, Barton made a complete confession as to the other members of the gang and what had been done with the proceeds of the robberies. While travelling from Cairo,

O., to Columbus, Ky., I was about to enter the barroom of the steamer, when Hillary suddenly seized a large pistol which was sticking from my overcoat pocket and tried to commit a murderous assault on me. During the struggle which ensued for the possession of the pistol, Hillary Farrington fell over the low railing of the boat, nearly dragging me with him, and was drowned. Levi Farrington was the most desperate of the gang. When he was brought to Union City, Tenn., the citizens held a jollification meeting, as he had shot and killed a marshal and his deputy in eastern Missouri and a deputy sheriff in Tennessee. About two o'clock in the morning fifty masked men came to the house where he and the other prisoners were under guard, as the town jail was not strong enough to hold them. They overpowered the guards, dragged out a man who had attempted to rescue Farrington and hanged him. Levi Farrington was shot in his room, his body being fairly riddled with bullets. William Taylor and William Barton pleaded guilty and were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in Tennessee. The capturing and sentencing of the members of this gang were the means of breaking up train robberies in western Tennessee. There has not been a train robbery in that vicinity since 1871, the date of the execution of these men. The Farringtons were among the most desperate of this class of men that I have ever known and were as successful as any of the desperadoes who have been engaged in "holding up" and robbing trains.

The next train robbers of any importance were the James and Younger brothers of western and southwestern Missouri. The robbery that brought them into prominence occurred at a small station on the Iron Mountain Railway, known as Gad's Hill, where they "held up" the train and got a large amount of money from the Adams Express Company's safe. This was in 1873. A short time previous to this they had robbed the safe of the Hot Springs stage coach, holding up the coach with its twelve passengers and taking all the express money. One of our best men, Joseph Whicher, was detailed to go to the neighborhood of the home of the James boys and obtain work as a farm hand. He was dressed up as a farmer, his hands being hardened and his skin darkened in order to complete the disguise. About dark he approached the home of the Jameses, knocked at the door and applied for work. The door was opened by Mrs.

Samuels, the mother of the James brothers, who invited him in and gave him a chair. While he was seated the door was suddenly thrown open and he was confronted by Jesse and Frank James and some of their followers, who entered and accused him of being a detective. This he denied. The Jameses, however, said they were at war with all police officials and taking him from the house, gagged and bound him, tied him to a horse and took him across the old Blue Mill Ferry, telling the ferryman that he (Whicher) was a horse thief, whom they were going to deliver up to the authorities. They took him to within about five miles of Independence, Mo., and there murdered him by shooting him in the back. Captain Lull, who went in search of the Younger brothers in St. Clair County, Missouri, shot and killed John Younger, and wounded his brother, Jim Younger, but was himself shot by the latter and died from his wounds. Jim Younger is at present in the Minnesota Penitentiary, but, it is said, he never recovered from the wounds received at Captain Lull's hand. It now became a war of extermination on the part of the express companies and our officers against the remnant of this gang. The three Younger brothers, consisting of Coleman, Jim and Robert, were arrested and convicted for the murder of bank cashier Haywood at North Northfield, Minn., and were sentenced to life imprisonment. Shortly after this Jesse James was shot and killed by Robert Ford, the youngest member of his gang. Robert and George Ford were arrested and pleaded guilty to the killing of Jesse James and were sentenced to be hanged, but were immediately pardoned by Governor Crittenden, and they were paid the reward of $5,000 which had been offered for the arrest of Jesse James, dead or alive. This was according to an arrangement the Ford brothers had made with the Governor. After this, Frank James surrendered and as far as I am advised has been living an honest life since.

The next gang that made its appearance was one headed by Sam Bass, the Collins brothers and others. They "held up" and robbed the Pacific Express on the Union Pacific Railway and got about $60,000 in gold. Two of this gang stopped the train, compelled the crew to alight together, while they went through the safes, taking everything in sight, money, watches and jewelry. Their career, however, was brief. Joel Collins was shot

and killed, one confederate named Berry was shot and killed near Moscow, Mo., and all the money recovered. Sam Bass succeeded in making his escape, and went to Denton County, Texas, where he had a great many friends, being situated there in very much the same way as the James brothers in Missouri, nobody being willing to give any information concerning him. In Texas he organized another gang of train robbers. These men perpetrated a number of train robberies in Texas, but the United States government took hold of the matter in conjunction with the detectives and arranged a plan for luring the gang to Round Rock, Tex., for the purpose of robbing a bank. The bank was carefully covered by armed men secreted wherever men could be put without attracting attention. When the gang appeared near the bank the fight was opened prematurely by a local officer, who attempted to arrest one of the number for carrying firearms, not knowing of the plans which had been made. The fight thus commenced, the concealed officers ran into the street and opened fire on the gang with their Winchesters, killing most of them and taking the others prisoners. One thing will be noticed about train robbers, they generally go in families, that is there are usually two or three members of one family in the same gang.

The next series of train robberies were perpetrated by Jim and Rube Burrows, of Alabama. These men, in company with several others, "held up" a number of trains, but never succeeded in getting much money. Three of the men were afterwards arrested by our men acting for the Southern Express Company, tried and convicted in Texas. Rube and Jim Burrows were surprised by the local officers in Savannah, Ga.; Jim was arrested, but Rube was not taken so easily. He shot down two men in Savannah, one of whom died afterwards, but he succeeded in getting away. Jim was turned over to our men, who took him to Arkansas for his part in robbing the Southern Express Company. He was sentenced to Arkansas State Prison, where he died. Rube Burrows, in company with two others, "held up" a train at Duck Hill, Miss., on the Illinois Central Railroad. Both he and his companions succeeded in making their escape to the mountains of Alabama. He "held up" another train in Florida to which was attached a Southern Express car. The Southern Express and their detectives fol-

lowed him persistently and finally caused his arrest by the local officers.

Then came the daring express robbery on the St Louis & San Francisco Railroad, which was perpetrated a few miles outside of St. Louis by Fred. Wittrock, of Leavenworth, Kan. Wittrock had planned the robbery for some time and had taken a number of people into his confidence, but they weakened when they saw the risk they had to take. He then went alone to commit the robbery. Wittrock presented an order to the messenger purporting to be from the route agent of the Adams Express Company for that division, asking the messenger to "break him in." When out a little way on the road, he plugged the bell cord, threw the messenger on the floor, bound and gagged him and then rifled the safe of its contents and succeeded in getting away about $50,000. Under the name of Jim Cummings he subsequently wrote several letters to the St. Louis papers stating that the robber would never be discovered. He was, however, arrested in Chicago by Mr. Robert A. Pinkerton and two of our detectives and the balance of the gang were all captured. Wittrock was extradited to Missouri and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the penitentiary. He gave up all the money he had not spent. Everybody connected with this robbery had been located almost immediately after it was committed with the exception of Wittrock, who was caught about forty days after the robbery. When arrested he was heavily armed and would have made a desperate resistance had he not been taken by surprise.

About this time the Dalton brothers made their appearance in Kansas and the Indian Territory. These men, five in number, "held up" numerous trains throughout the country. Their base of operations extended from Missouri to the Pacific Coast. Several of them were taken into custody, but afterwards succeeded in making their escape from jail. The whole gang was shot down with the exception of one brother who is now in Kansas, and who is supposed to be the leader of a new gang operating under the old name "The Daltons."

The next robbery of any note was that of the Adams Express on the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad, near Pacific, Mo., by Albert Denton Slye, Marion Hedgepeth, Dink Wilson and a man named Tom Francis. They obtained about $15,000 by this rob-

bery. The case was worked by our agency in conjunction with the St. Louis, San Francisco and Los Angeles police forces. Robert A. Pinkerton, Detective Whittiker, and an officer in Los Angeles arrested Slye at Los Angeles, Cal. On his person was found the watch taken from the express messenger and a ring that was known to have been in the express safe. Slye pleaded guilty and was sentenced to twenty years. Later on I received information that Hedgepeth was receiving mail under an alias at San Francisco, Cal. This information was communicated to the San Francisco police, who arrested Hedgepeth a few days later as he was calling for his mail at the post-office. Shortly after this Jim Francis and a man named Myers, members of this gang, attempted to "hold up" a train near Ft. Scott, Ark., but were overpowered and killed. Hedgepeth fought his case bitterly in the courts, but was finally convicted and sentenced to twenty-five years in the Missouri State Prison. Dink Wilson, the other member of this gang, escaped, went into the mountains near Utah, and was in hiding for a long time. Last July while a detective at Syracuse, N. Y., was trying to arrest two men who were suspected of being connected with a number of burglaries which had occurred in the neighborhood of Syracuse, the men turned and fired at short range, killing him almost instantly. One of the murderers was taken, but the other escaped. The picture of the man arrested was sent throughout the country, and was finally identified as that of Dink Wilson. We subsequently located the second man at Buffalo, where he was arrested by the local officers. These two men are bound to be convicted, and will, in all probability, be electrocuted. This will dispose of this whole gang of train robbers.

The two Sontag brothers and Evans were the next train robbers to spring into prominence. They operated as far East as Racine, Wis. They "held up" a train on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R., robbing the American Express Company of a large amount of money. After this robbery they decamped to Minneapolis, and there our agency, acting for the American Express Company, were put on their track, but did not have sufficient evidence to arrest them. We, however, followed them to California, where they "held up" a train on the Southern Pacific, robbing the Wells-Fargo Company's safe. One of the Sontag brothers was arrested, but Evans and the other Sontag succeeded

in escaping after shooting all the officers. They were, however, recently captured and in the encounter Sontag was killed, and Chris Evans is now awaiting trial, badly wounded.

In the recent train robbery on the Mineral Range Railway the robbers succeeded in getting about $70,000, the property of the American Express Company. This robbery was committed by two brothers named Hoagan and three others. Our agency, with the aid of the local officers, speedily captured these men and recovered all the money. The last robbery of the United States Express Company, on the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, has not yet been worked up, but I feel confident that the officers engaged on this will eventually get the right people. There is one thing certain, that the men engaged in the last express robbery will not be allowed to escape.

One of the reasons for the recent epidemic of train robberies may be found in the general business depression. It is, however, also largely due, in my opinion, to the reading of yellow-covered novels. Country lads get their minds inflamed with this class of literature. Professional thieves or designing men find among this class many who are willing to go into their schemes. The majority of these robbers are recruited from among the grown boys or young men of small country towns. They start in as amateurs under an experienced leader. They become infatuated with the work and never give it up until arrested or killed. I recollect a case where three boys aged respectively seventeen, twenty-one and twenty-six "held up" a train near Emmett, Ark., in 1882 and took from the Pacific Express about $9 000 and from the passengers about $1,500. The conductor of the train ran one of them down and brought him back, the other two escaped, but were eventually arrested in the Indian Territory. They were convicted and sentenced to seventy years each in State's prison. One of these was a mere lad, who had seen a railway train for the first time to "hold it up."

Train robbery is not a profitable pursuit by any means. In nearly every case capture and punishment are almost certain, and death is very frequently the penalty. The chances of escape are not one in a hundred, and the stealings as a rule are very small in spite of the popular belief that train robbers succeed in getting large sums of money without being caught.

Until three years ago dynamite was never used in train rob-

beries. It has been employed, however, in several of the more recent cases, and its use makes train robberies all the more dangerous. The robbers can now blow open an express car in a few seconds, where formerly it took them several minutes to pick the lock or force the combination. Speaking on this point the General Manager of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad said recently :

> I frequently receive suggestions to have steel express cars built and to send guards with trains. But why should we do that when any one may buy a quarter's worth of dynamite, and blow to pieces the strongest metal ever put together? Great treasure is carried by every line, and dynamite will open the best of safes. In many States any one may buy that dangerous explosive, and no questions are asked. Law should first restrict the sale of it, as it does the sale of poison. Men who hold up passenger trains are armed, and, if it is necessary to carry out their designs, they will kill. Aside from the liability of a messenger, an engineer, or a curiously-inclined passenger to be shot, there is a greater danger that another train may come along and wreck the passenger train, standing alone on the track, in some dark cut or lonely piece of woods. Train robberies are increasing each year, and I shall bend my energies to procure legislation making train robbery a capital offence.

That this peculiar form of crime is on the increase no one will deny. That it should be checked promptly and firmly is imperative. Indeed, unless some measures are taken to prevent the increase of train robberies I would not be surprised to see an express train held up within ten miles of New York or Philadelphia at a not very remote date. The question is a very serious one. In fact a meeting of the general managers of the different railroads centering in a Western city was recently held for the purpose of adopting some means of defence against these desperadoes.

The bill recently introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Caldwell, of Ohio, which proposes to place the crime of train robbery under the jurisdiction of the United States, has great merit, and should be passed without delay. If it becomes a crime against the United States to "hold up" and rob a train, it is almost certain that this class of work will soon come to an end. The robbers frequently have friends or relatives among the local authorities in the county in which they reside, and more particularly is this so in the South and Southwest. A Western officer once told me, when I asked his assistance to arrest a part of a train-robbing gang, that he would deputize me and aid me secretly, but owing to the relatives and sympathizers of these

men residing in the county he dare not lend a hand openly; that I did not reside in the county and did not have to live there after this arrest was made, but he did. He deputized me and one of our men whom I had brought with me, and that night he rode with us into the Missouri River "bottoms" and pointed out the home of the men we wanted, helped to surround the house, and was ready to kill either of the men if necessary, providing it was not known that he helped to do so. This man was a good officer and willing to do his duty, but it was impossible for him to conduct a fight against these men alone. Had it been known that he was against them he would have been assassinated. This itself is a good argument why the United States government should take charge of these cases, as the robbers are not likely to be able to control the United States officials as they control the local authorities. The latter will frequently drop pursuit at the State or county lines, claiming that they have no authority to go further. A State or county line would not act as a barrier for a United States officer. I hope, therefore, that Congress may see the necessity of taking some action on the bill now before them.

If it were not for the prompt and energetic action of the express companies in persistently following up train-robbing gangs and never giving up the search until all the gang are landed in prison or killed, train robberies would be more frequent. A man who will rob an express company is a fugitive forever afterwards until arrested or punished, as express companies are relentless in pursuing those who rob them; but it is not right that these companies should be obliged to take these steps and go to the great expense that they frequently are obliged to go to in order to arrest or exterminate these highwaymen. They are as much entitled to protection under the law as is a private individual, but, being corporations, they do not get this protection, but are obliged to spend large amounts of money to protect themselves.

Express companies which carry large sums of money are seriously considering the advisability of placing the money rates so high that the banks will be forced to use the United States mails for the transport of their money, so that the robbers, to get the money, must "hold up" the United States mails as well as the express companies, thus making such a robbery a government offence. The express companies are now carrying on their heavy

money trains guards armed with the latest improved style of revolvers and Winchesters. These guards are men known for their determination and nerve, and will most likely give a warm reception to the next gang that attempts to rob a train anywhere in the country. The express companies are also placing burglar proof safes in their cars. These safes are strongly constructed, so it will take the robbers hours to get into them, and if they are blown up the money will be destroyed so that it will not do the robbers any good. The safes are locked in New York and cannot be opened by any one until their arrival at Chicago or other point of destination, the messenger not knowing the combination.

WILLIAM A. PINKERTON.

THE WEALTH OF NEW YORK.

BY THE HON. THOMAS F. GILROY, MAYOR OF NEW YORK.

III.

BEFORE proceeding to those comparisons and explanations of detail which will serve to show what measure of excellence can be claimed for the present administration, it is worth while to consider the figures in certain primitive ways that will indicate to the average citizen what he really enjoys in the privilege of residence in the metropolis. Financiers and politico-economists need no such considerations, but the average man is neither one nor the other, save in a primitive fashion, and primitive explanations are in order.

The corporation, then, owns real estate, which is equivalent to nearly $300 in value for each man, woman and child in the community. As against this, supposing each individual to have his own share, there is a debt secured by mortgage of $50, and the amount which it costs each individual to continue in the enjoyment of the privileges of membership in the corporation is $17 a year. These privileges, it must be remembered, are not confined to the mere act of ownership of the corporate possessions nor their protection and maintenance, but include a practically unlimited supply of the best water in the world ; the free use of fifty beautiful parks, of magnificent bridges, and of hundreds of miles of well-paved and well-lighted streets ; the almost absolute protection to person and property afforded by what are conceded to be the finest Police and Fire departments in the world ; effective protection to the public health ; adequate relief in case of accident or sickness by an efficient ambulance corps and hospital service ; relief in destitution in case of calamity by a wise and lib-

eral administration of charity; free access to bountifully supplied markets; all the advantages of a magnificent dock system; free education, and the unquestioned right to demand and obtain justice when individual rights are infringed. More than this, for extraordinary occasions there is the protection of a well-armed, well-equipped, well-disciplined and efficient military force, and the certainty of obtaining, if necessary, pecuniary aid for the community to any possible extent at a lower rate of interest than anyone else can get it.

Moreover, this $17 a year provides for the maintenance and constant improvement of all the property in hand, and, together with the ordinary sources of city revenue, for the gradual extinction of the debt now existing.

It is a simple fact that at no previous time in the world's history and at no place in the world outside of the limits of New York city has it been possible to obtain such results for the same amount of money. The privilege of citizenship in New York is the highest civic possibility. So much appears to be beyond dispute, but it is well, at this point, to return to the consideration of a question left unanswered in an earlier part of this discussion.

Taxation forms a burden which humanity almost always finds irksome. What is paid out of the pocket of the individual for the benefit of the community is almost invariably begrudged by the individual, for the reason that few persons are philosophical enough to see that they pay in direct proportion to the benefits they personally receive from the community. The man who owns a million dollars' worth of property pays a thousand times as much as he who only owns a thousand dollars' worth, and he almost invariably grumbles about it, forgetting that he gets protection and improvement for exactly a thousand times as much. Consequently, as long as civilization continues, there will be complaints about the rate of taxation and the appraisal of property. There are such complaints made in New York to-day, and it is well worth while to see what foundation there is for them.

We have seen that each individual, if the average be computed, will pay $17 in taxes this year. But as taxes are not levied per capita, let us see what the burden on property is. The closest estimate of the actual market value of such property as the Commissioners have been able to find, on which to lay taxes, is $5,000,000,000. Five billions of dollars are, therefore, called upon

to pay $34,000,000. In other words, if a man calls upon the community to protect him in the possession and enjoyment of $150 worth of accumulated property in addition to his rights and privileges as a citizen, the community calls upon him to pay one dollar into the necessary fund.

This estimate of five billions of dollars as the market value of the real estate of the city which is subject to taxation requires a few words of explanation. It is not claimed that it is a close estimate. To make such is out of the question. But in a general way it is understood that the assessment made by the Tax Board is fixed, as nearly as may be, at 40 per cent. of the real or market value of the property. It may very probably be the case that this is not even closely approximated in a great number of cases, but taking property by and large it is as near as any estimate may be made. This has been the rule for many years, and, at all events, if the same proportion is adopted in examining the records of different years the comparison between years will be a fair one. Thus while he nominally pays $1.85 on each $100 worth of property which he owns, the citizen really pays $1 on every $150 worth. Five billions of dollars as the estimated market value of taxable New York real estate does not seem extravagant when it is recalled that in 1892 alone over $66,000,000 was invested in new buildings and in improvements to old ones within the city limits.

Supposing the comparison to be between 1876 and 1893, we find that in the former year there was a population of a million and a quarter. The municipal debt amounted to $116,619,487. The expenses of the city as provided for by direct taxation amounted to $31,109,521.60. It is a startling comparison. It must be remembered that the real estate holdings of the corporation were not then in excess of $300,000,000 in value, if worth as much as that. Values had not then recovered from the depreciation of the panic of 1873. But, allowing for normal increase, we may assume $300,000,000 as the value. The figures then show :

	1876.	1893.
Population	1,250,000	2,000,000
City property	300,000,000	559,000,000
City debt	116,619,487	98,551,821.87
Annual taxes	31,109,521.60	34,177,429.55
City property per capita	240	279.50
City debt per capita	93.25	49.28
Taxes, per capita, per annum	25	17

If we suppose for illustration that the burden of taxation this

year was to be equal to that of 1876, we must either figure on how much it would be *per capita*, or else imagine the same rate imposed, or, thirdly, calculate the amount of the levy for this year to bear the same proportion to the valuation which it bore in 1876. The last two propositions are identical in result, it being a matter of percentage, whichever way it is phrased. Calculated *per capita* the taxation for 1893, if it were equal to that of 1876, would be $50,000,000 instead of $34,177,429.55—in other words there would be a difference of $16,000,000. If the same rate were imposed, and property had to pay in proportion as it then did, the difference would be still greater, for the levy would be $54,138,518.81.

There is still another aspect of the question of taxation which is seldom remembered and still more seldom referred to. It is presented by the fact that when a citizen of New York city pays his annual bill he has settled all his taxes for the year. Not only are the city and county taxes included in the $1.83 which he will this year probably pay on each $100 of the Commissioners' valuation, but the State tax is also included. Neither is there any separate charge for school tax, road tax, judiciary tax, military tax, or any other one of the various forms of taxes commonly levied in other communities. The single bill is all he is required, with the single exception of his water rates, to pay for all the extraordinary advantages to which he is entitled by virtue of his residence here.

It is this fact that renders comparison between the conditions in New York and those in other cities so extremely difficult and complicated a task. Comparatively few communities order their business in the same fashion, but on the contrary almost everywhere else there is a division of burdens. The bare fact that New York is to pay a tax of $34,000,000 this year leads to the hasty conclusion among non-thinking persons that our community is tax-ridden—a conclusion that too many unscrupulous persons are ready to declare for partisan purposes. If, however, there be any virtue in a plain statement of facts, such as this is, the conclusion is manifestly false.

A table of comparisons between the tax rates of this and other cities, which was published recently in one of our newspapers, was absolutely worthless for these reasons, and was even incorrect in regard to New York city itself. The rate here, this

paragraph stated, will be 1.87 this year. As a matter of fact it will be 1.83, or possibly less. The rate in other cities for the current year was quoted at 1.85 in Philadelphia, 2.77 in Brooklyn, 2.84 in Cincinnati, 2 in New Orleans, 2.84 in Jersey City, 2.73 in Cleveland, 2.17 in Louisville, 2 in St. Paul, 4.10 in Omaha, and 4.35 in Chicago last year. Aside from the incompleteness of this statement (no mention being made of whether these rates include county and State taxes or not) it is evident that a just comparison would include a discussion of the efficiency of the local governments and of the magnitude of the public works. New York not only pays less than most other large cities, but gets far more than almost any of them.

Surprising and gratifying as these comparisons may be, there is still another side to the question which can be considered with equal gratification. The public works that have been planned and executed since 1876 are such as would have been deemed visionary at that time. Every branch of the city government has increased in efficiency, in a ratio fairly commensurate with the increase in the wealth of the city. Not merely are two millions of people as well cared for by their public servants as a million and a quarter then were, but the conditions of life—the public health, safety, convenience, and even morals—are better guarded than they were then.

To whom, and to what do we owe the wonderful increase and improvement? I do not hesitate to say that the improvements in the administration of government are primarily due, not to the newspaper press, but to that public opinion which finds its first and fullest expression in the utterances of the newspapers. The constant criticism of the press undoubtedly acts as a stimulus and a corrective agency upon public officials, so far as it represents the prevailing tone of public opinion. Beyond that it is not necessary to consider the question. The people of New York city are constantly demanding improvements in their public service because they will be entirely satisfied with nothing short of perfection, or such measure of perfection as is humanly possible. And the service is constantly improving because of the demand.

The increase in wealth is, of course, largely due to the increase in population. The more people there are in a community the more uses are found for its property and the more valuable that property becomes. When, to an increase in numbers there

is added an improvement in government, capital is attracted and, finding security, remains. The decrease in the burden of taxation comes directly from the wisdom, honesty and efficiency of the administration of affairs. We have seen that if the city government to-day were conducted on the lines on which it was formerly conducted, our 2,000,000 of people would now have a public debt of $186,500,000, and would be paying an annual tax of $50,000,000 or more. The irresistible conclusion is that the administration of public affairs is much improved. Not only do the results prove it, but the details, if there were space to discuss them, would plainly indicate in what ways this proposition is true.

All three of these causes, public opinion, growth of population, and improved administration of public affairs, act mutually, one upon the others, and all to the general improvement of civic life. Such statements may appear to be truisms, but they are necessary premises to the important and political lesson to be learned from them.

Tammany Hall justly claims its full measure of credit for the improvements it has brought about in the public service, since the time when it resumed control of municipal affairs in 1888. It would be an absurdity to claim credit for all the differences that obtain between the present condition of affairs and those of 1876. Neither has 1876 been selected for a comparsion for any reason beyond the fact that the public debt was largest in that year. No such claim is made. Nor is there any claim for credit for the increase of wealth which results from natural conditions and natural growth. What is claimed, with perfect confidence that the claim cannot be controverted, is that since Tammany's accession to power the various departments of the city government have been administered more efficiently than they ever were before; that greater improvements have been accomplished more economically than ever before; and that not a single case has occurred in which a Tammany Hall official has been known to be derelict to his trust or to have misappropriated a single dollar of the public funds.

There is a very large and eminently respectable portion of the community who stand opposed to Tammany Hall to-day, and who, doubtless, believe conscientiously that a better administration of municipal affairs would result if Tammany should be de-

feated at the polls, and if they themselves should be put in control of the city government. The only means whereby they can hope to accomplish such an end is to attack the Democratic party, and it is interesting to examine into the grounds on which they undertake to do so. When their arguments are sifted they are found to rest entirely on two premises. One is that the great majority of the voters of the city are controlled by liquor dealers, and the other is that that same majority (some sixty odd per cent. of the people) are controlled by "the organization."

In the first place the two propositions contradict each other. In the second place neither one is true. Liquor dealers, as a matter of fact, bear just about the same proportion to the Tammany vote as they do to the anti-Tammany vote. They naturally control or influence votes, and since the majority of the community favor Tammany Hall it naturally follows that a majority of the liquor dealers do so. Secondly, "the organization" does not, as a matter of fact, control the voters, but the voters do control the organization. This is a fact so patent to any one who will take the trouble to look into the matter that it is not worth while to discuss it.

The organization claims the common justice of being judged on the results of what it has done. If these results be examined in detail it will be found that under the administration of the last five years certain things have been insisted upon as essential to the public service.

The first of these requisites is honesty. If any instance of dishonesty is discovered on the part of a public servant Tammany Hall will insist upon the removal and punishment of that official as promptly and as vigorously as any other portion of the community will do it. This need not be considered to proceed from the assumption of any superiority in morals over the rest of humanity, but, putting it on the lowest ground, it may fairly be said to result from the fact that Tammany Hall perceives the wisdom of being honest. Honesty is at least the best political policy, and Tammany Hall has no relish for the notion of carrying the burden of any individual member's dishonesty.

The second essential is efficiency. In all the criticisms that have been directed against the present administration, not one, so far as can be recalled now, has been to the effect that public duties are not well performed. If a public official can be found

who neglects his duties, or who prefers his private interests to his public service, his place will speedily be filled by a worthier man. So much, every Tammany Democrat knows of a certainty.

The third is economy. It is again worthy of notice that no charge of extravagant expenditures of public money have been made against the city government for a few years past. Time was when New York City was expected to pay more for its purchases, or for many of them, than the ordinary buyer would do in open market. It is not expected now, and it is not the fact, that the corporation pays exorbitantly for anything it buys. On the contrary, it is a close buyer, and one of the principal reasons, if not the main reason, why this is so is that the old system of $999-contracts, which was continued in the city until 1888, has been entirely abolished, and the result is due certainly to the system inaugurated by the Democratic party.

It was formerly the habit to make small purchases and to do small jobs of work by private contract instead of opening the matter to competition. The charter of the city wisely allows such things to be done because in some cases it results in a saving. For example, when it becomes necessary to make repairs to some of the patent pumps and machinery used in the Croton Aqueduct system, it is wiser to contract with the patentees who have their own workmen than to open competition among machinists, and by awarding the job to the lowest bidder run the risk of ruining the machinery.

But the law opened the door to corruption by allowing anything less than $1,000 to be bought or done under a private contract, and under former administrations enormous pressure was brought to bear to secure these small contracts. The result was a large loss to the city. It will be glad news to professional reformers that these private contracts are no longer awarded. In every case where there is not a public competition, the reasons for a private award are written out in full on the papers and become a public record. The credit of this reform belongs entirely to Tammany Hall.

It therefore happens that public affairs are now conducted more openly than they ever were before. With this openness comes a lowering of expense. But over and above this result, it is a fact that public improvements are now carried on under a comprehensive and systematic plan such as was never before

adopted. To enter upon a discussion of this would be to lengthen this article to tediousness. The facts are so well known as to render the work unnecessary, and the mere statement suffices.

If this article were intended as a political argument only it would be appropriate and proper to go further into particulars on these lines. Being intended, as it is, for an exposition of the actual condition and prosperity of the city, further details are probably superfluous. The great fact remains that New York city is one of the richest communities in the world, with enormous corporation property and comparatively very small debt; that our rate of taxation is exceptionally small, while the returns made to the citizen are almost unequalled, and that the city government, in deference to the imperative demands of our people, has been brought to a standard of honesty, efficiency and economy which compares favorably with that of any other community on earth.

It is impossible to believe, or even to suppose, that the limit of prosperity has been reached. There are no signs of retrogression. Our prosperity is attracting desirable citizens, who are joining us year by year, not only from the ranks of the foreign immigrants, but from all parts of our own country. Capital is flowing into our coffers. Modern thought and modern systems are bettering the conditions of life continually, and so long as our public affairs continue to be administered in accordance with the well-tried principles of American political history as they are formulated by the now dominant political party, just so long may we expect to advance at something like our present rate of progress.

THOMAS F. GILROY.

THE REVISION OF THE BELGIAN CONSTITUTION.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE BELGIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON,
ALFRED LE GHAIT.

After the revolution, which separated Belgium from Holland in 1830, the former was constituted an independent and perpetually neutral State. The first care of the National Congress was to give the country a constitution, which was promulgated on the 7th of February, 1831. Belgium was born again, with her glorious traditions of secular liberty under a new régime, that of a constitutional monarchy, in which the powers were fairly balanced, and the exercise of all its liberties was assured to the nation. The Belgian constitution has since then gained the admiration of the civilized world, and on account of its merits and of the proverbial wisdom of the dynasty under whose ægis she has flourished for sixty-two years, Belgium enjoys an era of peace and prosperity of which history offers few examples.

The Belgians, proud of their constitution, have loved, respected and cherished it, and have on several occasions repelled attempts to modify it. Whatever may be the political or social questions which divide the Belgians, a spirit of quiet common sense, of great patriotism, unites them, when it is necessary to defend and maintain those grand fundamental principles, on which are based the institutions of the country, and which have assured its happiness under the constitutional monarchy.

With the hereditary monarchy, the constitution has established the Parliament, composed of the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate. The members of the two chambers are directly elected by the people. The responsible ministers are chosen by the King from the majority designated at elections. All powers

emanate from the nation. The legislative power is exercised collectively by the King and the two Chambers.

The whole political organization is based on the elective system, and it results—as is evidenced in the United States—that the elective system is the absolute reign of the majority. If tyranny is to be feared in the Great Republic or in Belgium it cannot be that of the executive power, but only that of the majority, which in the name of its rights, more constitutional, sometimes, than real, governs the country in its own manner, without regard to the minority which, though powerless, is often nearly as numerous as the controlling party.

The importance of the majority explains the efforts of the defeated classes to come into power in their turn by the aid of the ballot box. In the countries where parliaments prevail, people no longer conspire against the sovereign—no struggle is made to extort concessions from him—but the struggle is, to belong to the all powerful majority.

The constitution of 1831 adopted the exclusive principle of taxpaying, considering it as a presumption of capacity, and made it the unique basis of electoral franchise. Articles 47 to 59 establish the rules which serve as a basis for the two branches of Parliament. Article 47 prescribes that the representatives shall be elected by citizens paying the "cens" or tax fixed by the electoral law, which could not be over 100 florins, nor under 20 florins direct taxation. The number of deputies could not exceed the proportion of 1 for 40,000 inhabitants. They were elected for four years. The Senators were elected for eight years by the same electors, their number being limited to that of half of the representatives.

The revised electoral law—that of the 12th of March, 1848—accords the right of suffrage to all Belgians paying the minimum tax of 20 florins (43.32 francs). It was impossible to go further than this under the provisions of Article 47 of the constitution. By the law of 1848 the total number of electors amounted only to 79,189, for a population of 4,359,090 inhabitants.

This régime has lasted until to-day, but a universal economic revolution, perhaps more intense in Belgium than elsewhere, has been in progress since 1848. Riches, general education and population have increased out of all proportion to the limited num-

ber of citizens invested with the right to vote. To-day 134,437 electors decide the destiny of a population of more than 6,000,000 souls.

The injustice of this situation has been acknowledged for several years; divers attempts have been made to bring about a revision of Article 47, but the respect for the constitution was such that no majority ventured to assume the responsibility of laying hands on it. In 1870, in 1883 and in 1887 various propositions for revision were submitted to the House, but they failed to pass. A new effort was made on the 19th of November, 1890, by Mr. P. Janson and his friends of the Advanced Left, and this time Mr. Beernaert, chief of the Conservative cabinet, and the leaders of the principal parliamentary groups, having declared themselves in favor of Mr. Janson's proposition for the revision of Articles 47, 53 and 56, it was unanimously adopted by the 118 members present.

The extension of the right of suffrage was declared just and legitimate by all the organs of the nation. This unanimity alone authorized the alteration of the Constitution, for its revision could not be accomplished except by the wish of the people and after the matter had been considered with all the maturity of judgment and patriotism that such an important act in the history of a people demands. It was understood that the revision was only to be applied to the articles specially designated, and that the great fundamental principles were to remain unattacked. But though everybody was agreed upon the necessity of increasing the right of suffrage, there was no agreement as to the new system that should be adopted. The door was opened for all factions, but when and how to stop the torrent which was pouring in to occupy the vacant seats of the majority was the question. Could the people pass without transition from the "cens" to the "capacity"—from a limited suffrage to a universal suffrage—without exposing the country to great perturbation?

Each revision of the constitution requires dissolution of both Houses and the election of new chambers forming the constituent assembly which decides in accord with the King the points submitted for revision, which can not be adopted except by a two-thirds vote. Committees composed of twenty-one members were appointed by the House and Senate to study the different projects of revision. The discussion was opened April 26, 1892, by a re-

markable address by Mr. Beernaert, the chief of the cabinet. While full of gratitude and respect for the work of the legislature of 1831, which was to be attacked, he made a patriotic appeal for conciliation through which the future could be looked forward to with confidence.

On March 30, 1891, Mr. Beernaert transmitted to the Central Section the views of the government on the question of revision, embodying them in a number of articles, more elaborate than those called for by Mr. Janson's motion. He indicated the general ideas of the government as to the extension to be given to the right of franchise, as to the organization of the Senate, the representation of minorities and the right of consultation (Referendum) given to the King.

As to the right of suffrage the government recommended not as the expression of its desires, or those of its party, but as a concentration for all demands, the franchise system of England based on habitation, but at lower rates, so as to increase the number of voters of twenty-five years of age. The capacity standard was also admitted to a certain degree.

Considering that parallel modifications should be introduced simultaneously into the Senate the government proposed to fix, at thirty-five years, the age of the eligibles and of the electors which would be the same for both houses. The Senate would be recruited among citizens who had held high office or possessed real estate of the value of at least five hundred thousand francs. The representation of the minorities, so equitable on principle, and of which Mr. Beernaert has always shown himself a convinced partisan, is a point which will be left to the law to regulate.

Let us now speak of the Referendum, the *referendum royal*, and the *referendum post*. The *referendum post* was the constitutional right accorded to the King, to consult directly with the electors concerning a law voted by the Chambers, but of which the King hesitated to approve. The government thought it could not logically reorganize the legislative power without taking action on the royal power, with which it is closely allied. It thought that it would be well to invest the King with the right to place himself *en rapport* with the electoral body, to learn its opinion either as to a question of principle, or concerning a law voted upon but not yet promulgated.

The *referendum royal* was an innovation; it does not appear

in any other monarchical constitution and has created discussions without number. Some maintained that it placed a weapon in the hands of the King with which he could baffle the parliamentary majority by making an appeal to the people. Others saw in it, on the contrary, too great an abdication of the prestige that the constitution has conferred upon the Crown, the King already having the right to refuse his approbation of the laws voted by the two Houses, and having also the right to dissolve them and appeal again to the nation.

Surely, if this appeal to the people could in certain exceptional cases render great services in covering, so to say, the responsibility of Parliament, or that of the King, and in making perhaps the exercise of his power more democratic, it might be feared on the other hand that turbulent minorities might constantly demand of the King recourse to the "referendum." The discontented masses would continually ask to be consulted and the King would find himself placed in the alternative of sacrificing a part of his dignity or of his popularity. The thought that in Belgium this plebiscite could lead to Cæsarism is an absurd idea. The dynasty of Belgium has already given too many proofs of wisdom, and King Leopold has been such a long time in the eyes of the entire world the personification of the most perfect respect for the spirit of the constitution, for anybody to find in this phantom the cause of the opposition that the referendum has met. The cause apparently will be found in the fear of weakening rather than augmenting beyond measure the power and prestige of the Crown. The legislators of Belgium have not believed it to be their duty to adopt this innovation in the constitutional customs of the country.

Mr. Beernaert declared that the government was in favor of the system known as that of "habitation." Two other methods were under discussion—the communal tax combined with the standard of intelligence, and universal suffrage. The three systems would cause in different degrees an increase of the popular vote. Various elements of the Right and of the Moderate Left united on the proposition that the voters at large should pay the "tax" of ten florins as the communal voters do, and, further, that the electoral right of vote should be given to certain classes of citizens possessing various degrees of capacity.

The system of universal suffrage proposed by Mr. P. Janson,

leader of the Advanced Left, was discussed at the greatest length. It was supported by the Progressive Party and the mass of the working class, but was opposed by the government, which showed no favor to it either in theory or in practice. Mr. Beernaert and his friends maintained that the concession of the equal right of all to vote was an injustice, under a parliamentary régime. They could not understand, they said, why people should want to be governed by the ignorant masses, who had no interests to defend or to protect. They thought that the laws of the country and the direction of national affairs should be confided to men who had guarantees to offer. A country cannot, any more than a private individual, intrust the administration of its affairs to incapable persons without risk of disaster. Beyond this, the President of the Council and the majority of Parliament thought that it would be perilous to pass at once from a very restricted taxation system to absolute universal suffrage. It would be a jump in the dark and might expose the country to disturbances of a far-reaching character. It does not enter into the writer's province in this brief article to recite all the arguments that were made by the partisans of universal suffrage, for they are the same everywhere, and the application of the grand principle involved has, in this country, borne striking proofs of its advantages.

Naturally the classes in Belgium who had been deprived of the right of the ballot struggled without distinction to obtain it. Socialism, which is agitating in Belgium, as in other European countries, took hold of the question of the right of suffrage to excite the democratic party. Congresses of workmen were held, loud demonstrations were made, and threats of general strikes were issued, in the hope of intimidating Parliament. But let us hasten to say that deaf to the cries from the street, fearless before threats, the Constitutional Parliament pursued its labors with dignity worthy of the task with which it was invested.

After long and memorable discussions, in which many eloquent speeches were heard, for and against the various projects, they were all rejected at the sessions of April 11 and 12, 1893. This showed the necessity for making mutual concessions, for all were agreed as to the necessity of finding a solution of the question as to the extension of the right of suffrage.

When the vote of the House rejecting the principle of universal suffrage became known the workingmen's party, without waiting to know what other combined system would be adopted, manifested its disappointment and ordered strikes in several parts of the country. Some riotous proceedings followed, but the strikes did not become general, and the gendarmes, with the energetic aid of the Civic Guard, succeeded without the assistance of the army in reëstablishing order. These troubles were greatly exaggerated by the foreign press, both as to their political and social significance. Never for an instant did the Belgians feel the apprehensions manifested beyond the frontier. Parliament did not hesitate for an instant in the accomplishment of its duties, conscious of the grandeur of its task, filled with the love of country and deaf to the influences and menaces of the outer world, it rejected universal suffrage—pure and simple—and adopted a few days afterwards, in an amended form, the plural vote system.

Parliament did not change its opinion or contradict itself ; by the votes of the 11th and 12th of April it rejected all the projects originally proposed, none of them having obtained the prescribed two-thirds vote. The 18th of April it adopted a measure, based, it is true, upon universal suffrage, but surrounded by the guarantees that its adversaries claimed. This proposition was submitted by Mr. Nyssens. The government, the majority, and the leaders of the various political groups, joined together, ready to make all patriotic concessions. They obtained sufficient guarantees to honorably accept the bill. The system of the plural vote was adopted in the Chamber on the 18th of April, the vote standing ayes 119, noes 14, and 12 not voting. On the receipt of a favorable report of the Commission of Twenty-one, the Senate adopted, by a vote of 52 against 1, the plural vote. There were 14 non-voters, who, as in the House, came from the Left and the Moderate Right.

The system adopted by Belgium to regulate the right of suffrage for the election of members of the House is entirely new, and on this account it is interesting to reproduce *in extenso*, the new Article 47 of the Constitution. It is as follows :

"*Article* 47.—The deputies of the Chamber of Representatives are elected by the citizens under the conditions hereafter prescribed.

"A vote is given to every Belgian of 25 years of age who has lived for a year at least in the same district, and who is not disqualified by law.

"A supplementary vote is given on the strength of any of the following qualifications:

"*First*—To be 35 years of age, married or widower having legitimate offspring, and paying the state at least five francs personal taxation, unless exempted by reason of his profession.

"*Secondly*—To be 25 years old and owner of property of the value of 2,000 francs, recorded on the basis of cadastral revenue. Also from an inscription in the records of the public debt of Belgian 'Rentes' at the savings bank showing a revenue of 100 francs. These values must have belonged to the possessor for two years at least.

"The property of the wife is calculated as belonging to the husband; that of minor children to the father.

"*Thirdly*—To be 25 years old and embraced in the following category:

"(*a*) To possess a diploma for higher instruction, or a certificate showing that the bearer has completed an intermediate course of a higher order, no distinction being made between public or private schools.

"(*b*) To fill or have filled a public position, to occupy or have occupied a position, to exercise or have exercised a private profession, which implies the evident presumption that the person possesses education in a superior degree. The law will pronounce as to these functions, positions, and professions.

"*Nobody can cumulate more than three votes.*

"*It is obligatory to vote.*"

Article 47 of the constitution thus revised is a political transaction which does honor to the tact and patriotism of the members of Parliament.

Universal suffrage is henceforth inscribed in the constitution for all worthy citizens of the age of twenty-five years, but conservative ideas are largely protected, by the addition of one or two votes to the heads of families and property owners. The voting power is also represented by the adjudication of a vote to the holders of diplomas whom the law will designate. The exercise of the right to vote is declared obligatory.

Article 52, as revised, fixes the annual salary of the members of the House at four thousand francs, with the power to travel on all State railroads free of cost, likewise on all leased lines from the member's residence to the capital. The revision of Articles 53, 54, 56, 57 and 58, concerning the organization of the Senate, occupied many months and was more laborious than that of Article 47, which seemed at the commencement far more important.

According to the constitution of 1831 the Senators were elected by the same citizens who elected the representatives, but in the proportion of one to two; the Senators were to be forty years of age, and to pay 1,000 florins (or 2,100 francs) taxation. The

principle established by the constitution of 1831, which caused the Senate to emanate entirely from the same source as the other branch of Parliament, and which gave it the "cens" as sole basis, has often been attacked. From the commencement of the discussion the President of the Council expressed the opinion that it would be well to give to the two assemblies a different basis and a different character.

If one considers the enormous increase of general wealth since 1831, the Senate does not in the actual condition of things represent the moneyed element of the country. The determination to bring about a new order of things provoked long and interesting discussions. The election in the second degree (indirect election) practised in the United States has excited the admiration of foreign observers, and has often been considered as a model for Belgian legislators. The American Senate, which is one of the glories of the institutions of this country, has the salient character of representing the various independent States of the Union as "separate commonwealths." This character, so special, so suitable for this country, could not be entirely adopted for the different mechanism of Belgian institutions. The Belgian upper House has no privilege of which the lower House is deprived. They act conjointly. But the Senate, in its constitution and attributes, must possess characteristics so distinct from those of the lower House, as to prevent it from being an instrument of routine, which mechanically passes the bills of the lower House. It is necessary that the Senate shall unite, within itself, the most eminent men in the first rank of national activity, filled with the spirit of moderation, order and tradition. It is further requisite that the Senate shall be the highest synthetic expression of the rights of property, of the wisdom and knowledge of the country, so that this assembly may be surrounded with prestige and undisputed authority.

A great number of suggestions were made with a view to reaching this ideal and, at the same time, to placing the Belgian Senate as much in harmony as possible with the lower House, after the revision of Article 47. Some of the propositions gave to the Senate a too democratic composition, others too conservative, but none of them could obtain the majority of two-thirds, which the constitutional assembly demanded. Finally a solution was arrived at, having the direct election as a basis, combined with

election in the second degree by the provincial councils. The Senators are elected by the voters like the members of the lower House, according to Articles 47 and 48, and according to a basis of population of each province, one Senator being elected for two representatives. To be eligible in this category it is necessary, in addition to the requirement of forty years of age, to pay 1,200 francs or to be proprietor of real estate representing a cadastral value of 12,000 francs.

Besides the first category the provincial councils elect from two to four Senators for each province, according to the population, which will give twenty-six more Senators who are not submitted to the "cens" or property qualification. The electoral law provides for all the other conditions. Senators will not receive any salary or compensation. Revised Articles 60 and 61 provide for the right of succession to the throne.

The great work of revision came to an end on September 2, 1893. The House held 98 sessions and voted 85 times. The Senate held 17 sessions and voted 41 times. The royal sanction was received on September 7 and the law promulgated immediately.

Mr. Beernaert, President of the Council, closed the debate as he opened it, by words full of the highest patriotism. "It is freely and voluntarily," he said, "that we have changed our constitution, and it is a grand thing to see a hitherto privileged part of the nation abdicate its privileges; and I express the hope that with the aid of Providence, and under the ægis of the new constitution, Belgium will pass through a long era of prosperity, and that harmony may reign in the ranks of all her citizens." The Constitutional Parliament dissolved with shouts of "Long Live the King."

A. Le Ghait.

EUROPEAN WOMEN.

I.—A "PARISIENNE."

BY THE MARQUISE DE SAN CARLOS.

THE genuine Frenchwoman of society is rarely beautiful. She is always more or less fascinating. Like the French nobleman she is tall, lithe, intelligent, appreciative of art, with much delicacy of feeling, and has either very strong, almost bigoted, principles or none at all.

As there is no possibility for the development of love before marriage, this most natural of all human passions is apt to assert its power long after the excitable young Frenchwoman has contracted an alliance with some "unsympathetic fellow," and it needs much character and very solid virtue to resist the courtship of enterprising French noblemen who swarm round young brides with the scepticism of true libertines.

Women of strict principles, who have not become nuns on leaving school, and who have had the courage to withstand the current of youth and passion, lead, after marriage, for the most part, lives of silent domestic martyrdom. Those who have rather loose morals, and they are perchance the greater number, seem to have a pretty good time of it, and spend their golden years "*trompant leurs maris*" with a vengeance, while they bring up their children with the greatest severity, on a system of blindfold ignorance. In fact, the cool way French women have of being immoral without giving up going to church on Sunday is a mystery. One sister will be a Carmelite, and the other will accept the homage of half a dozen admirers. Yet both have been educated in the same convent; both have shared the same life till the age of eighteen, when the gay laughing blonde entered

a religious order, and the dark almond-eyed sister sought the marriage tie for the sole purpose of securing freedom.

The French are naturally artistic in their tastes; this characteristic reaches the very quintessence of delicacy in the person of a dainty lady of fashion. She gives evidence of her fastidiousness from the tip of her tiny slipper to the soft curly ringlets that encircle her brow or have been trained to curl round her graceful neck. The display of underclothes made in the windows of renowned "*lingèries*" give but a faint idea of the fairy-like fancies with which lace frills and ruffled flounces, tasty ribbons and transparent *foulards* have been taught to hide spare forms and bony limbs and suggest the line of beauty in the reflection of a Psyche.

In the arrangement of her toilette the art of a French belle is so great that one is easily led to believe her beautiful until an English or American "professional" enters the room! Then only does one understand where the difference lies. The Anglo-Saxon reminds you of some antique statue; her pencilled eyebrows, her fresh, sweet mouth, the perfect oval of her face and her dazzling complexion are unrivalled; while the pretty Marquise's nose suddenly appears too long, her coloring despairingly sallow, her lips too thin, and her mouth too large.

But keep your two beauties together for a little while; the Englishwoman will be sure to have much amusing and interesting information on hand; whereas it will be quite impossible ten minutes after to recall a word of all the gay nonsense your French friend spouted away almost unwittingly, and when the next waltz strikes up you are half surprised to find that you have left your charming compatriot to the care of some adventurous Frenchman and that the bright bewitching eyes of the Marquise are looking up to you from beneath your very own.

Besides, Anglo-Saxon women rarely possess "*l'art de porter la toilette.*" One reads "Worth" or "Doucet" all over their finery; not so the true Parisienne. She is never a *mannequin*, but leaves this part to the saleswoman. Put the same gown on the Vicomtesse de X. and Lady Z. and you will hear people exclaim as the former passes: "How well the Vicomtesse looks to-day!" and when Lady Z. follows it will be: "What a fortune she spends on Worth." There is something, or rather a nothing—"*un rien*"—as the French say—in the way of giving last touches, of placing a

flower or a jewel on this side or that, which the Parisienne has found in her own looking-glass, and which suits her own peculiar style, her own face and nose and smile, and which she would have placed quite differently had she Lady Z.'s nose and face and smile. In the meantime pretty unartistic Lady Z. has left the bow just where the seamstress pinned it on, and has allowed her *coiffeur* to dress her hair as best he chooses.

Dress moulds itself to the figure of an *élégante*, who remains hours before her mirror, like a painter before his easel, intent on beautifying the image therein reflected. This artistic *chef d'œuvre* once terminated madame seems to forget entirely the pretty picture she has made, and from that moment dedicates all her faculties to the use of those other weapons which intelligent coquetry places at her disposal. Tact, wit and the ever smouldering fire of her glances are all called to action, and soon envelop her in a magnetic atmosphere which easily hypnotizes those who approach too closely and fall an easy prey to the charms of this fascinating siren.

The life of a Parisienne is a round of continual amusement. This, however, may be said of every woman of society in all parts of the world. That society is more absorbing and less fatiguing, more intoxicating though less exciting, in Paris than elsewhere is equally true. The masculine element and the undercurrent of rivalry with the *demi-monde* add much of forbidden-fruit-like charm to the enjoyments of society. Men have nothing to do; women naught but their toilettes to think of; there is plenty of time left for pleasures the most subtle.

Housekeeping lies lightly on the shoulders of a Parisienne. If one has an apartment it is easily superintended; for an important establishment there exist legions of well trained servants with whom the whole thing is a question of money, not of possibilities, as happens in many other countries. To give a reception, whatever may be its character, is therefore an easy matter. A few well-combined orders, and every detail is executed with artistic and intelligent care. Any Parisienne may give a ball or go to one without having housekeeping worries to weigh down her light, graceful spirits. Let us then seek her in her own bright kingdom, the ball-room!

As I write these words I recall the splendid halls of the Duchess de la R., at which the "*Faubourg St. Germain*" reigned

supreme. How aristocratic they all looked, those high bred men and women. How frail and delicate; how slender and graceful. How simple their attire notwithstanding the richness of the textures employed, the elegance of its make and the wealth of jewels placed here and there as though by accident. I used to go early and watch them as they arrived, dropping their curtseys to the mistress of the house near the entrance, while their high-sounding names were being loudly and pompously announced by the most imposing of *huissiers.*

As this stream of fashionable people passed by, it would be: "There goes the Countess X., old M.'s last flame—;" or "here is pretty Madame de N., who caused Count L.'s death in a duel with the Duke de B.—;" or "that is the Baronne de J., her husband and her husband's best friend!" and so on till the arrivals came few and far between and we would follow the Duchess back into the dancing room.

Strange, mysterious creatures are these Parisiennes, who spend their nights in soft, voluptuous motion, under the light of waxen tapers, gliding over the slippery wooden parquets of French salons to the sound of rapturous music. Graceful sirens, with swanlike necks and drooping shoulders, thin, pale arms and small, aristocratic heads, are these mothers and wives whose babes cry alone in the stillness of darkened nurseries, while their husbands make love to beautiful women as vulgar, spontaneous and dangerous as they are refined, old-fashioned and fascinating.

In these splendid halls, these gorgeous festivals, we find no real freshness, none of that virginal charm and originality that enliven society in other parts. The women we see dreaming through one enervating waltz after another in the arms of Mephistopheles like men are not innocent maidens: they are the wives and mothers of the French nobility. For this reason one feels in their midst inexpressible sadness. That very knowledge of life which gives them so voluptuous an attraction explains the odium in which dancing is held by the French clergy, for has not this healthful recreation, at which the village curate used to preside on the greensward opposite his church, long since ceased to be in France the innocent pastime of youth.

The Marquise de X., an English lady, married to a Frenchman, and with whom I frequently shared my observations in

society, used to tell me that at home she often danced the cotillon with her husband, but had she dared indulge in such a freak at Paris she would have become the laughing stock of the city. She would have been smitten by the much dreaded blast of ridicule.

At one of these balls such as I have described I met for the first time a celebrated Marquise, still famous for her beauty. In the marvellous conservatory, forty feet square and as many high, with its huge palms and centennial ferns and its discreet globes of light, half hidden among the branches, was I introduced to this most perfect, most exquisite woman, who rose like a fairy lily in the midst of this artificial forest and looked every inch a queen in this world of aristocratic royalty.

I followed her on that glorious moonlight night down the long flight of steps that led to the grand old park which this antique mansion still retains in the heart of encroaching Paris. As we walked through the long avenues under over-reaching branches of oaks and lindens, we discoursed on art and study, and I could not help contrasting the elevation of this beautiful woman's mind with the emptiness of her life—the life of all her friends—an endless round of balls and receptions, races and theatre-parties, charity fairs and art expositions, morning rides and afternoon drives, five o'clock teas and grand dinner parties, to say nothing of escapades.

That the Marquise is beautiful I need not repeat. Her complexion is fair and her figure is that of a goddess, but it is in her eyes that lies the spell. They are by no means languishing eyes, neither are they petulant black eyes. They are of a deep blue violet, with long, dark lashes—eyes that beam on you with intelligence and overflow on all who approach her with feminine tenderness. Her short upper lip has that daintiness and haughtiness that generations of culture and refinement alone can produce. She is, in short, the most perfect type of the Parisienne I know, because she unites such beauty as is rarely found among the aristocracy to all that peculiar charm of manner, fascination and *esprit*, the secret of which the Parisienne alone possesses.

Since I was introduced to the Marquise I have been to Spain, to England, to America. I have watched by the bedside of dying children and moaned over the loss of those most dearly

beloved. Need I add that during all this time of suffering I had almost forgotten the existence of that gay world of pleasure called Society, when Fortune's mad wheel threw me again suddenly, not long ago, into the midst of a Parisian ball? I felt as though I had grown hundreds of years old, and looked round in bewilderment to see who had filled the ranks of my friends, when, lo! in a quadrille opposite I saw advancing pretty Mademoiselle R., holding out her skirts just as gracefully as she used to do ten long years ago! And in the angle of the room, behind her, was the Duchess of Y., with her parrot-like nose and crooked back, scanning all that was going on through her spiteful old glasses just as before. The grand Madame B., too, was there sitting in a conspicuous position, displaying diamonds and old flesh with the same complacency as ever. Almost next to me was Mademoiselle de C., now Madame de P., whose jealous husband mounted guard beside her in the same ridiculous fashion that had caused him to be laughed at as her suitor.

I went about questioning every body and found to my surprise that none of the people had travelled; none had had sick loved ones to nurse; no one had seemingly lost any near relatives. During all this time they had all been doing the same thing over again, day after day and night after night. They looked tired and restless, not bored—as though waiting for something, a "*bon mot*" or a bit of scandal, before dispersing. A few only of my old acquaintances were missing, and these had been replaced by their moral counterparts.

Yes, on the whole, I had awakened from a long sleep, a modern Rip Van Winkle, with this difference, that I had found no change. The Vicomtesse L. urged me to go to her Thursdays in the very words I was in the habit of recalling, and when I asked Madame de B. about her painting, she replied coquettishly, her usual answer: "Oh! I am nothing but an amateur, you know!"

But none of these intelligent folk seemed to take the least pains to amuse themselves, much less to amuse one another. Women glided about, waiting to be admired. Men stood off, like so many supercilious critics. There was a good deal of excellent music which no one listened to, yet they would have been incensed had it proved to be mediocre. Finally Coquelin was announced, and deluged the whole assembly with a shower of Parisian wit such as none other possesses, of diamond-cut brilliancy, after

which all went home contented. People of Society have no time to make fun for themselves ; it must be served up hot, that they may partake of this spicy stimulus, this mental constitutional, necessary to the life of a true Parisian.

As I drove away from this sort of posthumous apparition of myself in Society I could not help thinking how much more amusing and less troublesome it would have been for those who had passed their teens to spend the evening with a new book or an old friend.

LOLA DE SAN CARLOS.

II.—THE SPANISH WOMAN.

BY EVA CANEL.

THE fact that the Spanish woman enjoys no social freedom until she marries or attains her majority has given rise to the supposition, among those who know us only through the fantastic tales of unscrupulous travellers, that in Spain women live subject to the most absolute of tyrannies, and that we are the victims of the brutal selfishness of man. Nothing could be further from the truth or more calumnious. The Spanish woman yielding cheerfully and willingly the obedience to paternal authority enjoined by religion receives, with the nuptial benediction, the liberty to go about alone and to guard unaided the good name and the respect with which in childhood and youth she had seen herself surrounded. But let it not therefore be imagined that the Spanish girl leads the life of a recluse, subjected to monastic rules. So far from this being the case perhaps there is no woman in the world who enjoys herself more while she is unmarried, who is a greater coquette, or who tyrannizes more completely over her suitors ; and when long dresses give her the right to present herself into society a period of amusements and diversions begins for her which terminates without regret on the part of the good wife, as soon as the duties of maternity come to fill her life and to completely occupy both her thoughts and her time.

In Spain we know nothing of women's congresses because the women who struggle and who study, and who enter the literary, artistic, scientific or journalistic arena, do so on the same foot-

ing as the men, the culture of both sexes being thus measured by the same standard. Our women professors, our literary women and all the women who devote themselves to a scientific career, pursue their studies with the men, discuss scientific questions with the men later on, and continue always to be their companions, without asking liberties which they do not need, because they feel honored by and are satisfied with the protection and respect which the opposite sex yields them.

In the home the Spanish woman is the mistress and arbiter of all that concerns the management of the house, the education of the children and the order which should reign in every respectable family. There is a Spanish proverb which says: "The wife's realm is the house and the husband's the street," teaching us that our kingdom is where the vestals fed the sacred fire, but, without violence or effort, we extend the aphorism and add that while the husband does his part in the street we should do our part in the house, if only imposing respect by our presence and giving a good example to our daughters, destined to become good wives and mothers in their turn.

The Spanish knights of old entered the lists bearing the device, "For God and for my lady"—a reminiscence of chivalry which some nobles still preserve, placing before their titles when signing their names the initial letter of their wife's name. Could higher consideration or greater chivalry be asked? We do not desire divorce because we do not understand how a woman can be the wife of one man and meet another name she had formerly borne, without the blush of shame mounting to her cheek, and the tears to her eyes. To the Spanish woman the father of her children is sacred, and the man who has attained this high position never declines either in the consideration or respect of the good wife and discreet woman.

Our laws could not be wiser nor more favorable to us than they are. Before the law in Spain at the present day woman occupies the favored position to which her personal qualities and the high grade of progress which judicial science has reached in our country give her undisputed right. In criminal matters woman is shown marked preference over man, both in the imposing of certain punishments and in the manner of carrying them out; and she has an equal right with man to exercise such functions as she may find advantageous in addition to others which

are exclusively her privilege and which have solid and reasonable guarantees in law. In civil matters woman may, according to her capacity, make contracts, and act as a witness, executrix and guardian; more, she can perform the functions of the head of the family without any limitations whatsoever, failing the father. She may also, in accordance with the commercial code, engage in commerce with the expressed or tacit consent of her husband, or of whomsoever else she might require the concession; and if she is subject to no one's authority nothing more is requisite than that she should have reached the age of twenty-one to be free to engage in commerce. What more can we Spanish women ask of our laws than to make us the absolute head of the family in case of the death or incapacity of our husbands.

In Spain there are banking houses that do business under the name of a woman, as there are women doctors, serving in the hospitals of the State, and women writers, and women journalists, and women doctors in the sciences, and women bachelors in arts, in philosophy, and in letters; and, above all, we have notable women pedagogues who have raised very high the standard of instruction in Spanish schools.

In this category I include the Spanish possessions where feminine culture has little to learn from countries that pride themselves on their culture.

To appreciate the intellectual advancement of the women of a country something more is required than can be conveyed by a quarter of an hour's discourse, dictated by the caprice or the prejudices of the speaker. Let anyone who wishes to know the intellectual condition of the Spanish woman ponder the works presented by her in the World's Columbian Exposition; let him note their character, let him study their contents, let him make himself familiar with their ideas; and thus he will be able to see how many inaccurate statements are made and spread. Let him look at the hand work, let him read the scientific works of Concepcion Arenal (a great woman who is to have a statue erected to her by popular subscription), and the critical works of Emilio Pardo Bazan, the illustrious journalist, both writers of world-wide reputation and whose glory alone is sufficient to irradiate with its splendor all the women of their country.

If this be not sufficient there are the women composers of music, the women painters, and the women sculptors of Spain—

a brilliant constellation that occupied a conspicuous place in the exposition. And be it remembered that there was in Chicago no true exhibition of our women's work, and that it may be estimated without fear of mistake that fully ninety per cent. of what they might have presented was wanting.

In Spain women are not machines, nor do machines perform those labors which feminine intelligence can adorn ; consequently everything that is the handiwork of woman bears the inimitable stamp which the *quid divinum* gives and which cannot be given by the most perfect machine.

Our women of the lower classes in the northern provinces make up for their lower grade of culture by the profound sagacity with which they are endowed, and govern and direct, unaided, the labors of the field, as well as their families, when the husband emigrates seeking to remedy his poverty or to increase his little fortune. The dowry of the Spanish woman is sacred—her husband cannot touch it without her express consent.

What does it matter then that Spanish girls are not allowed the liberty of travelling and going out unaccompanied when this is not only not to their injury but, on the contrary, greatly to their advantage ? And there is one cause of this custom which alone would be sufficient to justify it—mother-love. The Spanish mother never separates from her daughters, and on the day on which she gives them up to the husbands who acquire through love indisputable rights, the mother weeps as if she were about to lose forever this piece of her heart. And be it remembered that woman in our country has the liberty to choose a husband and to marry the man whom her heart has chosen even without her parents' consent—to such an extent do the Spanish laws favor women.

The civil marriage law, when this was in force, ordained that the woman contracting marriage should be asked if she was marrying through compulsion or of her own free will, and the epistle of St. Paul, which the priest reads to the bride and groom before pronouncing the benediction, says expressly, clearly and wisely, " a companion I give you, and not a slave."

It is true that in the political sphere the Spanish woman can be neither a minister, a magistrate nor a soldier ; but we are perfectly satisfied without this right, nor does it occur to us even to desire it ; for the soldiers, the magistrates and the ministers are

our devoted slaves attached to us by the sweet bonds of domestic life.

If a woman can be neither a deputy nor a Senator in Spain, she can, in exchange, be the Chief of the State—she can be a queen, as she generally is by her merits, by her grace, by her virtues, by her beauty, and by her birthright.

EVA CANEL.

TEN YEARS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY THE HON. CHARLES LYMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

THE national civil service law has now been in operation ten years, a period long enough, even considering the complex character of the service to which it applies, the obstacles to be overcome, and the conditions, in many respects unfavorable, under which it has been administered, to determine the question of its success or failure. It may be admitted at the outset that all that was in the minds of the promoters of this law has not yet come to pass. Indeed it will be many years before their expectations will all be realized. But, considering the revolutionary character of the legislation, the long established and deep-rooted customs to be superseded, and the strong prejudices to be overcome, I have no hesitation in saying that on the whole the law has been a marked success. If there are those who will not agree with this conclusion—and I presume there are—I am satisfied that for the most part they are persons whose views of what the law proposes are fanciful and in no sense justified by its terms, or who have an incomplete knowledge of the facts in the case, or both.

Before answering this question, "What then does the civil service law propose?" it will help to an understanding of the conditions which existed at the time the law was passed and afford a view of some of the evils to be remedied, to note a few of the leading facts connected with the development of the reform sentiment and the inception and progress of the reform movement in this country.

Immediately after the close of the Civil War the reform sentiment began to manifest itself in connection with the correction of abuses and corruptions which had taken root and made headway in the public service during the war, but which until its close had not attracted the attention they deserved, being overshadowed by the great events of that struggle which absorbed the minds and energies of those who gave any attention to public affairs. The

growing reform sentiment had hardly expanded into a reform movement when Mr. Jencks, of Rhode Island, from the joint committee on retrenchment, in May, 1868, presented to the House of Representatives his now famous report and bill. This report, which presented a mass of interesting and valuable facts bearing on the subject, and the bill, which formulated definite propositions, both informed and strengthened the reform sentiment and gave such immediate impetus and direction to the reform movement that three years later, on the 3d of March, 1871, Congress passed the law under which most admirable work was done and most valuable results attained through the rules formulated and the examinations supervised by the Civil Service Commission, headed successively by George William Curtis and Dorman B. Eaton.

The abandonment of examinations under these rules, in 1875, on account of the failure of Congress to make suitable appropriations for carrying them on had the effect of strengthening rather than of weakening the reform sentiment, which by that time had attained to such proportions that both the leading political parties found it expedient to give it indorsement and pledge of support in their national, and in many instances in their State, platforms. No legislation, however, resulted from these pledges until the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt, in consequence of the refusal of President Garfield to yield to their dictation in the matter of certain New York appointments—followed shortly by the assassination of Garfield, and in due course by the election of Grover Cleveland Governor of New York by a phenomenal majority—showed the politicians that a crisis was at hand which meant death to the "spoils" system or to the party that should stand by it, one or the other. The result was the passage on the 16th of January, 1883, of the Civil Service Law. Since this event occurred there has been no diminution, but on the contrary a steady although not rapid increase, in the strength of the reform sentiment, as is evidenced by the passage of reform laws in two States, Massachusetts and New York, and in several municipalities ; in the greater vigilance exercised by the public concerning the character and conduct of public officials, and the closer watch over administrative affairs maintained by the general public. No observing person can have failed to notice the higher standard set by public opinion for the

conduct of public officials now than was the case twenty, or even ten, years ago. Conduct which then would have passed unnoticed would not now be tolerated. All this is part and parcel of the reform movement and directly concerns the successful administration of the civil service law.

Now, what did the civil service law propose? In brief, this: To substitute, within the sphere of its operations, a "merit" system or method of appointment and promotion for the "spoils" system or method, and thereby to increase the efficiency and improve the character of the service; to apportion the appointments in the departments at Washington to the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia according to population; to prevent appointments and dismissals for purely political reasons, and to prohibit the levying of political assessments upon government employees, and the solicitation or collection of political contributions from officers or employees by other officers or employees anywhere, or such solicitation or collection from anybody, whether official or not, by any body, whether official or not, in any building in which the public business is carried on. If these things have been or are being secured, then the law is operating successfully. But, if, on the other hand, they are not being secured, then the law, or at least its administration, is a failure.

The law, in terms, immediately applied to only a fraction of the service which it was intended should ultimately be covered by it, viz.: To the departments at Washington, to each custom-house in which there were fifty employees, then and now eleven in number, and to each post-office in which there were fifty employees, then twenty-three, but now fifty-three in number. The President was, however, authorized to extend its provisions to other custom-houses and post-offices, and also to other branches of the service. That authority has been freely exercised by two Presidents. In June, 1888, President Cleveland revised and extended the classifications of the departmental service so as to cover nearly two thousand places not previously classified, and near the close of his first administration he extended the provisions of the law to the railway mail service. President Harrison, during his administration, brought under the law all the physicians in the Indian service; superintendents, assistant superintendents, teachers and matrons in the Indian school service; the employees of the Fish Commission, and all the free delivery post-offices not previously

classified, numbering at the time five hundred and forty-eight offices.

At first the number of places within the classified service and subject to the provisions of the law was not far from fourteen thousand. It is now upwards of forty-five thousand. And yet the extensions have not been rapid enough nor have they gone far enough to satisfy some of the best friends of reform. I think, however, that the general sentiment even among the reformers is that, considering the facilities which the Commission has had for carrying on the work, the extensions have gone fast and far enough.

But the end is not yet. No friend of reform will be content to rest long at the present point of attainment, but will demand that extensions go forward as rapidly as practicable, until every branch of the service and every place to which the law can appropriately be applied has been covered by its provisions, and the "spoils" system has been utterly rooted out, and has ceased to be anything but a name and a tradition.

So far as the departments at Washington are concerned the law has from the very first been accepted and observed in good faith with only here and there a feeble attempt at evasion. As vacancies have occurred they have been filled by the appointment of persons selected from the certifications of the Commission, without discrimination on account of political or religious opinions or affiliations, and upon the evidence of fitness shown by the record in each case. The Commission never admits into its files or records any statement or evidence as to the politics or religion of applicants or eligibles, and when therefore the papers go to the appointing officer with the certifications containing the names, they disclose nothing concerning these matters, and it is but stating the simple truth to say that the four thousand and more appointments made to the departments under the civil service law have been made wholly without regard to influence of any sort.

To this extent then the "spoils" system has given place to the "merit" system. It is not pertinent to this discussion to inquire whether these appointments are fairly evenly divided between or among the political parties or not. But as the question is often asked, and the assertion as often made that they are not so divided, and that this proves that the civil service law is a failure, I might as well say, once for all, that it proves nothing of

the sort. I do not know what the exact fact is, nor does it concern me to know. Be it one thing or be it another, it does not signify anything with respect to the success or failure of the civil service law. That law provides for open and free competition, and if this is secured and there is no discrimination against any one by the appointing power, the purpose of the law is accomplished, however the appointments may be apportioned politically. That apportionment is a matter that can be left to take care of itself, at least so far as the departments at Washington are concerned, and fortunately heretofore in the main it has been so left. Any attempt now to do otherwise or to inquire into the political status of the employees now in the service, as there seems a disposition to do in some quarters, is to be discouraged, as, if persisted in, it will sooner or later inevitably lead to the very discrimination which the law so pointedly forbids.

The situation has not been so satisfactory at some of the local post-offices and custom-houses. At several of these, with every change of parties there has been an almost entire change in the political complexion of the applicants for examination ; and, as a result, the great majority of the appointments in these offices has been of adherents of the party in power. This is the spirit of the old system, the system of spoils and favoritism projecting itself into the new, and indexing the partisan sentiment of the local community. It will take time to entirely exorcise this spirit and educate sentiment up to the conviction that applicants of all parties have equal rights and will have fair and equal treatment. It is being successfully done, however, a marked improvement being noticeable this year over four and eight years ago. At some of the very largest offices, as for instance, New York, Boston, Brooklyn and Chicago, and at many of the smaller ones, this state of things has never existed to any appreciable extent. At many of the newly classified free-delivery offices, however, the disease is very malignant, and requires and is receiving radical treatment, the Post-Office Department cordially coöperating with the Commission to secure a competition as unrestrained as the law contemplates and provides for. As might have been expected, it is at the very offices where these conditions have existed and do exist that there have been and are the grossest violations of the law, such as dismissals for political reasons, partisan discrimination in appointments, activity in political work on the part of

public officials, and the levying and collection of political assessments. It would be discouraging indeed if no improvement were discernible in the older of these offices; but, fortunately, there has been a very decided improvement in most of them, and an almost complete change of conditions, both of sentiment and practice, in a few. This change might have been more rapid and complete had the efforts of the Commission always been seconded by the Post-Office Department. Two things powerfully help or hinder the successful enforcement of the civil service law in the local offices, viz., local public sentiment, especially as voiced by the local political press, and the attitude of the Department at Washington, and when both these are favorable the task of the Commission is comparatively light.

The railway mail service furnishes perhaps as good an illustration as can be had at once of the successful operation of the civil service law and of its good effects upon the service. That service was organized many years ago, while the Republican party was in power, and had attained to large proportions and great efficiency before there was a change of parties in the administration of the government. In 1885 the Democratic party came into power. This service was not then classified, and from the partisan standpoint was legitimate prey for the spoilsmen. They improved their opportunity, and the service suffered a rude shock in the arbitrary and indiscriminate dismissal of trained and experienced men in very large numbers, and the appointment of inexperienced, and often incompetent men, for political reasons alone. Precisely the same thing occurred again when the Republican party returned to power in 1889, when the shock was even more violent, though less prolonged than before, since the political changes had to be accomplished in the time between the 4th of March and the 1st of May, when the classification of this service made by President Cleveland near the close of his administration went into effect. Since then the service has had rest from political agitation and a chance to become well organized and strong and efficient. Even the recent change of administration has scarcely produced in it a ripple of excitement, and it may to-day be pointed to with pride as an illustration of the admirable results to be realized by the combined operation of the merit system of appointments and good administrative methods.

The Indian school and medical service and the United States

Fish Commission have not yet been long enough under the operation of the civil service law to determine what the final results upon them will be. This much may be said, however, that the tendency thus far has been towards improvement so far as results are known, and the prospect is that these branches of the service will prove no exception to the general rule, and that the law will be found to work as well in them as in those branches where its value has already been tested and proved.

There is a very common belief among a large class of people that the civil service law "protects" the employees of the classified service from dismissal unless for cause; and that when dismissals are made without assigned cause, or "for the good of the service," as the phrase runs, the law is violated or is a "delusion," a "failure" or a "fraud." However much of truth there may be in these conclusions, and it must be confessed that they are not altogether without justification, it is nevertheless the fact that the law does not forbid dismissals except for political reasons, nor attempt to regulate them, nor require reasons to be given when they are made. The law is not, therefore, to be counted a failure when it does not prevent what it does not forbid nor assume to control. There is no question but that the logic of the law is, that, entrance to the service being upon merit as tested and shown by the examinations, continuance in the service should also be upon merit tested by conduct and capacity shown in the actual performance of the public work. And today this is so nearly the rule throughout the classified service, except in the recently classified free delivery post-offices, which are hardly yet organized under the law, that there is little cause of complaint. It is my conviction, however, shared in as I believe by a vast majority of the friends of reform, that, as a further check upon dismissals and an added protection to worthy employees, the President ought to promulgate a rule requiring that a written statement of the reasons for dismissal should in all cases be filed with the order of dismissal. It is probable that more dismissals are made for political reasons than are acknowledged; but the Commission being without power to administer oaths and take sworn testimony, it is very difficult to prove the facts. This is a defect in the law which ought to be remedied by giving to the Commission this power.

In my opinion a serious mistake was made at the outset by

excepting chiefs of division, chief clerks and certain other high grade officials from examination, thus making them the prey of the spoilsmen. The Commission has suffered more unmerited criticism, and the public service more harm, from this one false step taken at the beginning than from almost all other causes put together. Every principle of good administration requires that changes in these places should be made as seldom as possible, and when vacancies occur in them for any reason, that they should, as a rule, be filled by the promotion of men who have earned promotion by faithful and efficient work in the ranks below, and who have become fitted to discharge the important duties of these responsible positions by the knowledge and experience acquired in the service. For some reason no President has yet been willing to strike these places from the excepted list; but it is to be hoped that the act will not much longer be delayed.

The civil service law contemplates that promotions in the classified service shall be made upon competitive tests; but this branch of the work has not yet been seriously entered upon. In 1887 regulations governing promotions were applied to the War Department, and others, slightly different in character, to the New York Custom-House. The examinations under these regulations were compulsory, and competitive in form though non-competitive in fact, since the whole list of eligibles was certified to the appointing officer with full liberty of choice. The regulations did not prove satisfactory, and in 1891 the Commission, believing that the time had come for carrying into effect the provisions of the civil service law on the subject in all the departments at Washington, formulated comprehensive regulations and submitted them to the President for his approval. They were not approved by him, but instead, on the 4th of December of that year, the President by an executive order directed each head of department:

> To at once devise and put in operation a plan for keeping an efficiency record of all persons within the classified service, with a view to placing promotions wholly upon the basis of merit.

That some examination, in addition to the keeping of the efficiency record, was contemplated by the President is evident from the following language contained in the order:

> In my opinion the examination for promotion of those who present themselves should be chiefly, if not wholly, upon their knowledge of the

work of the bureau or department to which they belong and the record of efficiency made by them in their previous service.

Under this order all the departments adopted a plan for keeping efficiency records; but in no two of the departments were they alike. At least three of the departments prescribed examinations in addition to the efficiency records, which also differed in character each from the others. The result of the experiment might easily have been foretold, even before it was entered upon. The object being to promote wholly upon the basis of merit, the plan was not adequate, and was a failure from the start. It has now generally been abandoned, although efficiency records of some sort are still being kept in some of the departments. There is much disposition to hold the civil service law responsible for this experiment and its failure, while it is in no sense responsible for either. What has been true in all the past is still true, that in many instances promotions are made without any regard to merit or fitness, and upon considerations that do not have in view the public interest, and that ought not to find acceptance in the public service. That the conditions will be much improved until a well-digested and comprehensive system of competitive examinations is put into operation, is not probable. That such a system is entirely feasible is not doubted by any one who thoroughly knows the public service; and that it would produce results equally satisfactory with those already realized through the competitive examinations for admission to the service is not an open question with those who have carefully studied the subject.

There are one or two other matters that I should have liked to touch upon, but the proper limits of this article have already been transcended, and I must therefore bring it to a close with this final word. What the civil service law proposed was nothing short of a revolution, more important and far reaching in its effects upon our administrative methods and practices than any other single act of legislation ever put upon the statute books. That the revolution has not been completed in ten years ought not to surprise any intelligent person or be a cause of discouragement. It is a very great work; and if, at the end of twenty years, the whole field is covered it will be well. What is certain to-day is that the law is no longer an experiment, and is surely accomplishing its mission.

CHARLES LYMAN.

THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

BY W. H. MALLOCK, AUTHOR OF "THE NEW REPUBLIC," "IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?" "A ROMANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY," ETC.

SOME months ago* I published in this REVIEW a paper under the title of "Who Are the Greatest Wealth-Producers?" the aim of which was to show that the larger part of the goods or commodities produced in the modern world are produced by the exercise not of the universal faculty of labor, but of those mental and moral faculties by which labor is directed and stimulated, and which are exercised and possessed by comparatively few persons; and that thus, whereas according to the prevailing view the few live on what is produced by the many, the truth is that the many—in other words the wage-earning laborers—derive a large part of their wages from what is produced by the few. In this reasoning, however, one point was involved which, though many persons will assent to it, and indeed accept it as something almost self-evident, is yet open to legitimate dispute on the part of hostile critics. It is a point of great importance; and I shall devote the present paper to discussing it more fully.

Let me briefly restate the argument of which it formed a part. The great feature in modern production is the increasing amount of commodities that are produced by an equal number of people. The annual product, for instance, of England and the United States has, in proportion to the respective populations of these countries, almost trebled itself during the past hundred years. Having called attention to this fact, I pointed out that the average workman to-day is no stronger than he was formerly, nor the skilled workman more dexterous; and that therefore this in-

* June, 1893.

crease in productivity was obviously not due to any development of the universal faculty of labor, but to the direction and control of labor by men of inventive and managing ability. Let us suppose, for instance, that there were a hundred independent potters, each of them producing five pots daily, the men thus producing five hundred pots in the aggregate; and then let us suppose that one of their number invents some new process, and having persuaded the others to work it under his direction, secures a daily output of fifteen hundred pots instead of five hundred. I argued that the extra thousand pots were produced by the ability of this one man just as truly as five pots were produced originally by the labor of each of the others. In other words, where a number of men are associated in the production of any commodity any one man produces just so much of that commodity as is added to the total product when he devotes to the producing process any faculty possessed by him, or so much as the total product would be diminished by if he ceased to exercise such a faculty.

Now that this is true in a loose and figurative way most people will admit. Even the extremest socialist would hardly be prepared to deny that the ability of James Watt had far more to do with the present wealth of the world than the manual labor of the average skilled mechanic. But still, if the assertion is baldly and bluntly made that a single man, without manual labor—sitting perhaps at his ease in an armchair—may produce twice as many commodities as a hundred manual laborers do with their arms and hands, many people will declare this is true in a figurative way only, and that if, for instance, the man in the armchair says that he has produced a thousand pots in a day, he is not their producer in the same literal sense in which any one of the manual laborers is the producer of five pots. My aim in the present paper is to show that he is so—to show that the ability by which the efficiency of labor is multiplied is, under the existing conditions of industry, a producing agent in just as practical a sense as labor is; and that the amount of commodities produced by the man exercising it is to be measured precisely in the same way as the amount of commodities which we estimate to have been produced by any given laborer.

In the first place, then, let us consider what we mean when we speak of labor as a productive agent, and say of any given laborer

that he has produced any given thing ; for this question is by no means so simple as it seems. It is simple, indeed, in a case of the kind just mentioned—that of a potter working independently of his companions and producing every day five pots. Here we use the word *produces* in the most literal sense possible. We mean that we have five particular earthen vessels, the existence of which, apart from the impersonal contributions of Nature, is due entirely to the exertions of one particular man, and which bear in the shape and substance the actual imprint of his hands.

It must at once be admitted that if we speak of a thousand pots being produced by ability, or by the direction of labor, instead of labor itself, we are using the word *produced* in a different sense from that in which we use it when we speak of five pots being produced—as in the above case—by the labor of one man. We use it, however, in a sense that is none the less practically true.

To understand this, let us again turn to labor, and let us recollect that the case which we have just imagined is, under the present conditions of industry, an entirely imaginary, though not in itself an impossible, one. For, as a matter of fact, in even the least civilized nations, no one potter does his work independently, or performs with his own hands all the operations involved in the production of even a single pot. A number of men would be always working in concert, some digging the clay, some preparing it, some moulding the pots, some setting in motion the potter's wheels. In order, therefore, to make an example of pot-making really typical of any existing system of production, we must imagine our hundred potters all working in concert and producing five hundred pots a day between them. Now, in this case it is plain that no one of these hundred men can point to any particular five pots and say he has produced them, in the same sense in which the isolated potter could have said so whose case we at first imagined. Indeed, in that literal sense of the word, no one of them could say that he had produced any pots at all.

Are we then to say of these hundred men, who, by their united action produce five hundred pots daily, that each man produces nothing ; or that it is impossible to tell what he produces ? The men, we must assume, gain their living by the sale of the pots ; and each man daily has a share of pots assigned to him. Let us

assume further that the labor of all is equal in amount and quality. It is obvious, in this case, that, if the product is fairly divided, the daily share of each man will be five pots. Now, will any one say of any one of the potters that he does not make his own living by his own labor ?—or in other words, that he does not produce five pots daily ? Let us imagine some outsider asking him what was his title to them. "I produced them," would be of course his answer, nor would any sane person for a moment deny the truth of it. Or, let us imagine one of his fellow potters disputing his title not to all the five pots, but to two of them, and maintaining that properly he ought to have only three. Our friend's answer would be equally obvious. "We all of us," he would say, "have contributed the same amount of labor, therefore we all of us have produced the same number of pots, and I have produced not three, but five." On no other grounds than these could the statement, which is formally adopted by the "labor party" as the basis of its claims—the statement that "all wealth is produced by labor ; therefore, to the laborer all wealth is due"—be made applicable in any way to any laborer individually, so as to give him a title to any definite share. For in the modern world, with a few unimportant exceptions, no one laborer produces the whole of any commodity ; and it would be impossible to assign to him any finished goods, useful to himself, or possessing exchange-value, which he could be said to have produced in a strictly literal sense. But that he has produced some such goods, in a sense which is practically and substantially true, is obvious. Nobody disputes this, and the extreme advocates of the claims of labor differ from their opponents only in contending that the individual laborer produces more goods than, under existing conditions, he gets.

And this extended use of the term *production* does not end here. The individual laborer is said to produce not only a certain number of these actual commodities—such as pots—in the manufacture of which he is concerned directly, but all those necessaries of life, such as food and clothing, for which the pots are ultimately exchanged, and which alone are of service to himself. Thus the word to *produce,* as applied to labor, has, under modern conditions of industry, shifted its absolute meaning, without losing anything of its relative and practical truth. A laborer who works to-day as one out of a thousand hands in a fac-

tory, and who cannot identify a single article as the product of his own fingers, has as good a right to a share in the total number produced, on the ground that he himself produced so many of them, as he could have had, if he had been a solitary savage, and had fashioned these identieal articles, with no other human being to assist him.

Now, as I have said, this will be denied by nobody, and least of all by the advocates of the claims of labor. It will, however, be seen that the individual laborer can be called a producer, and can be said to have produced any definite amount, only on the grounds which I have already stated, namely, *that when a number of men are associated in the production of any commodity, each man produces just as much of that commodity as is added to the total product when he devotes to the producing process any faculty possessed by him; or so much as the total produced would be diminished by, if he ceased to exercise such a faculty.* Ability, then, or the faculty by which the productivity of labor is increased, produces the increased product in precisely the same sense as that in which each laborer produced a fraction of the total that was produced originally.

The following objection may, however, be raised. It may be said that ability, or the faculty by which labor is directed, can in itself produce nothing, until labor submits itself to its direction; and that thus if a hundred potters, directed by one able man, produce fifteen hundred pots, whereas without his direction they could produce only five hundred, the potters, nevertheless, must be held to produce the whole, because, were their labor withdrawn, no pots could be produced at all. Now as a rhetorical retort this objection is excellent; but that it has no real force may, at once, be seen thus. Let us apply it to air instead of to labor, and consider the case of agriculture. Were the above reasoning sound, we could prove that the air produced all the harvest, because without air the soil could produce nothing. But this is absurd; and, therefore, the reasoning in question must be false. But why is it more false than the reasoning, which may seem precisely similar, by which I just now said we are to discriminate the products of ability, and can prove them to be so far larger than the products of labor?

The answer to this question is instructive, and involves certain points of the highest importance not only to economics but to

social and political reasoning generally. I have shown how when we use the word *production*, whether as applied to labor or to ability, though we use it in a true sense, we do not, under the existing conditions of industry, use it in a literal sense. Now, when once we cease to use a word in its literal sense, the truth and accuracy of any sense in which we use it will depend altogether on the connection in which it is used. Thus, if a man were to give evidence in a law court that when a certain event happened the sun was rising, he would be saying something which we may take to be absolutely true; but if he made the same statement about the sun in an astronomical treatise, we should set him down as a madman. So when we speak of production, even as applied to a laborer who works entirely by himself, and makes commodities, without any other man to help him, though speaking as economists, we can say with literal truth that he produces them, yet the statement would be nonsense, if we made it speaking as physicists. If we spoke as physicists, though we should have to take some account of the man's labor, the principal producing agents we should be concerned with would be the forces of nature. The production of bread, for instance, means a very different thing to a chemist from what it does to an economist. The fact is that in the analysis of any process we are always obliged to isolate some part of it, and to deal with this alone; the part to which our attention is confined being determined by the object we have in view. Thus when a physiologist is studying the voluntary movements of a man's body he does not trouble himself with the moral aspect of motive, but deals only with the brain and the muscles: and, conversely, the moralist deals only with the moral aspects of motive, and ignores altogether the complex physical processes without which neither action nor motive would be possible.

In precisely the same way, when political economists speak about production, they ignore and are obliged to ignore, all those productive processes, the operation of which no political action can alter, or by a knowledge of which it will not be altered. Thus, though in producing a harvest, the air and the rain are even more essential than human labor, every economist, speaking of an isolated peasant cultivator, would say that this cultivator was the sole producer of his own corn, and would feel that to drag in any mention of the air and rain was entirely beside the

point. It would be beside the point because the presence and operation of these elements are entirely uninfluenced by the political action of man; nor is political action influenced by a knowledge of the necessity of the operation of the elements. Now that labor is a producing agent and that without labor man will have neither wealth nor sustenance, is the fundamental truth of all practical economics, and is also at the bottom of all social action. This truth has, however, an aspect which entirely escapes the notice of those who claim that labor, at the present day, is the producer of all wealth; for to say that no wealth or sustenance can be produced without labor means that, taking the human race as a whole, it cannot live without labor; and that whenever we suppose a nation of men existing, we are necessarily supposing a nation of men laboring. In other words, if we suppose men ceasing to labor, except occasionally for very brief intervals, we are practically supposing men ceasing to exist. Now, to a non-existent nation no economic reasoning can apply; therefore the moment we begin to reason about economic matters at all, just as we assume the existence of a nation of men, so we assume a nation the larger part of which labors.

And now let us return to the argument that when labor directed by ability produces three times as much as it does when not so directed, it still must be held to produce the whole, because, supposing it ceased to exert itself, nothing would be produced at all. The answer to this will be by this time obvious to the reader. The argument is false, because it is based on a purely fanciful supposition; for labor, as a whole, can never cease to exert itself, unless the laborers cease to live. If they live, they must labor just the same whether they have an employer to direct them or no; and their labor, whatever happens, must be taken as a constant quantity. The able man, on the contrary, were he to cease to exercise his ability, would yet theoretically be able, by merely exercising his labor, to live as well as any average laborer, and most probably better. Accordingly, it is perfectly legitimate to estimate the products of ability by considering what its operation has added to the products of labor, and what would be the shrinkage in production, supposing that its operation ceased; for its influence on labor has been a slow historical growth, and the cessation of its action is a theoretically possible thing: but it is practically meaningless to make a similar supposition as to labor,

for the cessation of labor is a thing that, even theoretically, is impossible.

It may, however, be urged that, though the laborers cannot cease to labor, it is quite conceivable that they might refuse to labor under the direction of the able man. But this is not so. For as matters now stand in all highly civilized countries, production has become a process of such unimaginable complexity that even the simplest necessaries of life could hardly find their way to the humblest household unless all the countless varieties of labor were every hour directed and correlated by the action of ability. It is in fact just as idle to suppose that all the factory hands of the modern world, even if they could seize on all the manufacturing plant, would have it in their power to become independent workers, and that each could make a living by laboring under no direction but his own, as it would be to suppose that they could live without any labor at all. Indeed, such is the constitution of society now throughout the civilized world that, in spite of all that reformers and socialists could do to alter it, labor, unless directed by ability, would be as non-productive as ability which had no labor to direct. Perhaps, then, it will be said that, if such be the case, ability must really be in the same position as labor, so far as the necessity for its constant action is concerned; since if the able men refused to exercise their ability, they would be as helpless as the laborers would if they refused to submit to it; and hence it may be contended that, contrary to what was just now said, the cessation of the action of ability is no more theoretically possible than the cessation of the action of labor. Now were this contention admitted, the result would be as follows: That when any wealth at all is produced in the modern world, two faculties, namely, labor and ability, are equally necessary to its production, and that therefore each must be regarded as having produced half. As, however, ability is a faculty exercised and possessed by a few men only, while labor is a faculty common to all, it would follow from this that, though labor produced as much wealth as ability, each able man produced indefinitely more wealth than each laborer; so that the extreme advocates of the claims of labor would gain very little by adopting this train of reasoning. It is, however, inaccurate altogether; and in spite of its being true that ability, under existing conditions, is practically as necessary to almost all production as labor

is, the necessity which compels the former faculty to exercise itself differs very widely from the necessity which compels the latter.

Let me turn again to the fact on which I have already dwelt, that for every million dollars produced by a million men a hundred years ago nearly three million dollars are produced by a million men to-day. We will assume that the million dollars a hundred years ago were produced by labor alone ; but to-day, owing to the changed conditions of production, though labor and ability together produce three thousand dollars, labor alone would be unable to produce anything. It is quite true, therefore, that if the million men are to live, the able men among them will be obliged to exercise their ability for their own sakes just as much as the laborers will be obliged to labor for theirs. But between ability and labor there is this great difference, that if we measure the two by the same standard, namely that of time, the productive power of a given quantity of labor hardly varies at all, but the productive power of the same quantity of ability is capable of indefinite variation. That is to say, while under the conditions above supposed, the men of ability will be obliged to coöperate with the laborers, and exert themselves for the same number of hours daily, they will not be obliged in order to gain their living to exert ability of the same productive quality. It is not only a possible contingency, but under certain circumstances it would be inevitable, that the able men, though devoting the same number of hours to business, should make their ability less and less productive, thus gradually reducing the total amount produced till it sank from the three million dollars to two million, then to a million and a half, and finally back again to the original one million, labor all the while undergoing no change whatever. Now it is evident that the men can live on the million dollars, for the sum represents what men actually did live and thrive on till a very recent period. We will, however, suppose that they could not live on less. When, then, the efficacy of ability has sunk to the point just indicated, we may say that necessity compels the able men not to let it sink further ; but there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent it sinking thus far, and the recovery of the efficacy which it lost would be altogether contingent on circumstances.

Cases such as these are not only theoretically possible, but we

may see daily examples of them. We see some one man by his ability directing labor to greater and greater advantage, and developing some business which is perhaps developed further by his son. In the third generation, for some reason or other, there is a decline in the efficacy of the managing ability; the profits gradually fall; they at last cease; the business becomes extinct. This is merely another way of saying that as the ability possessed by the firm became less and less efficacious, less and less is produced by it in proportion to the number of laborers it employs. Thus though a complete cessation of the action of ability may be practically as impossible as a complete cessation of labor, yet a decrease in its efficacy which would reduce the gross products of the community to what they were before its action had revolutionized the conditions of labor is an event which is constantly occurring in individual cases, and which, under certain conditions, might easily become general. And a decrease in the efficacy of ability such as this, is, for all practical purposes, equal to its complete cessation.

When, therefore, we say that it is meaningless to maintain that labor produces everything, because without its aid ability could produce nothing, and maintain by seemingly similar argument that ability produces all that part of the product which, without its aid, could not have been produced by labor, we are not, indeed, saying what is completely true; for if we concern ourselves with the complete truth of the matter, we should have to say that no human exertion, of whatever kind, could, of itself, produce anything; but we are saying what is true for all practical purposes. We estimate the product of ability in a way in which it would be practically meaningless to estimate the product of labor, because if a given number of men are alive to all their labor must practically be a constant quantity, the absence of which it is as idle to speculate about as it would be to speculate about the absence of air; but the ability that is applied to the direction of their labor is a variable quantity, and when we estimate that it produces by its action just so much of the product as would not be produced were it absent, we are referring to a condition of things which actually prevailed once, and to which any day there may be a danger of again approximating.

But, though the product of labor as a whole cannot be estimated in the same way as that in which we estimate the product

of ability, the way in which we estimate the product of ability is absolutely the same as that of each individual laborer. For, although, if we are to deal with the problem of production at all, we are unable to suppose a cessation of labor as a whole, since that would be equivalent to a cessation of all production, we are supposing not only a possibility, but a fact of daily occurrence, when we suppose the number of individual laborers to change. If, in dealing with the hundred potters, whom we just now imagined, we suppose this community to lose, by death or otherwise, one of its members, we are not supposing a cessation of production, but only a certain diminution of the gross product, and a diminution such as occurs constantly in actual life. When, therefore, we say that each individual laborer produces so much of the joint product as would not be produced if he ceased to labor, we are making our estimate by references not to impossible and fanciful suppositions, but to an event the like of which is occurring every day, and which itself might occur to-morrow. And it is, as I have said before, only by reasoning in this way that the individual laborer, under our system of complicated production, can claim to have produced anything that is either definite in quantity or useful and salable in kind. Now, that he does produce something useful and salable and that he produces a definite quantity of it is the fundamental proposition of the modern champion of labor, and nobody can deny that the proposition is, in a practical sense, though not in a literal sense, absolutely true. The individual laborer does produce a certain definite quantity of goods. What I have endeavored to explain here is that in precisely the same sense—a sense just as practical—ability likewise *produces* another definite quantity; and, no matter how much larger may be the quantity produced by the able man than that produced by the laborer, the different quantities are estimated on precisely the same principles, and that the one man is a producer, in the most hard and practical sense, just as much as the other is, the only difference being that he is a *producer* on a much greater scale.

W. H. Mallock.

MAGIC AMONG THE RED MEN.

BY PROF. H. KELLAR.

THERE was a thrilling scene on the prairie at the Indian station of Rosebud, in South Dakota, a few years ago, which first awakened my attention to the fact that what we heedlessly term magic exists with deeply interesting complications and weird suggestions among the Indians of North America. There was to be a beef allotment by the agent, and the braves had assembled for hundreds of miles to share in the distribution of their staple of food and the festivities which attended it. Near by were the agency buildings and the cattle stockade. A magnificent expanse of flower-spangled verdure stretched to the north, dotted with the tepees of the newly-arrived warriors, while the log cabins of the progressive Indians, as those are called who adapt themselves to white men's civilization, were gathered near by. The great chief Red Cloud, to whom the Ogallalla Sioux looked up with a veneration genuinely characterized by affection, stood surveying the scene. On his serene but stern brow there was an expression of melancholy, but the interest which all that concerned his people awakened in his manly heart shone from his eyes. He was a man of tremendous physical force, and a warrior and counsellor who could hold his own with any mighty men of ancient or modern times.

The sun had set and a cold moon in the first flush of its full splendor whitened the prairie with a ghostly frost. From hundreds of camp fires there came the sounds of rejoicing. A medicine man, that is, a morose, rather flabby-looking Indian who had been pointed out as the high priest of the Ogallallas, strolled by where we were standing, on his way to his tepee, which was at some distance from the others. It was larger, and the skins of which it was composed were beautifully painted in colors with battle scenes and those emblematic outline sketches which the

Indians have for centuries loved to make of their favorite "medicine." A rather massive looking centre pole, curiously enough, supported this tepee, instead of the slanting poles which met diagonally over head and rested upon each other in the skin tents of the braves. "What is the red man's medicine?" was the question which his white visitor put to Red Cloud. The old man said nothing; but after repeated solicitations consented that his Caucasian friend should go to the medicine man's wigwam and say that it was the wish of Red Cloud that the mysterious priest should give this paleface whatever enlightment he chose upon the question.

No one familiar with the strong religious nature of the North American Indian, his marvellous confidence in and reliance upon the Great Spirit, whose worship is almost the same in all the great Indian families and tribes in North America, would have been likely to ask any such question of a chief. To the Indian medicine means mystery; it is the essential element of his religion and has a sacred and solemn significance which has for generations guarded its secrets from the curious and unworthy. To go through the medicine lodge was the greatest ordeal that awaited a brave prepared to take his place among the warriors of his tribe. On the rare occasions when this privilege was demanded by and accorded to a squaw, the event was of such moment as for a time to eclipse all the other matters of interest. The secrets for which an Indian would give his life would naturally not flow out in answer to a white man's idle curiosity.

The medicine man heard in silence what the intruder had to say. He took down a beautifully fashioned bow which hung from his tent-pole and carefully selected seven finely-finished arrows, the shafts of which were of the native color of the wood, the feathers from a gray hawk and the points, not of the steel at that time so freely used for the purpose, and, indeed, manufactured by white men, but of a pale flint as hard as cornelian. The seeker after knowledge watched the seer as he examined his weapons, and, when he strode out on the prairie a distance of thirty or forty feet from his tepee, followed him. There was an extraordinary brilliancy in the atmosphere that evening, which left no doubt that, whatever the medicine man chose to do, a practised eye could readily follow. Drawing an arrow to the head on his bowstring, and looking up one moment into the zenith as if to locate the exact spot he pro-

posed to pierce with his shaft, he released his powerful bow, and the dart that left its cord flew straight and swift and glittering for a moment, in the moonlight, in a course which it seemed would inevitably bring it down upon the very head of the archer himself. The eye tried in vain to follow the course of this beautiful messenger from earth to heaven; there was, one fancied, a smile upon the face of the medicine man as, with growing attention, we waited to hear the whistle of the returning arrow. After an interval which seemed doubly long to me, he dispatched the second shaft after the first and, it seemed, in exactly the same airy channel. There was still no indication of what had become of these arrows and the medicine man was still silent. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth shafts were drawn from the quiver and dispatched in succession at the zenith. As the last sang its farewell to his bowstring the medicine man dropped the tip of his bow to the prairie and leaned upon it thoughtfully. A glance at my watch showed that just fifteen minutes had elapsed since he dispatched the first of his airy missiles, no one of which had fallen to earth so far as I could tell. Five minutes more and he returned to his tepee, closed the skin flap and strode away toward Red Cloud's house. I was determined to see the thing through, and after waiting a decent time for him to return, opened the tent flap and entered the tepee. The bow and the now empty quiver, save for one shaft, hung where I had first seen it. I waited for hours intending to give the fellow all the money I had to tell me his secret. He did not return any more than did his mysterious arrows.

A subsequent discovery that the Indian medicine men have known for centuries of the existence of magnetic iron ore, and have utilized this great secret knowledge in their own way, has given some plausibility to the suggestion a friend has made that the hollow centre-pole of this tepee was of magnetic iron, and that the medicine man was an archer of sufficient skill to be able so as to direct his shafts one after another that upon their return to earth, unseen in the pale moonlight, they buried themselves in the ground at the bottom of the centre-pole, swerved, it might be, a few inches by its magnetic attraction. Whether or no this was the case, I do know it to be a fact that among the Minnesota Sioux, who were responsible for the awful massacres of the early sixties, it was the custom for a medicine man upon the eve

of the declaration of war to conduct the warriors of the tribe to a plain on the upper Mississippi which terminated abruptly at the base of a bluff some forty feet high. Upon this bluff in rude aboriginal painting there were a number of allegorical figures and several large war shields drawn in what was apparently the solid rock. The medicine man would marshal his braves within easy bow-shot and fire an arrow at the cliff. If the arrow stuck to the stone and did not fall to the ground he gave it out that the Great Spirit intended his red children should fight and win. If the arrow fell to the ground, however, the red men were warned that they would be defeated in the coming strife. Of course knowing which part of the cliff's surface was of the magnetic iron ore, and which of the baser material, that would not attract and hold a shaft head, the medicine man, were he so disposed, could influence the coming event.

An exhaustive study of this fascinating subject has convinced me that few races at any time in the history of the world have been more powerfully moulded by their religious beliefs than the American Indian. As Charles Godfrey Leland says in a note to the marvellous adventures of that frontier half Indian, half white man, Jim Beckwourth, whose fame, among the knowing, is not less than that of Kit Carson himself, the word medicine as used by the Indians means magic, supernatural knowledge, inspiration, and the use of amulets and charms. The origin of this curious interpretation lies in the belief that all diseases are caused by evil spirits and so require magical powers to exorcise them. A sick Indian could only be cured by a sorcerer, and the more hideous the sorcerer made himself by paint, horns, skins and skulls the more potency there was in his spells and the better chance the patient had. In no time or country of which I have ever heard was it true that the doctors of a people ranked even higher than their warriors, and were high chiefs, high priests and high medicine men all in one. But this comes very near to being the case among the North American aborigines, among all of whom it must be remembered the form of government is a theocracy of which the medicine man is the high priest.

The veneration with which the Parsees regard fire, which is the sacred symbol of the benevolence and power and beauty of their unseen god, is akin to the feeling of mysterious awe with which the Indians have always surrounded the secrets of their

medicine. This their religion, their fleshly and spiritual consolation in one, is almost the only possession they now have left to them from their forefathers. Secrecy is its keynote. The medicine men of the Sioux and Cheyennes and Arapahoes and Pawnees have known for a much longer period than the white men can estimate of the existence of the famous pipe-clay ledges in the upper Mississippi valley from which the red pipes so wonderfully fashioned by the Indians have been made for generations. It was not until a long and fruitless search had been made that the whites discovered one of these pipe-clay ledges back of Mankato, Minn. Sitting Bull, perhaps the best known red man to the white people of this decade and at whose door the more recent disturbances among the Sioux have been laid, was no war chief at all. He was simply the high priest or medicine man of his tribe developed among influences which brought out the peculiar ruthlessness of his nature. In the great medicine lodge or council chamber of the Sioux, Sitting Bull was feared as much, almost, as among the lonely cabins of the frontiersmen. When a chief differed with him, Bull would stride over to where he sat and brain him at a blow. Nobody dared to punish him for this.

Indian magic finds its most startling survival and most horrible illustration in the snake dance of the Moqui of Arizona. This ceremonial occurs once in two years, although it has long been under the ban of the government, and it is still, or has been within a year or two, observed with all the awful features which for a half century have made it famous in the Rocky Mountains. The very abuse which has been showered upon the Moqui for the exercise of their own religious rites and the gratification of those impulses which they hold to be the highest and holiest, whether they so seem to us or not, is itself strikingly suggestive of our inability to understand Indian medicine. It was in the village of Walpi in Northern Arizona that my informant saw the snake dance and gave me a description so grotesque as rather to dissuade me from my intention of making the journey to see it with my own eyes. Upon the top of a lofty butte which rises to a height of five hundred feet from the plains are the houses of the Moqui, built of stone and giving the entire structure the appearance of a natural castle. One hundred and thirty members of the band are chosen biennially to pay to the Great Spirit the devotion which the Moqui believe finds its most appropriate expression in a carnival of

serpents. For four days before the dance itself the Moqui had scattered over the mesas, each armed with a forked wooden rod and two eagle feathers. The entire face of the country seemed to be covered with rattlesnakes, for it is a frontier superstition that the snakes enjoy the dance quite as much as the Indians do, and whenever the Indian found one he bewitched him by a slow harmonic movement of the eagle feathers, acquiring at once over the serpent an influence which enabled him to bag it in short order. From what I have seen of the snake charmers of India I am convinced that the Moqui must practise upon the susceptibilities of their charming pets by the aid of music, since although a snake has no ears, it is always susceptible through the muscles of the throat to musical sounds, however low and grotesque, so long as they are harmonious. It may be by some contrivance carried in his mouth that the Moqui elicit these sounds, or they may resort to the device of the fetish priests in Congo land who pretend to develop from an antelope's horn their so-called magical music, which is in reality produced by a perforated bean concealed in the nostril of the magician and through which he has taught himself to blow musically.

Hundreds of rattlesnakes were secured by the Moqui, and were placed in a great basket at the gateway of the village, and covered by a buffalo hide. On the morning of August 18, for that is the date for the festival, the hundred and thirty chosen warriors marched to a platform of loose boards over which the squaws had strewn sacred meal. These Indian women wore white mantles, and had their long black hair done up in enormous cart wheels. The braves each wore a tunic reaching midway on the thigh, moccasins upon the feet, and upon the naked calf of the right leg of each one the shell of a terrapin in which were confined small pebbles which rattled as the warrior moved and made of him, to the ear at least, a human rattlesnake. Around each one's brow was bound a white handkerchief, the upper part of the forehead being painted a deep black and the lower half black and white in alternate bands. After they had marched over the sacred meal, they arranged themselves in a double column facing the plain. A gigantic attendant whose face was completely hidden by his handkerchief, and whose body was hideously painted, stood at the snake cage and as each pair of braves marched past him thrust his naked arm into the cage, and jerked from it a writhing serpent

which he handed to the buck. The snake dancer, reaching forward his hideously marked visage, seized the snake by its middle in his teeth. The serpent struggled wildly and his human captor, gesticulating with both hands, joined at once in the solemn rhythmic movement in which after each had been supplied with his own particular rattlesnake the entire hundred and thirty were soon gyrating.

Upon the cliffs around them the entire Moqui nation was seated, dumb with religious awe. No sound came from that grim audience. Nor was there aught to break the horrible stillness of the place except the hissing of the serpents and the rattling of the pebbles in the shells upon the warriors' legs. The snakes themselves, although animated to the utmost with venomous life, neither struck at the men nor rattled their own tails. When once in the course of the dance a rattler sunk his fangs into the cheek of the brave next to the one who held the serpent in his teeth, he was calmly pulled away as if nothing had happened, and the brave who had been bitten continued, with perfect equanimity, his fanatic dance. At the end of some thirty minutes the snakes were thrown in a writhing mass upon the earth and sprinkled with sacred meal. The dancers divided themselves into four squads, and at a given signal each squad rushed upon the mass of serpents, each warrior grasped as many of them as he could in his two hands and bounded away at top speed, one band to the south, one to the north, one to the east, and one to the west, until they had raced a half mile over the prairie. The snakes were then turned loose, and the dancers returned, running their utmost to the butte, and, climbing up its steep sides, disappeared, one after another, in the cavernous depths of the estufa, or great stone chamber, about which cluster the traditions of the Aztecs, and a magnificent example of which is to be found at Pecos, in New Mexico.

Now if this power of the Moqui Indians to make companions of venomous rattlesnakes, to toss them about at will and to join with them in the mad whirl of a dance the like of which is not to be found elsewhere in the world, is not magic, what is it? The guiding principle of my life has been an absolute refusal to believe in supernatural methods or results. The marvels which the high caste Indian fakirs achieve, and have achieved under my very eyes, with apparent disregard of all the known laws of matter, have not served to change my creed. The occult is not

necessarily supernatural. The objection that the Moqui Indians do not expose themselves to the poison fangs of the rattlesnakes, but that the rear back fang which in reality is the only communication between the poison bag and the jaws of the serpent, has been secretly removed, does not, I think, stand the test of examination. It is the universal testimony of the white men who have seen the Moqui snake dance that the reptiles selected for it are gathered at random on the prairie and utilized strictly in a state of nature.

It is hopeless to expect a Moqui to reveal his tribal secret, for the oath which every Indian warrior takes on his initiation into the warpath secret binds him by his gun, his pipe, his knife, the earth and the sun to reveal none of his medicine. The medicine lodge of old was built in the first moon of each May, and before the lodge poles were raised the medicine men of the tribe selected a medicine chief who was to lead the fighting men to battle during the ensuing year. This chief was bound with thongs to the top of a lodge pole forty feet tall aud upon his shoulders were fastened in like manner a pair of wings from a freshly killed eagle. The medicine men then took hold of the butt end of the lodge pole as if to raise it to its position and the brave with it, but if the medicine of the latter was to be good and powerful, his eagle wings did most of the lifting and he and the pole floated gracefully up into the air until the great spar was in a perpendicular position. The other poles were then set up and the great medicine lodge or council chamber was complete. Rather than violate one of its secrets, a Moqui, or any other real Indian, would cheerfully hack off every one of his ten fingers.

There has been a tradition that the medicine men of the once famous Pawnee tribe were peculiarly gifted. That this is anything more than a tradition I do not believe, for at a time when the Sioux and Cheyennes, Crows and Blackfeet in the north, and the Comanches, Apaches and Navahoes in the south, were the most famous of the aborigines, and showed, as they still show, the most powerfully developed types, the horse-stealing Pawnees who lived along the valleys of the Platte and the Arkansas, whose hand was against every man and whose treaties were only made to be broken, had already begun to dwindle into that insignificance in which we find them to-day in their transplanted home in the Indian Territory. James Beckwourth, the famous

scout, who became a war chief under the name of Medicine Calf among the Crows, has related to a friend an extraordinary feat of levitation which a great war chief of the Crow Indians performed in his presence on the eve of leading his warriors to battle. The chief was an aged man and professed to have a premonition of death. For many moons he had led the Crows successfully against their hereditary foes, the Blackfeet. It was not his heart that failed him now, but his medicine had lost its potency. In the dusk of the gray morning he led his braves out on an open prairie, and, setting his shield on edge some fifteen or twenty feet in front of them, pointed to it with his lance. As the eyes of the fighting men rested upon the embossed surface of the buckler it appeared to rise slowly from the ground until it reached a height corresponding to the head of the chief; it then, by the same invisible means, passed through the air until it obscured his face and hid it from his warriors. A thrill of horror pervaded the assemblage, but no word was spoken. It was taken as an emblem of his approaching eclipse, his banishment from this world, his journey to the land of the Great Spirit, to which all Indians, good and bad alike, went with unhesitating faith. The great chief was killed that morning. On the robe of a famous Pawnee medicine man I have seen drawn in outline his warlike exploits with the allegorical figures of the animal or bird which was medicine to him, such as the bear, for example, and those phases of the sun and moon to which the medicine man attached such importance.

Prior to the inception of any great enterprise, such as an expedition of war, a great hunt, or the like, the medicine men of a band of Indians invariably "made medicine" for several days. They sang a monotonous chant during this time, beating their medicine drums and dancing as with muscles of iron. On one occasion, to avert the wrath of the Great Spirit, a great Crow chief had the brass medicine kettle of his tribe brought out and placed in full view of the assembled village. It held ten gallons and was as bright as the sun. Into it each brave threw his most cherished possession, and three Indian maidens then carried it to the river and threw it in. This was a sacrifice like that of the Roman Curtius, to save the commonwealth.

One of the most general of all the customs of the aborigines was that of the medicine bag which each brave carried on his

person from the time he became a fighting man nntil his death. Without it he could succeed in nothing he undertook. To lose it in battle unless he lost his life as well, or captured the medicine bag of another brave, was a disgrace fully equal to that of the Roman who lost his shield. On approaching the age of puberty the Indian boy retired to a solitary spot, where for several days he lay on the ground without nourishment, praying to the Great Spirit. When at last he slept the sleep of exhaustion, his mind was still intent upon that image of his dreams which was to indicate to him his medicine. Whatever bird or animal first appeared to him in his slumber he at once set out to hunt down on his awakening. He took its skin, whether bird, reptile or beast, stuffed it with moss, ornamented it elaborately, and thenceforth it was dearer to him than life. As a rule, the medicine bag was, of course, the skin of some bird or smaller animal, but a great chief has been known to use an entire wolf's skin.

There is, however, a curious absence of the supernatural in Indian life. A brave never saw the spirit of his deceased brother. There were no ghosts in the Indian country. There was one Great Spirit who ruled the world and was worshipped by all red men of all tribes. The medicine men were the priests or only mediums of communication with the Great Spirit. There were no images or idols to which the warrior paid his devotions either specific or symbolic. When he died he went straight to the Happy Hunting Grounds, not his spirit, but he himself, and his warhorse was killed to accompany him, just as his most beautiful buckskin clothes, his finest bow and arrows and lance and his most cherished possessions were either buried with him or broken upon his tomb. The red man's magic after all is pervaded by a spirit of deep devotion which admits of no trifling, depends upon no charlatanism and is born in him whether he be Sioux, Cheyenne, Apache, or Navahoe, along with that spirit of indomitable bravery and of stoical fortitude which none may know but to admire.

H. KELLAR.

POOL ROOMS AND POOL SELLING.

BY ANTHONY COMSTOCK, SECRETARY OF THE NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

GAMING in any and every shape strikes at the root of industrious habits. The horse, the noblest animal created for man's use, is to-day made to do the dirty work of professional gamblers. Under the specious plea of "improving the breed of horses" a feeble majority in the legislature of New York in 1887, and a still more feeble majority in the legislature of New Jersey in 1893, bargained away the protection of public morals; suspended or repealed righteous statutes against gambling on horse-racing; ignored the rights of law-abiding citizens; overthrew the wholesome principles at common law against the keeping of a "common gambling house," and made a conscienceless bid for crimes and disorders by selling out these two great commonwealths to the gambling fraternity.

A more reckless disregard for public peace, order and morals cannot be found in the history of these two States. It seems incredible that a set of law-defying criminals, such as for years have thronged the race-courses and manned the pool-rooms, could by their money or influence have secured enough traitors to the highest interests of these two States to enact laws in the gamblers' interests, especially when abundant evidence existed of the demoralizing influence of their lawlessness.

A brief review of the restraints of common law and statutory laws, and the wholesome decisions of the higher courts in England and this country, will show plainly the safeguards to the best interests of the community that have been ruthlessly broken down by the "gamblers' own" legislators.

Statesmanship, patriotism, regard for morals, religion and fair dealing, all are lacking in the enactments which allow public

gambling-houses. These statutes legalize what for centuries have been regarded as "public nuisances."

The English courts for centuries have held that:

"A common-gambling house, kept for lucre or gain, is a common nuisance, as it tends to draw together idle and evil disposed persons, to corrupt their morals and ruin their fortunes."

These courts, and also several reported American decisions, have held pool-selling to be a lottery. French or *mutuel* pools are lotteries pure and simple. They therefore come under the now almost universal condemnation of lotteries. The English Parliament in 1699 passed an act declaring lotteries a common and public nuisance, making all lottery grants void, and punishing the managers thereof as "common rogues." A body of ministers in Boston the same year adopted resolutions declaring lotteries public nuisances and their managers pillagers of the people.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a recent decision, declared:

"That lotteries are demoralizing in their effects, no matter how carefully regulated, cannot in the opinion of this court be doubted. The lottery . . . preys upon the hard earnings of the poor and it plunders the ignorant and simple." (*Stone vs. State of Miss.* 11 *Otto*, 818.)

On March 26, 1887, one Mitchell, a former clerk of the notorious Brighton Beach Association formerly of Brighton Beach, N. Y., testified under oath before the Bacon Legislative Investigating Committee in Brooklyn that at eight booths where French or *mutuel* pools were sold on the Brighton course they received as much as $80,000 during a single afternoon. In 1884 that association had over a hundred and twenty-five days of improving the breed of horses by this demoralizing process.

A fundamental principle of all good government, universally recognized, is violated by gambling in any form, to wit:

"The presumption of law is that every man has acquired his property honestly; and it is the policy of every well-regulated government that he shall not be deprived of it without a fair equivalent. This is particularly the case in republics, where all should be independent in the means of subsistence." (*State vs. Smith & Lane*, 2 *Yet* (*Tenn.*), *Reports.*)

In the case last cited, Judge Catron, formerly of the Supreme Court of the United States, lashes the gambling scourge with an unsparing hand. He says:

"Gaming is a general evil, leads to vicious inclinations, destruction of morals, abandonment of industry and honest employments, a loss of self-control and respect. Frauds, forgeries, thefts, make up the black catalogue of crime, the closing scene of which generally ends in highway robbery or murder. The American and European journals are full of cases of the most distressing nature of bankers, merchants, clerks of banking institutions, men in almost every department of trust, public and private, becoming bankrupts and thieves, to the ruin of themselves and others. Look for the source of their misfortune; you find it is lotteries, loo, faro, thimble, dice, and the like."

This is in every whit true of pool-selling and book-making.

Common law prevailed in New York State until 1815, when the legislature enacted a statute forbidding the act of betting or wagers upon future events. The New York Court of Appeals, in 1848, said:

"The evident intention of the legislature was to discourage and repress gambling in all its forms, including bets and wagers and every species of wager contracts of hazard, as a great public mischief calling for effective measures of prevention and remedy. (*Ruchman vs. Pitcher*, 1 *N. Y.*, 450.)

The Revised Statutes of 1830 struck a blow at betting and gaming, by allowing the loser of a bet to sue for and recover back his stake or money deposited with the stake-holder, and this, too, whether the money had been paid over to the winner or not. The Revised Statutes of 1877 added amendments, prohibiting the use or keeping of a room with apparatus or paraphernalia for the purposes of recording bets or wagers. Still more stringent provisions were added in 1880 when the laws were codified. Section 351 of the Penal Code embraces all of previous legislation upon the subject, and prohibits all betting, the selling of pools and recording or registering the same, or becoming custodian, for hire or reward, of money bet.

An unbroken chain of decisions by the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals, since 1848, has defined and construed these laws in the interest of public morals, peace and order. In 1882 Thomas Murphy sought by an injunction to restrain the Board of Police in New York city from raiding certain book-makers who were violating the law at a walking match in Madison Square Garden. Judge Lawrence, of the Supreme Court, in denying the motion, defined "apparatus" and "paraphernalia" to wit.:

"The tables, books, boxes, and blackboards may fairly be classed as "apparatus" and "paraphernalia," and the "books" as books for the purpose of recording or registering bets or wagers."

He cited with approval from a decision of Judge McAdam, rendered the same year, defining "book-making" as follows:

"Book-making is only another name for gambling, and all contracts made in furtherance of bets and wagers are illegal and void, and no recovery could be had upon them in a court of justice."

In the same year the Jerome Park Company also sought to restrain the police of New York by the same method, to prevent the arrest of book-makers and pool-sellers at Jerome Park race-course. Again in this case the Supreme Court clearly defined book-making as

"Merely the making of a memorandum upon his own book or paper, by any person, of his own bet or wagers upon any issue or event then unknown or undecided. It is simply an aid to the memory of a transaction or transactions theretofore made by the individual who makes the memorandum."

Then the Court turned a search-light upon the intent of the legislature by saying:

"The evident intent of the legislature by the passage of the Act of 1877 was to suppress such unlawful business or occupation, if possible, and for that purpose they used the most general and comprehensive terms, so that its provisions could not be escaped, even if new plans or devices were resorted to in order to avoid the legislative enactments. They mention, therefore, the means then used by persons following the unlawful business, and prohibit the use of such means; and then go on and in the most general and positive language prohibit the doing of the one thing which is necessary to be done in order to carry on the business of gambling in any form, viz., the recording or registering of bets and wagers."

As to the intent of the legislature, the Court said:

"The legislature, it may well be argued, had in view the fact that bets and wagers to any extent could not be made unless a record was kept in some way or another, and, as they intended to suppress gambling in any and every form, they prohibited the making of the record as the most ready way of reaching the evil."

"The whole course of legislation shows that betting and gambling are looked upon with disfavor, and that the legislature has endeavored to prevent them in every way possible, undoubtedly believing that their suppression would result in benefit to the people at large."

The injunction was denied.

In 1885 the General Term of the Supreme Court at Poughkeepsie passed upon eleven cases of boss gamblers coming on appeal from the Sessions Court of Brooklyn, Kings County. The Court said:

"Section 351 of the Penal Code makes either of three things criminal '1. If a person keep or occupy a place, with the requisite things to record bets,' or '2. If a person, in fact, do record bets,' or '3. If an owner or occupant of premises knowingly permit the same to be used for these purposes.' Such acts were made misdemeanors."

Such were the comprehensive laws and decisions, such the lofty and wholesome principles, governing in the courts down to 1887 in the State of New York.

At that time a horde of nearly one hundred boss gamblers, with their touts, flocked from one race-track to another, violating the laws. For years prior to 1887 they had trampled these laws under foot, defied the decisions of the Court and ignored the common-law principles against the maintaining of a public nuisance, to wit: a common gambling house. Public morals were scoffed at. Wherever these gamblers went, the local politician and official were subservient to their nod.

In New York County, at the Jerome Park race-track, boss gamblers and their touts openly sold pools and recorded bets and wagers, and publicly displayed the paraphernalia prohibited by law from being kept or used for the recording of bets or selling of pools. Two of the leading gamblers and several of their associates were brought into the Court of Special Sessions, on complaint of the agents of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, and convicted. The Court condoned their offence with a fine of $25 each. These convicted boss gamblers paid their paltry fines, went over to the Coney Island Jockey race-course in Brooklyn and the same day openly and flagrantly violated the same laws in Kings County. Evidence was secured against them, and they and their associates were indicted by the Grand Jury in Kings County, upon complaints of the agents of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. Some one notified these men that indictments had been found against them, and the next morning, before the time for the opening of the races (so as not to interfere with their system of "improving the breed of horses"), they appeared and gave bail. After giving bail they went back to their places on the race-track and openly violated the law the same afternoon, and were again indicted.

The Grand Jury which indicted these gamblers, who were thus openly violating the law at Gravesend, also indicted some of the authorities. Some of these convicted and indicted gamblers then

went to Queens County, there entrenched themselves opposite the Long Island City Ferry, and for weeks defied law and public sentiment. It was only when Judge Jasper Gilbert, then of the Supreme Court of New York State, consented to issue his warrants as a committing magistrate, that we were able to dislodge these men. The Grand Jury that indicted the gamblers also indicted several officials for interfering with us in the execution of these warrants.

Again, at Saratoga, year after year gamblers openly arrayed themselves against the laws and decisions of the Courts of this State,—and among those whom we arrested there were three peace officers of the county, who, with their badges concealed under their coats, were selling "pools" in violation of law.

Such was the lawless condition of affairs in New York State in 1887. A legislative committee, of which Colonel Bacon, of Brooklyn, was chairman, had reported, impeaching the officials of Kings County for non-enforcement of these laws, and the legislature had approved their report. The same legislature afterwards, by a vote of but two to spare in the Assembly, and just enough votes to carry it in the Senate, suspended Section 351 of the Penal Code, and the provisions of Common Law, in the interest of indicted and convicted gamblers, by enacting the infamous Ives Pool bill.

Crimes and disorders have continued to increase from that time down to the present, growing out of the licensing of these crime-breeders. But stranger than all these is the fact that in the face of history and the increase of rascality, dishonesty, and crime, there were members enough in the last legislature of the State of New Jersey to override the rights of the people and foist the whole gambling curse upon that State. Three bills, known as Assembly bills Nos. 299, 300 and 301, annulled all laws, both common and statutory, prohibited the indicting of these common gambling-houses as disorderly houses or common nuisances, and rendered nugatory all former decisions of the courts. A brief analysis of these iniquitous measures will show the public the outrage of this kind of guerilla legislation.

Under Act 299 any race-track existing at time of its enactment, or which had existed in the past (all of which existed unlawfully), may procure a license for five years, either from a County Board of Chosen Freeholders, or the Common Council or

Board of Aldermen of a city, or the Township Committee of any town. The County Board of Chosen Freeholders, the largest and highest legislative body in the county, may, by a unanimous vote, refuse a license. The race-track then may go to the Township Committee, the smallest and lowest legislative body in a county, composed of three members, and by securing two votes out of the three obtain a license for five years, despite the unanimous refusal of the highest body to the contrary.

If, however, honest taxpayers desire to start a race-course to be run without gambling, to counteract existing evils, this new organization is debarred from going to either the Township Committee, the Common Council or Board of Aldermen, and securing a license by a majority vote as in the first case. On the contrary, they require a *three-fourths vote of the entire Board* of County Freeholders to a resolution setting forth the fact that "the existence of the proposed track is a public necessity."

Section 300 prohibits gambling, except upon tracks where racing actually takes place, and upon the races run upon the tracks where the betting is done. For instance, Monmouth Park usually has ten days' racing in the summer. During those ten days, under Act 300, they are permitted to make books upon their own races, and are forbidden to make them upon any other race or upon any other day than the ten days.

Under Act 301, however, any racing association may themselves, or may allow others to, gamble and sell pools upon any other race run in the United States, and the only penalty which they shall be subject to is "not to exceed $20 fine for each offence." The miserable subterfuge of a fine of $20 per day is apparent when we consider that each gambling booth (and there are usually from seventy to one hundred at each track) pays ground rent of $100 per afternoon, for the privilege of robbing the people.

The act then provides that they shall not "be deemed guilty of maintaining a disorderly house, or maintaining a nuisance, or of conspiracy or of any criminal offence." Section 2 provides that "all parts of the act to which this is supplement, and all laws and parts of laws, both statutory and common, inconsistent with the provisions of this statute, are hereby repealed."

Book-making and pool-selling, allowed by Acts 300 and 301, were formerly indictable either under the Crimes Act, the Lot-

tery Acts, or under the common law in New Jersey, either as (1) a nuisance; (2) a disorderly house; (3) a misdemeanor; (4) a conspiracy.

The sweeping repeal clause attached to both these acts, saying "All laws and parts of laws, both statutory and common," shows the manifest intention of these legislative brigands to utterly destroy all the statutory and common law bulwarks against these evil practices. There were eleven members of the Senate and thirty-three in the Assembly who have the distinction of thus delivering over the State of New Jersey to professional gamblers.

Note the tactics employed to pass these iniquitous measures: These bills were introduced Monday evening, February 20, 1893, in the Assembly. By some mysterious process they were printed, referred to Committee, reported, given a second and third reading, and passed the next morning, Tuesday, February 21. The Senate accommodatingly sat upon a legal holiday (Washington's Birthday), Wednesday, February 22, and passed the bills by similar tactics.

The Rev. Dr. Kempshall, President of the Law and Order League, and others, determined to have a hearing against these bills and personally appealed to Governor Werts to give them a hearing; praying if he vetoed the bills he would delay his veto over a Sunday and give decent people an opportunity to rally. Instead, the Governor is said to have taken these three bills with him that afternoon to Lakewood, and, strange as it may seem, the next morning finds him sending to the Assembly three vetoes duly engrossed, signed, sealed and tied up with the usual red tape. Why such haste?

These bills had to remain over one session before action in each house. On Thursday, February 23, the Governor sent them back with his vetoes, on Friday the Assembly went through the form of over-riding these vetoes, and the following morning, Saturday, February 25, the Senate completed the outrage, and New Jersey lay bleeding, mangled, stripped of legal defence against the gambling ghouls. Such is statesmanship in New Jersey. Such, alas! is the potent power of the gambling fraternity over modern politicians. Such an exhibition of ignorance, folly and shame it is seldom the lot of a historian to record.

Each member of the New Jersey Legislature who voted to

snub the people and pass these infamous bills should be presented with an emblem for services in a vicious cause.

Such legislation is a conspiracy against the morals of the State. It legislates away the rights of the people to defend themselves against the temptations, demoralization and degradation of the crime-breeders of the day. It legalizes unhinging of common honesty, undermining of industrious habits, legalizes what common law for centuries has called a public nuisance and against good morals; and permits the keen-eyed, skilled and unscrupulous gamester to set up in public places, in the midst of thoughtless pleasure seekers, the schemes by which fortunes are diverted from the rightful owners to the pockets of sharp tricksters without that just and fair equivalent demanded by law, and which is a fundamental principle in all good government.

Such legislation is equivalent to staving in the sides of a vessel while at sea. Will not the people take warning?

While the attention of the country was concentrated upon this outrage in New Jersey, the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice in New York stole a march upon the enemy and prepared a stringent measure to close all pool-rooms in that State. This act makes it a felony to keep such places, with a penalty of not less than a year or not more than five years for each offence, and does away with the evasions of laws and the adverse decisions of the Court of Appeals of New York. On March 8, 1893, this bill was introduced in the Senate by the Hon. Charles T. Saxton, and in the Assembly by the Hon. W. C. Prescott, and under their valuable supervision it passed the Senate by a vote of 22 to 2, and the Assembly by a vote of 112 to 7, and on April 25 received Governor Flower's signature, and is now law.

The Connecticut Legislature, by a minority vote of one in the Senate and two in the House of Representatives, has since enacted a similar bill.

New York has thus started back in the right direction. Already the pool-rooms in the large cities have closed their doors. Poor New Jersey is obliged to open her arms to receive the criminal occupants of these rooms, who are thus vomited forth under the action of the law's emetic.

Let a righteous, self respecting and patriotic people, without regard to party, ostracize and brand as traitors those who have

sacrificed public morals, peace, order and future welfare to gambling politicians and gambling bosses. Let no mawkish sentiment condone this treasonable capitulation to the dishonest and lawless class.

The lesson to be gathered from the faithful history of pool gambling given herein, establishes certain facts which patriots should consider:

First, Wherever gambling (or other money-making vice) has a foothold, it seeks to entrench and perpetuate itself by dishonest and unlawful methods.

Second, Wherever it exists it is a foe to the best interests of society.

Third, In perpetuating itself, it paralyzes law and justice, mocks at fair dealing, tramples under foot the rights of law-abiding citizens, bribes officials, and liberally contributes to that party which shall bend the neck to its golden heel.

Fourth, Gambling is a crime-breeder in whose wake other crimes follow. Thefts, embezzlements, defalcations, robberies, breaches of trust, wrecked homes, heartbroken women and beggared children are its direct results.

It is a business that requires the abrogation of laws which protect public morals. The voice of the people is not allowed to be heard. It enters the primary, the canvass before election, and the election with purses filled with ill-gotten gains opened to tempt men to sell their votes. It buys candidates to pledge themselves to a disgraceful course before election, and then enters the halls of the legislature with a corruption fund. The elective franchise is the veriest subterfuge when men, whom the people elect to represent them, are elected with a secret pledge to some gambling sharper, or with a fixed purpose to secretly sell themselves for gain to some schemer who has a plot against the highest interest of the State, to be consummated by means of blood-money.

There is no representation by the people, or for the people, when those chosen to represent them sell themselves for money or influence to the highest bidder. To bargain away public morals is to stab the State in its most vital parts.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE INSANE.

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

FOREMOST among the privileges which civilization has taught us to regard as inalienable is the right of personal liberty. Garfield put the essence of this feeling tersely when he said that every man should have the greatest amount of liberty consistent with a like liberty of every other man. All our strivings are, in the last analysis, struggles for a greater degree of personal freedom of action. Laws are considered just only when they give to every citizen an equal opportunity to increase his personal power. Indeed, the province of law is to insure this degree of liberty to every citizen, and just laws do not interfere with any individual so long as he respects this cardinal principle. If a person, through lack of altruism, violates this principle in little things, he is called a boor and is socially ostracized ; if in greater things, he is said to be a criminal, and the law forces upon him that restraint which he would not willingly exercise.

There is one class, however, whose excesses of egotism are commonly excused as far as possible, or dealt with very leniently. I mean the insane. Reacting from the customs of our ancestors not very remote, whose treatment of the insane was simply brutal, we to-day go far towards the other extreme, treating this unfortunate class with a degree of consideration that sometimes seems to verge on excess of altruism. It is true the insane are often restrained of their liberty, but this is almost never done until the afflicted individual has so flagrantly violated the cardinal principle of equal personal rights that his conduct can by no possibility be further tolerated. Let no one suppose that an insane person is commonly sent to an asylum because of his insanity *per se*. Mere mental perversion would be but little, if at all, noticed by the law so long as it stopped at that. Suppose a man to think

himself inspired. Suppose he is everywhere guided by a star that points out to him his way of life. Suppose angel voices whisper incessantly in his ear, directing his every action. That man is insane. But if meanwhile he goes quietly about his business in an ordinary way, showing no anomalies of speech or action, there is not the slightest probability that he will be in any way interfered with by the law.

I desire to especially emphasize this fact. The only exception to it is when action may be taken in an anticipatory way—an expert acting on his knowledge of similar cases, and, as it were, nipping matters in the bud, perhaps saving the insane person the commission of some crime towards which his disease was driving him. But such early action is very unusual, and for ordinary cases what has just been said holds good: an insane person is not restrained of his liberty simply because he is insane, but, if at all, because of the actions that grow out of his insanity. There are, in the aggregate, a vast number of insane persons in the community who are never confined in asylums because their disease does not lead them to commit acts that interfere seriously with the liberties of those about them. An insane person may even act very grotesquely indeed, and say very absurd things without seeming to menace others or himself. He will not usually be restrained.

But in the great majority of cases, so closely are actions wedded to ideas, it will come to pass that the man who has insane conceptions will act upon them in ways that cannot be overlooked. His star is pretty certain to lead him, sooner or later, across the pathway of some other mortal. His angel messengers will suggest to him rights that his fellow mortals cannot recognize. Acting upon these messages he becomes a discordant element in the social organism. Then and not till then does the law take cognizance of him as one whose personal liberties must be curtailed for the general good.

The specific acts by which the insane man interferes with his fellows vary widely within the range of human action. He may merely glance suspiciously at those about him, or he may dash madly along the street firing a revolver at random. Whatever his actions may be within these extremes, he is tolerably certain to make himself very disagreeable to those about him; for, sooner or later, in most cases of insanity an intense egoism comes to

the surface and directs the actions of the patient unrestrained. Usually perversions of conduct are first manifested at home. Those nearest and dearest to the patient are the first to feel the infringement on their rights and privileges. But these are, of course, the ones who would least resent such interference. Often for months or years a family will put up with the outrageous conduct of one of their number uncomplainingly, while the outside world does not suspect that anything is wrong. This is done partly through affection, partly because of the feeling that a case of insanity is in some sense a disgrace to the family.

Sometimes the conduct of the insane person becomes so unbearable that his friends complain at last; sometimes the complaint comes from associates outside the family. In the latter case, the relatives will not usually be wiling to admit at first that the patient is insane. Indeed, they often fail to recognize that such is the case even when they have long been the victims of his bizarre actions. But when at last blindness to the true state of affairs is no longer possible, and it is understood that the patient must be restrained, it should never be forgotten that the law prescribes certain definite procedures that are necessary before his sacred right of personal liberty can be curtailed. It is no light matter, and may not be undertaken by any single individual. One may not legally turn the key on his own wife, brother or father, be they never so insane, except long enough to protect them or others while an officer of the law is summoned. This fact should be everywhere understood. Many persons suppose that because a man is palpably insane he has forfeited his rights. Not at all. However insane he may be, his right of personal liberty of action can be taken from him only by due process of law. The exact details of this process vary in different countries and even in different States. The essence of it, under the best systems, is the concurrence of medical and legal opinions. At least two physicians qualified as alienists are usually required to certify under oath that they consider the patient insane, stating their reasons for such opinion. In New York the approval of a judge of a court of record must also be secured. All manner of safeguards, cumbersome but necessary, are thrown about the patient. It is no trivial thing to take away the liberty of a human being.

The legal preliminaries having been complied with, and the

necessary commitment papers to an asylum secured, another serious problem confronts the friends of the patient. How shall the insane person be persuaded to go to the asylum? Here usually a great mistake is made. The friends, almost distracted and not knowing what is best, usually decoy the patient with a falsehood. Now, waiving the point that the truth is something intrinsic and hence not to be perverted at will because the hearer chances to be incompetent, there are practical reasons why it is unwise to deceive the patient. Chief among these is the fact that by so doing you lose his confidence. Ever after when you promise him anything he is likely to recall this deception and reply: "How can I trust you, who once deceived me?" And such an attitude very much embarasses the relations between the patient and his protectors. Hence the asylum physician makes it a point never to deceive a patient nor allow him to be deceived. He may at his discretion decline to answer a question; but such replies as he does give are expressions of the absolute truth—though not of course necessarily of the whole truth. Experience demonstrates that this is best here, just as everywhere else it has demonstrated that expediency and honesty coincide in the long run.

What the friends of an insane patient should do, then, is to tell him where he is going. If they cannot persuade him to go quietly, let them call an officer. This seems a harsh expedient, but it is best in the end. Most generally the patient, even though very markedly insane, will recognize the majesty of the law as evidenced in its uniformed representative, and will do nothing more than to protest against accompanying him. Indeed, even without an officer, it is surprising how many patients can be persuaded to go quietly to the asylum even while protesting against doing so. In a very large percentage of cases the patient comes so quietly and is, to casual observation, so sane-seeming that even an experienced asylum physician cannot, at a glance, distinguish him from his sane associates. Not infrequently, in attempting to do so, he makes a mistake and selects one of the sane friends, to the amusement of the patient himself, who uses this mistake as a further argument in proof of his own sanity. Of course, this does not apply to all cases. Some are palpably enough insane, as, for example, the despondent melancholiac, or the excited maniac. But not one patient in a hundred presents, on admission to an asylum, the picture of frenzy which stands in

the popular mind as the exposition of "madness." Now and again one does see such a case, it is true—rolling eyes, gnashing teeth, incoherent raving and all—but they are rare indeed. Not often is a patient even so much disturbed as to make any physical restraint necessary in bringing him to the asylum.

Once received into the asylum the patient is classified according to his condition. Exactly the same fundamental principle prevails here that governs conduct in the outside world, an asylum being, indeed, but a modified lesser commonwealth. The patient is allowed the greatest amount of liberty consistent with the rights of others. If he is noisily loquacious or actively maniacal, it would be manifestly unjust to place him among quiet, sane-appearing gentlemen. He would turn their orderly, peaceful ward into pandemonium. He must, in justice to others, be placed in a "disturbed" ward, among patients like himself. But as soon as he becomes quieter and at all able to appreciate the rights of others, he is removed to a ward where greater liberties can be given to him. The prime motive of asylum treatment is to educate the patient back to such a condition of self-restraint and appreciation of the rights of others as will enable him to return to the ordinary environment for which his disease unfitted him. In pursuance of this idea the wards of modern asylums are made as much as may be like ordinary dwellings, and a patient's returning capacity for self-restraint is tested and fostered by removal to better and better wards as convalescence advances.

In favorable cases the time at last comes when the patient is either altogether well or so greatly improved that he can safely be given a trial outside. However long he may have remained in the asylum, the mere fact of such residence does not deprive him of any legal right after his discharge. If no step beyond mere commitment to the asylum has been taken, the patient on leaving the asylum returns to full citizenship. He may still be insane, but in the eye of the law it will be assumed that he is sane unless some further step is taken to prove the contrary. Hence any contracts he may make will hold good, or be the subject of future litigation. If his business relations make it desirable that he shall be officially declared incompetent, whether he is in an asylum or not, it is necessary to hold proceedings before a jury *de lunatico inquirendo*. If here declared insane and incompetent, a guardian, variously named in different States, will be appointed

and the patient will become as a child in the eye of the law, having thenceforth no legal rights except by proxy.

This step is usually postponed as long as possible, while there is any prospect of the patient's recovery. If no great property is involved it often happens that the patient is never declared a "legal lunatic" at all, even though chronically and incurably insane. So it happens that there are many insane persons in the community whose position in the social scale is rather ambiguous. They are actually, but not "legally" insane, and the community in which they live, having adjusted itself to their vagaries, charitably passes them by as "peculiar," and leaves them unmolested. Unfortunately they do not always reciprocate in kind. Indeed it is quite the rule for them to get into difficulties, and not infrequently they commit crimes that bring them prominently before the public in the courts. The "harmless lunatic," outside an asylum, occupies a position strictly analogous to that of the historic "unloaded" pistol. Each is, I think, responsible for about the same number of homicides. But the harmless weapon stops at that, while the harmless man easily takes the palm by adding a long list of other crimes. For most of these crimes the community can thank itself, because it foolishly tolerated in its midst a person whose only safe place of residence was an asylum. But one should not judge too harshly these excesses of altruism. We should remember rather that the extreme tolerance shown these unfortunates who frequent the border lands of sanity is but a manifestation of that love of liberty which has made possible the civilization in which we live. The ages which cast their paranoiacs into dungeons or executed them for witchcraft did not foster the spirit of liberty. Still one may, as I have intimated, go to the other extreme, and the lesson taught the community from time to time by "harmless lunatics," who shoot their fellow citizens, explode bombs among them and the like, is wholesome and necessary, even though severe.

A single bomb exploded in New York not many months ago resulted indirectly in the confinement of a great number of insane persons who would otherwise before this have committed a long category of crimes. The lesson cost a life, it is true, but quite possibly it saved a score of lives. The community was made to realize vividly, what every alienist knew, that the first untoward act by which the supposed harmless insane person manifested

his true condition might be an irreparable crime. The lesson had been taught often enough before. Within a decade it had been emphasized by the murder of a Chief Executive of our country; but memory is fleeting, and its permanent records come only with many repetitions. Another year, and, it may safely be predicted, the New York juror will have forgotten the Norcross incident, and *habeas corpus* suits for removing "sane" persons from asylums will flourish again as of yore. A community which has witnessed without special comment the organization of a society for the prevention of the "incarceration of sane persons in asylums" in a day and age when no such atrocity as that implied is dreamed of or could be practised, does not yet bask very fully in the light of knowledge. It is in need of yet other lessons. Indeed, it almost seems as if no lesson would permanently suffice, and as if the "harmless lunatic" would pass, with the "unloaded" pistol into the category of things perennial.

In extenuation of the attitude of the community, however, it should be said that much of its uncertainty has arisen through the ambiguities of the criminal courts. Almost every case in which the plea of insanity is brought forward presents peculiar difficulties. In the first place there is the widest difference between the medical and the legal definitions of insanity. The legal view has at least the merit of definiteness of presentation. It regards a man as sane so long as he can distinguish right from wrong. But medical insanity has far wider bounds than this. A large percentage of the patients in any asylum have a well preserved ethical sense, as any one can discover readily by asking each one if he thinks it right that he should be confined where he is. Of course the ethical standards of most of these patients are more or less perverted, but on the broad general questions of right and wrong their ideas are clear enough, though they may not act on them.

On several occasions a patient has said to me: "I could kill you if I wished, and I could not be punished, because, being in an asylum, I could introduce the plea of insanity." And he was right, because no jury would convict a man for a crime committed while in an asylum. Yet in a strict interpretation of the law such a person could be held accountable had he executed the implied threat. In the instances where asylum physicians have been killed by patients, it has usually been by those who were

able to plan the murder carefully, and who probably took into account the immunity from punishment which their asylum residence assured them. They were perfectly aware that what they did was wrong. Hence, according to the legal definition, they were responsible. But I am not aware that any one has ever thought for a moment of prosecuting them. The same is true of a vast number of minor offences daily committed in asylums by patients who well know they are doing wrong. A like immunity is accorded persons not yet committed to asylums, if they are markedly insane. We have seen that it is quite the rule for patients to commit offences of greater or less magnitude before they are considered sufficiently insane for commitment. But when it is learned that these offences grew out of insanity, all thought of prosecution is given up at once; pity supplanting desire for revenge in the minds of the injured ones.

Hence it appears that in the popular verdict insanity is regarded as *prima facie* evidence of irresponsibility. Why, then, it may be asked, do representative juries continue to mete out to insane offenders the same measure of justice dealt to ordinary criminals? Simply because the juries are mystified as to the true mental condition of the accused. They are befogged in a clouded atmosphere of contradictory opinions, and at last decide that the person is not insane, hence that he should be judged by ordinary standards. Of course this decision is sometimes right; but in a far larger number of cases the extenuating plea of insanity, when it is put forward, has a foundation in fact. But it is not to be expected that ordinary court-room methods will correctly establish one condition or the other. Nor can it reasonably be assumed that an ordinary jury is competent to decide, on such evidence as will be presented, first whether the accused is insane, and second whether his insanity is of such a nature as to make him incapable of distinguishing right from wrong. It is absurd to ask them to decide such intricate psychological problems—albeit such is the law. To understand fully the peculiar difficulties of these cases it must be remembered that the insane criminal is usually a paranoiac whose mental equipment is still in many respects acute. It is a difficult thing at any time to judge a fellow mortal correctly as to his light and his motive. Especially difficult then must it be to judge one whose ethical standards have been so peculiarly perverted as have those of the ordinary paranoiac.

Suppose it is shown that the prisoner knew that what he did was considered wrong by most people, and that it was an infringement of the law, but that he was actuated by an honest conviction that the ordinary ethical standard was wrong and the law infamous. He then, manifestly, considered himself to be doing right,—perhaps as setting the example of rectitude, which he believed would cause him in future generations to be regarded as a martyr in case the present generation should interpret his action by present faulty standards. This is the stuff that paranoiacs as well as prophets are made of.

Evidently, such a situation is a very intricate one. Yet this is precisely the problem with which juries are daily confronted. Witness, as a famous example, the Guiteau trial. What wonder if such a psychological tangle as this gives opportunity for differences of opinion? What wonder if each witness and each juror is biassed by his previous bent of mind, and lets sympathy or prejudice guide him where reason can no longer see its way? It is not an inspiring spectacle to see the insane man march to the gallows; but when is the taking of a human life an inspiring spectacle, even if Justice and Law seem to join hands to tie the fatal knot? But what better can be done? may be asked. It is puerile to find fault without suggesting a remedy. And in this case the best remedy is not easy to find. But I think that by glancing into wider fields of criminality we may at least gain some light. According to modern studies it appears that very few criminals of any class have strictly normal minds. Usually their ethical sense is congenitally deficient. Few habitual criminals have any such vivid appreciation of right and wrong *per se* as better classes of citizens entertain. Many of them take as instinctively to crime as persons of better heredity take to right living. They are the victims of hereditary and environmental tendencies which they did not choose, but which were thrust upon them, and which they are utterly unable to control. They are as much the victims of these perverted tendencies as is the insane man of his perverted sensations. Yet the law takes no cognizance of the plane of their ethics. It asks only: Did this man commit this crime? The jury is not asked to decide whether the alleged criminal had a keen sense of right and wrong. It has merely to decide on the evidence whether he did the thing which the law pronounces to be wrong. So of crimes committed under the influence of liquor. Intox-

ication is no excuse. Very likely the inebriate was unable to tell right from wrong when he committed the overt act. That matters not: in the view of the law he voluntarily resigned his ethical standard when he took the alcohol into his system. But inebriety may also be a disease. Quite possibly the act by which the inebriate lost or perverted his moral standards was no more voluntary than the acts that led the other unfortunate to insanity. But the jury is not asked to weigh this question. It is only asked to decide whether the man committed the alleged crime.

Manifestly our courts are not consistent in their treatment of different classes of perverted minds. Perhaps the error is on the side of undue harshness towards the congenital criminal and the inebriate, but, even if this be true, the best remedy, it seems to me, is to make the law consistent with itself, and then modify it for the better if possible. A slight modification of custom regarding the trials of cases in which the plea of insanity is advanced would accomplish the first of these results. Nothing more is necessary than to waive the question of the defendant's mental condition during the trial by jury, admitting only evidence as to guilt or innocence of the alleged crime as in ordinary trials. If on this evidence the man is convicted, let the court then appoint a commission to inquire into his sanity. Such a commission, acting with due deliberation after the heat of legal controversy has no further sway, would surely stand a far better chance of deciding justly whether the offender were insane or not than could be done in the mystifying legal atmosphere of the ordinary court room. According to the decision of this commission, the criminal would be sent to the ordinary prison or to the asylum for criminals. In the latter case, the sentence should be made indeterminate. Perhaps it should also be indeterminate in the former case, but this is not to my present purpose. It may seem at first sight a harsh verdict that would submit a manifestly insane person to a trial that must humiliate his friends, if not himself. But, in the proper view, the thing to be regretted is that the man should have committed the crime, not that he should be tried for it. It may be added, however, that even under existing laws the acutely insane are seldom prosecuted for their unstudied crimes. They are sent directly to asylums, where their term of residence is usually conditioned on their recovery, this being, of course, the equivalent of an indeterminate sentence.

It is well not to evade the fact that with the chronically insane—the ones who usually cause the confusion in the courts—an indeterminate sentence is substantially a life sentence, since defectives of this class seldom recover. This very fact has been urged against the law in States where judges are empowered to make, at their discretion, substantially such a ruling as I have above suggested. But the criticism is unjust. If the object of confinement were mere punishment, then it would be unjust to confine a man for life because he has committed, perhaps, a minor crime. But modern penal institutions do not contemplate punishment or revenge. They aim, as far as may be, to prevent crime. And the paranoiac whose perverted moral standards have led him once to infringe on the rights of others will be almost certain to further infringe these rights if not placed permanently under surroundings that forcibly regulate his conduct. Under the conditions of modern asylum life, the paranoiac probably gets as much happiness out of his existence as he could possibly secure anywhere; and his friends may certainly rest easier under the assurance that he is, perforce, a safe member of the community than under the knowledge, which they must entertain were he at large, that he might at any time bring sorrow and disgrace to their door by the commission of some heinous crime to which disease had driven him. The spirit of altruism is abroad in the world—the exponent of advancing civilization—but true altruism nowhere teaches that the good of the many shall not still be paramount to the interest of the few. The laws of our social organism cannot safely be set aside in the interest of any class, however unfortunate. The insane person, criminal or not, should enjoy all the liberty consistent with a like liberty of his fellow citizens, but it would be a false and disastrous sentiment which, in the name of charity or pity, should seek to give him more than this. True charity tempers justice, but does not thwart it; true pity does not parade in the garb of sentimentality.

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

HOW TO IMPROVE OUR ROADS.

BY THE HON. ROSWELL P. FLOWER, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

THE movement for good roads has this advantage over most social reforms—that the argument is all on one side. It is not a controversial question, except as to the means of accomplishment. Nobody is opposed to good roads—the only practical question is how to get them. Several plans have been suggested. These may be grouped as follows :

1. National roads—laid out through States and Territories at national expense and under the supervision of a national governmental bureau.

If we are compelled to wait for better highways until this federal plan is carried into effect I fear the present generation will never enjoy their benefits. In the early days of the federal government there was abundant justification for building highways at national expense. Roads and waterways were the only means of communication, and good roads were just as essential to inter-State commerce, postal needs, and the transportation of troops and military supplies, as were navigable waterways. The building and improvement of good roads at federal expense came within the scope of legitimate public improvements. This is no longer true. National highways, except in occasional instances, can no longer serve any purely national purpose. They could not now be built on any comprehensive scale except by a great abuse of the taxing power. The cost would be inconceivable. The task of constructing them would overwhelm the government. It would necessitate the employment of a larger army of men than was engaged in the War of the Rebellion. It would give rise to charges of official corruption, extravagance, favoritism and polit-

ical intimidation. The people would not stand the assumption of such a heavy and doubtful burden by the federal government. The project is too chimerical and foolish to be possible of realization and we might as well dismiss it from serious consideration. The only legitimate field for federal effort is in stimulating the good-roads movement by the collection and distribution of practical information on the subject for the use of agricultural experiment stations.

2. State roads—laid out through the counties of a State at State expense and under State supervision.

There are several strong reasons to be urged for the adoption of this plan. It is a familiar political truism that the larger the area of taxation the easier it is to get appropriations of money for public improvements. It would probably require less agitation to get a State legislative body committed to a comprehensive system of improved road-making than it would to persuade a hundred small legislative bodies to undertake a similar project for their own small localities. In addition, a State road system would have the merit of commanding the best scientific knowledge and direction in the construction of highways ; it would conduce to uniformity in the making of roads, and it would insure a complete network of good roads all over the State. Moreover, in most of the populous States of the East much the greater percentage of cost would fall, not on the agricultural communities—already overburdened with taxation—but upon the people of the cities, among whom at present the sentiment in favor of good roads seems to be strongest, strange as the fact may be.

There are objections to the plan of State roads, however, which seem to me to outweigh the considerations in its favor. While from the standpoint of public policy the building of State roads at State expense is perfectly justifiable, so great a task should not be heaped upon the government unnecessarily. It is a dangerous tendency into which we are drifting—to load down our federal and State governments with a multiplicity of tasks which the smaller political divisions of the people themselves are abundantly able to bear for themselves. That tendency is towards State socialism. The more simple we keep our governments, the fewer offices we create ; the greater economy we practise, the greater will be our happiness and comfort as a community. For any except the smallest States to undertake the establishment of a department

of highways and the comprehensive construction of State roads would necessitate the employment of a very large army of State officials and laborers, and, therefore, the creation of a powerful political machine—sufficiently numerous in its membership, perhaps, to control elections. However honest the impulse behind it and however economically such a policy might be carried out, it would always be criticised as a political scheme, designed to serve the purpose of the party in power, and it would fail, even in spite of beneficial results, to appeal to public confidence or receive a large measure of popular support. Moreover, as a political menace its duration would not be limited to the time required for the construction of State highways, but construction at State expense means maintenance and repairs at State expense, and these involve indefinitely continuing appropriations of public money and the continuous appointment of thousands of road-keepers, engineers, overseers and day-laborers. I do not believe the people of any large State would be wise in saddling their government with so great a burden, or in giving their administrative officers so much political power. A misuse of such power would entail more serious evils than a lack of good roads.

3. Town roads—laid out through each town, at town expense, and under the supervision of town authorities.

This plan assumes the abolition of the antiquated and useless "working" system, so prevalent throughout many States, the payment of all road taxes in money and not in day's labor, the construction and care of roads under the supervision of a town highway commission and a town engineer, and the authority in the town to bond itself for road improvement upon the affirmative vote of a majority of the taxpayers. The merit of the township road system is its embodiment of the principle of local option and home rule in the extreme application. That is probably also its chief defect. In every county there is at least one principal village or city where the business of the people of the county is transacted, and which is the centre from which lines of communication radiate to the surrounding towns. With such conditions prevailing it is of little profit to one township to expend much money on its own highways, if the neighboring township refuses to improve its highways. The load the farmer can carry to market is determined by the worst point in the entire road he must traverse. The people

of each town would naturally say: "If other towns will not make good roads for us they do not deserve that we should make good roads for them, and there is but little advantage in our making short strips of good roads for ourselves." Thus the character of each leading market road throughout its entire length is kept down to that of the worst part in any of the towns through which it passes. Such a system depends for its success upon the concerted action of two or more towns, which is not easily obtained. Moreover, to re-phrase the expression of the political truism quoted above, the smaller the area of taxation the more economical will be the taxpayers—and this fact in most cases would prevent the township plan from ever affording satisfactory results. As a finality this plan would probably not be a success, but it could be profitably and wisely joined with the county system, which I am about to discuss.

4. County roads—laid out in each county, connecting the various towns in the county, built at county expense, at the option of and under the direction of the board of supervisors.

In my judgment the county road system offers the wisest and most feasible plan yet suggested for securing good highways. It avoids the dangers of the State system and the probable failures of the town system. It respects local feeling as regards the amount of money to be expended and the location of the roads. It comprehends a territory with common interests, of moderate geographical limits, and so homogeneous in its aggregation of towns that a network of market roads could be readily mapped out and provision made for their construction without conflict of jurisdiction or of purpose, and without exciting jealousies by the exhibition of favoritism. It offers a speedy means of securing good roads, provided there is any substantial public sentiment in their favor, and would give the county taking advantage of it more good roads than would be built in the same territory under the State road system.

Legislation enacted last spring in New York State illustrates more clearly the features of the county road system. The law is simple and optional. It provides that the board of supervisors of any county may, by a majority vote, formally adopt the county road system, and shall then designate as county roads such highways as they may deem best for the purpose outside the limits of incorporated villages and cities. The intention of the

law is that, as far as possible, these designated county roads shall be the leading market roads of the county. Thereafter the expense of rebuilding or maintaining these county roads is to be a county charge, and the necessary amount of money for this purpose is to be appropriated each year by the board of supervisors. It may be little or much, according to their judgment or the wishes of their constituents. All the repairs or improvements thus authorized are to be executed under the supervision of a competent county engineer, whose appointment by the board is provided for, the purpose of the appointment being to secure intelligent road building under the direction of a scientific expert. The engineer and the board of supervisors are to have sole jurisdiction over these county highways, and the town highway commissioners are to have their own powers restricted to this extent.

Obviously, if public sentiment in any county favors improved highways that sentiment should express itself through the board of supervisors. Here is local option to perfection. But it was felt that the policy of appropriating money each year, with consequent uncertainties of action or lack of assurance of continuance, was a kind of hand-to-mouth arrangement which might not give much satisfaction and might not result in any permanent system of highway improvement. So it was provided in the law that any board of supervisors might borrow money and issue the bonds of the county therefor, in order to provide the necessary funds for building highways in a comprehensive and systematic way. Such bonds are not to run for more than twenty years and are not to bear interest at a higher rate than five per cent.

The effect of such permission is to enable any county at once to undertake a comprehensive scheme of road improvement, and to distribute the expense thereof equitably through a series of years. The cost would not fall on present taxpayers alone but on the taxpayers through the succeeding generation, who would be the chief beneficiaries. Probably the increased valuation given by highway improvement to the property would in much less time pay for the improvement.

It was realized, however, that one of the conditions for carrying out any such policy is a longer term of office for supervisors. These officers had formerly been elected for one year—much too short a time to give even a fair start to a good-roads movement.

So the effort was made to extend this term to three years. This encountered so great opposition in the Legislature that a compromise of two years was agreed upon and that is now the statutory term of office for supervisors. It is believed that this will conduce to more earnest effort in the direction of highway improvement on the part of county legislatures and permit a fair test of improved roads before the reform inaugurated is rejected by a fickle constituency.

In my intercourse with the farmers of the State during the past summer I found many of them averse to taking advantage of this legislation because of the dread of any additional taxation. When I chanced to refer in my speeches to the experiment which is being made in the neighborhood of Clinton Prison, in the northern part of the State, of putting convicts at work in road-building, I found my agricultural friends pricking up their ears; and when I suggested that if the experiment there was successful, convicts might be employed in the same work elsewhere, outside of incorporated villages and cities, I was greeted with applause—which convinced me that the agricultural communities would quickly welcome good roads if somebody else would pay for them.

Persistent agitation is necessary to persuade the farmer that the cost of good roads is speedily paid for by their benefits, and it is with the desire of assisting this agitation that I have cheerfully complied with the request of the Editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for this article. Every farmer knows that bad roads sometimes keep him from town when prices of grain are high, and thereby cost him a good profit. Every farmer knows how much time he loses by traveling over bad roads, every farmer knows how much larger a load his team would pull if the roads were hard and smooth. Every farmer knows what a considerable item in his annual expenses is the repair of wagons and harness, whose strength and safety have been crippled by bad roads. Every farmer knows how much more it costs to keep three or four horses instead of one or two, as he might with equal service with a system of good roads. Every farmer knows that his farm would increase in value if by good highways it could be brought into ready communication with village or city. All these things our farmers know when they think of them, and they know that the sum of these pecuniary advantages in favor of good roads

would vastly outweigh the cost of procuring them. But in spite of these advantages good roads are slow in coming, and we cling to our old-fashioned habit of once or twice a year plowing up the sides of a highway into the middle and calling that road improvement. The mathematics of road improvement need to be pressed home many times and in many ways before they produce the conviction which leads to action.

Except where the legislation enacted last spring, to which I have alluded, has been taken advantage of, New York roads are still maintained under the old-fashioned "working" system, as are the roads in many other States of the Union. It is needless to point out the objections to that system the abominable results make these easily discernible. But I have tried to convince the farmers of New York that even from the pecuniary standpoint this antiquated system ought to be abandoned in the interest of economy. I showed in my annual message to the Legislature last January that the counties of New York State now expend in actual money and day's labor, valued at about one dollar a day for each man, about $3,000,000 a year upon their roads, exclusive of the time and money spent on road and street improvement in villages and cities. This is an average of $50,000 for each county. That amount of money scientifically expended each year would build over seven miles of good macadam road at a cost of $7,000 per mile. Or if the county preferred to build roads faster this annual expenditure would pay the interest and provide a small amount for the sinking fund on an issue of bonds sufficient to construct over one hundred and forty miles of macadam roads. I venture to say there is not a county in New York which if it would bond itself for a million dollars and invest the money in the scientific construction of highways would not in five years have increased the valuation of its real estate many times the amount of the investment. But that would be only a small part of the gain. The greater part would be in the saving of wagon transportation, a saving in vehicles, a saving in horses, a saving in time, a saving in labor, a saving in risks, a saving in markets.

Under the recent New York law, moreover, the rural districts would have an additional advantage in the matter of expense, for, under the "working" system, they bear the entire taxation and perform all the labor, while, under the new county road system, the greater part of the cost would be borne by the cities and

incorporated villages, inasmuch as the taxpaying property of greatest value is situated in these places.

But, if public sentiment is averse to bonding, an annual tax, at the present valuation in the State of New York, of one-half of one per cent. (five miles) on each dollar, would enable five counties, outside of New York and Kings, to build each year fifty miles and more of macadam road. It would enable ten counties to build twenty-five miles and more, forty-one counties to build ten miles and more, and fifty-five counties to build five miles and more. By levying a tax of one mill, five counties could build over ten miles of macadam road a year, and ten counties could build over five miles of road a year. These figures bring the attainment of good roads within comparatively easy reach.

I regard the movement for good roads as one of the most important of social reforms. It has in it great material benefit to the people generally and to the agricultural interests of the country particularly. In the East especially we have reached a stage of development where a network of smooth highways is essential to our prosperity and growth. Our cities and villages must be brought into closer contact with the farms. In many sections the limit of communication by railway and canal has been reached, and dependence must be now upon good roads. To the residents of the farms, to the merchants in the towns, to the canals, to the railroads, to the large army of employees, to the consumers in the cities, in short to all interests and citizens, the close communication of farm and city is most desirable for business and commercial reasons alone. Good substantial roads leading out to the rural towns from the principal business community in each county cannot help stimulating business in that community and developing the country round about it. But beyond all this they are as advantageous in elevating the social and intellectual life of the rural population as they are in improving its material condition.

Fortunately the good-roads movement is a popular one. It appeals to common sense and to sentiment. It excites enthusiasm. It enlists all classes of people and extends to all parts of the country. It has already produced a considerable literature. It has secured recognition in national legislation, has brought about the establishment of several State highway commissions, has remodeled the highway laws of many States and has given stimu-

lus to practical efforts in many localities and road districts. Agitation is only necessary to bring about the complete success of so good a cause. Old methods must be combated and abandoned. I saw at a State insane asylum recently a road built by lunatics which would put to shame many a highway commissioner, because the lunatics had intelligent direction and the highway commissioners have none. The circulation of literature on road construction, the agitation of the subject by the newspaper press, the efforts of highway leagues and wheelmen, all tend gradually to dissipate existing ignorance and prejudices. A complete revolution cannot be expected in a short time, but the success which has already been attained by the advocates of good roads should certainly encourage them to persevere in their praiseworthy work.

ROSWELL P. FLOWER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

EGGS, ET CETERA, IN CONGRESS.

ALTHOUGH the gravity of the financial situation has largely concentrated attention upon the action of Congress in regard to silver, there are many who believe that silver has been made the scapegoat for numerous other sins, against sound economic principles, and that something more than the repeal of the Sherman bill is needed to restore conditions necessary to safety and prosperity.

The question of the price of eggs, strange as it may seem, is a point at issue, and upon the treatment of that question, quite as much may depend, as to the future of the condition of the workingman, as upon the solution of the silver problem. Indeed, so far as the workingman is concerned, the price of eggs touches him much more than does the price of silver, and if the Democratic party expect to retain possession of power, or the Republicans hope to regain it, they must give as much attention to the wants of the workingman as they do to the monometallists on the one hand, or the silver advocates on the other.

For, in the question of the price of eggs, is involved the question of the price of potatoes, pork, beer, and, indeed, the price of numerous articles that sustain life. If members of Congress imagine they can give exclusive attention to silver and gold, and even to the reform of the tariff as it affects European importations, and not give prompt and effective attention to the question of cheapened food supplies, they will count without their host.

Possibly an attempt will be made to attribute the high price of eggs to the low price of silver, and the hallucination may be indulged in that by repealing the Sherman bill the price of eggs will decline. But this kind of argument will not satisfy the workingman, especially if eggs do not get lower in price, which they are not likely to do. Hence, if Congressmen ever expect again to appeal to their constituents for approval, they must do something, and that quickly, in relation to eggs and all other articles of food now certainly so high in price.

It may be asked, What has Congress to do in regulating the price of eggs, bacon, beer, potatoes or lard? It is true, the high price of these, as well as other articles of food, may be traced to the difference between supply and demand, owing to the rapid growth of cities, on the one hand, and relatively slow growth in the country on the other. The census tells us that the number of consumers in cities has increased in the past ten years at the ratio of sixty per cent., while in the same period producers upon farms have increased at the rate of only fifteen per cent. A disparity so great in a period so short as ten years between the farm production on the one hand, and the extent of

consumption on the other, is sufficient to account for the relative dearness of food. As it is from the farmer and the fisherman alone that food is derived, it is easily seen that if these increase only at the rate of fifteen per cent., while those who live upon what they produce increase with a rapidity four times as great, the price of food must of necessity be increased through that circumstance alone.

But in the face of this great relative disparity in the growth of consumption, as compared with the growth of production, Congress intervened, and by legislation intensified the situation greatly by practically prohibiting the importation of food products from the outside world. In this, the question of eggs plays a most important part, because before this Congressional intervention eggs were admitted free of duty. By the action of the latest tariff they are taxed five cents a dozen and their importation practically prohibited. Almost every other article of food imported bore a slight duty, but this little oval sphere of nutriment, known as the hen's egg, had escaped the eagle eye of the statesman and had come into the country as free as the air. The result was a growth in the supply of a remarkable character, certainly highly beneficial and nutritious to the American people at large, but especially helpful to the neighboring nation, and mainly to the farmers' wives of Canada. The freedom of which the American eagle boasts, having been permitted to the fruit of the hen, had a more stimulating effect upon the more modest, industrious bird resident in the northern latitudes of the Dominion and caused her to contribute to the necessities of this country to an extent of nearly two hundred millions of eggs a year.

So long as two hundred millions of eggs were yearly sent into this country, over a border line extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the price of eggs was reasonable. But, so soon as the McKinley act became operative, and five cents a dozen was exacted as the penalty of importation, the price, naturally, advanced. The Canadian hen, fearing practical prohibition from the market hitherto available, went largely out of business, and even for the eggs that were produced the free market of Great Britain was sought.

It is true, the American farmer was expected to be benefited by the prohibition of the Canadian egg, as of all other agricultural products, and that in return for heavy taxation for the benefit of the manufacturer, extending over a period of twenty years, he would at length have some advantage himself in the shape of protection against a foreign competitor. But, where one farmer has been helped, in relation to eggs and other products, ten consumers have been hurt by the increase in price, and the total result is, an increase in the cost of living all along the line.

Next to eggs, naturally comes the question of bacon, as bacon and eggs are inextricably allied in the public mind. Yet, never in the history of the country has bacon been so dear. Eggs to the consumer at fifty cents a dozen, and bacon on the breakfast table at $2.50 for a piece formerly dear at a dollar, have been an object lesson, taught in every household in the land, as to the folly of legislative interference in the articles of food. To charge $1.50 for the admission of a pig over the Canadian border into the freedom of American soil was a folly quite as great as to charge five cents a dozen duty on eggs. The result has been that both bacon and eggs have been dearer in consequence than ever before. Equally has this folly been shown in the matter of beer. Beer, the drink of the workingman, is made mainly from barley, and the necessities of the maltsters and brewers in the

matter of barley was extreme. The only region on the continent in which barley can be advantageously grown was that included in the Dominion of Canada, and all legislation in the world would not alter that fact. So long as a duty of ten cents a bushel was exacted on the importation of this necessary ingredient of beer it was cheerfully borne, and the size of the glass of beer afforded the workingman was satisfactory. But, with a folly that seems inexcusable, an exaction of thirty cents a bushel was enforced on barley by the McKinley Bill—a charge almost equal to the cost of production. The result has been a decline in the importation of barley of nearly two-thirds, and an increase in the price of beer that finds itself felt by tens of thousands of workingmen in the diminished size of the glass afforded for five cents, and in equal diminution in the nutriment of the common people.

Potatoes, formerly at ten cents a bushel, bear now a duty of twenty-five cents; apples, an equal duty; while oats and hay, seven acres of which are required for every horse in the land, bear a duty respectively of twenty-five cents a bushel, and four dollars per ton. Sheep and lambs are taxed one dollar and a half, with cheese at a prohibitory exaction, and throughout the entire list of articles essential to comfort and sustenance, an impost practically prohibitory was enforced on all supplies derivable from one-half the continent.

Aside from agricultural articles thus enumerated, the products of the sea were also taxed, and a duty of two and a half cents a pound for fish has been exacted from a country possessing the greatest fisheries in the world, providentially provided for a people having greater need for their product than exists elsewhere. So with the products of the forest, a duty of two dollars on every wagon-load of lumber has been charged, from a country in which the largest supply is furnished, to a country needing it, to a greater extent than any other land. For it should be borne in mind that the standing timber to-day, in the United States, a new country largely treeless, is less, per capita, than in an old country like Germany. Houses for the workingman, raw material for endless manufactures, and for furniture for all classes, is thus made to bear an impost as unnecessary as it is unwise. So, too, with the products of the mines, as shown in the article of coal, against the high price of which there has been a loud and universal outcry. The exaction of a duty of seventy five cents a ton has kept enormous supplies of Canadian coal out of the New England States, and equally deprived the Pacific coast, for it is in Canada alone that coal exists on the shores of both oceans.

Thus in numerous departments of commercial activity, as well as in articles of food, from little trifles, as small as eggs up to animals as large as horses, practical prohibition has been enforced. Where it has been overcome it has been only at the expense of the consumer in the United States, in the shape of high prices; and naturally enough the consumer looks to Congress for reduction and relief. Under such circumstances it would seem the simple duty of Congress to immediately repeal the agricultural sections of the McKinley tariff, as the first step in the tariff reform which they were elected to carry out. On the plea of affecting vested interests created by the protective policy, no argument can be urged against immediately freeing from excessive duties all food products and all raw materials. Industries of all kinds, even those most highly protected, would be stimulated by such action, while to the people at large, of all sorts and conditions, in all localities, such a policy would be beneficial.

There is an argument, however, which might, with much force, be urged against this action, and that is, that there should be a free exchange of articles arranged for before the United States opened her vast markets for raw material and food products. It would seem but just that if free trade in eggs was permitted by the United States, equally some article of manufacture should be admitted free by Canada, which supplies the eggs. It would be manifestly bad policy to concede to Canada free entry of her natural products without demanding from her an equal concession as to goods manufactured from them. The creation of new and enlarged markets for manufacturers would thus be then equal with the increased ability to supply them in competition with the rest of the world. Hence, the truest test of a successful commercial policy would be afforded if an agreement of this character could be consummated. This could be accomplished by so amending the tariff that the free admission of natural products will be allowed from countries only, which admit an equivalent of manufactures on equally favorable terms. The detail could be adjusted by a commission, created in the tariff bill for the purpose, and a list of articles manufactured for free exchange could be placed side by side with a list of natural products and raw material.

Fortunately, in the case of Canada, where this arrangement would most largely apply, such a plan is likely soon to be possible. By the recent action of a great convention of the Liberal party, tariff reform and reciprocity with the United States were adopted, the purpose of the action being a commercial alliance such as is proposed. An impending appeal to the people of Canada, in a parliamentary election, within eighteen months or two years, will give an opportunity to test the question whether or not the Canadian people will place the control of the government or not in the hands of a party who have for their chief claim to confidence a tariff reform as complete as that which is likely in the United States to prevail, and a reciprocity of exchange quite as far-reaching as the United States is likely to demand. That this party will be successful there is hardly any doubt, especially should Congress move in the direction of free admission of food products and raw material on terms of equally free admission into Canada of manufactures from the United States.

The only possible objection in the United States to the free admission from the Dominion of eggs, as representing all other articles of food, is that it may postpone the political absorption of Canada. Strange as it may be, a trifle so slight as the tariff affecting eggs might stand in the way of a settlement of the question upon which the American public are profoundly interested, for there is a large and growing party in this country that think that Canada is essential to the completeness of the Union. Being deceived by imperfect information, and failing to apprehend the real sentiment of the Canadian people, they argue for the continued isolation of the Dominion as the best means to achieve a political union. There is hardly space in these pages now to discuss this question, for, as Charles Lamb said about predestination, "there is a great deal to be said on both sides of that question."

The present pressure is for cheapened food supplies, for larger trade relations with the rest of the world, and for the settlement of the numerous questions that disturb the repose of the two nations that together occupy this continent. These can all be adjusted at once, and on a satisfactory basis, by a liberal tariff treatment, while if they are to be postponed until a

political union is accomplished, the generation that at present shapes affairs will have no concern in the matter.

The question now is, What will be the the price of eggs next year? not How soon will Canada come in?

ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE WELSH IN POLITICS.

THE Welsh population of the United States (including the first descendants) exceeds 1,223,000. They are, politically, almost wholly Republican, it being a fact that over ninety per cent. of them support and vote with that party. Ex-Postmaster-General Thomas L. James, himself a Republican, struck a forcible truth when he said: "The Welsh have been, for years, the hewers of wood and the carriers of water for the Republican party, without even receiving thanks for their pains. It would be a great deal better if there were among them more Democrats."

Why is it that the Welsh have almost unreservedly allied themselves with the Republican party? Is there an explanation for their tenacious adherence to this party? The Welsh are Republicans through various reasons, though in most cases they are peculiar and erroneous ones. To understand thoroughly this nationality's affiliation with Republican principles, their politics in Wales must be also understood.

In England and Wales the Welsh, as a class, are Liberals, and as they are steadfast in the Republican faith of this country so do they in their native home uphold the doctrines of the Liberal party. A Welsh Conservative—"Tory"—is as uncommon in Wales as a Welsh Democrat in the United States. In brief, the Liberal party advocates Home Rule, the Disestablishment of the English Church, the Discontinuation of Tithe payments, and Low Tariff Duties; in fact, the principles of that party are analogous to those of our Democracy. Considering this fact, it seems remarkable that the Welsh should, in this country, advocate principles that are entirely at variance with those they so vigorously supported in Wales.

One of the first political errors they fall into upon their arrival in the United States is that of associating the Republican principles with those of the Liberal party. This may be explained by the fact that the Welshman on his arrival here procures a ticket for some Welsh settlement. During elections he becomes interested in politics. One of the first questions he asks on the subject is: "Which represents the Liberal party of the old country?" He is informed that it is the Republican party, for his informants have made the same mistake that he is now about to fall into.

They tell him that the Republican party is the party of Liberty; that the Republicans preserved the Union during the Rebellion, and freed over 3,000,000 slaves. This has a wonderful effect on the mind of the average Welsh immigrant. He is by nature—as are all the Welsh—opposed to anything that is oppressive. He recalls the struggles of his motherland, the trials and hardships his forefathers suffered in fighting for their country's independence, and, if he knows it, that which is opposed to Liberty will not receive his support and vote.

After being thus informed concerning the alleged history and achievements of the Republican party, he declares himself to be a Republican without the least investigation on his part as to these facts: That there were thousands of Democrats in the Union army during the Rebellion; that the

founders of Republicanism—Sumner, Chase, and Greeley—abandoned that party before they died; that the principles of the Republicans in 1860 and those of to-day are vastly different. It is sufficient for him to know that the Republicans were in power when the slaves were freed. It is this which makes him believe that the Republicans and the Liberals advocate the same fundamental doctrines.

In manufacturing districts the Welshman has been kept in the ranks of the Republican party by the false issue, viz., that party's position on the tariff. Questions like the following are asked of him: "Did you receive as high wages in Wales as you are getting here?" He admits that he is now receiving more wages. The political boomer, who is catering for his vote, declares that all this is due to protection. During the late Presidential campaign those vote-gatherers stated that the "McKinley Bill" had closed workshops in England and the tin industry of Wales, producing hard times in those countries.

The Welshman falls into the trap thus set through neglect of individual investigation. He does not consider that twice the work is required of him in this country; that the purchasing power of his dollar is much less in America than in either England or Wales. He does not seem to realize the fact that hard times for England and Wales would mean hard times for the United States. The prosperity of all the world is our prosperity.

Another great factor in making Republicans of the Welsh is the fact that they are not cosmopolitan either in politics or religion. Many of the Welsh believe, and firmly too, that when Democrats secure control of any branch of our government it is a victory for the Catholic Church. Though born in bigotry as this belief is, and too absurd to receive serious consideration from intelligent men, it has, however, procured votes for the Republican party.

That the erroneous and narrow political opinions held by Welsh Americans have never been corrected is due to the fact that the leaders of the Democratic party have never made any systematic effort to give this class of voters the political instruction they so badly need. When the Welsh character is taken into account, and his political training at home considered, their position in American politics is truly phenomenal. No one who knows the Welshman, as he is in Wales, would expect him to ally himself with any but the Democratic party. The last Presidential campaign showed, however, that this national tendency, so long repressed by ignorance of American politics, is beginning to assert itself. In that struggle the light was shed upon the minds of the Welsh people, as it never had been before. The change that it wrought was seen in the unwonted spectacle of hundreds of Welsh voters casting their ballots for the Democratic candidate. This change was brought about by the action of the Democratic National Committee in making, for the first time, an effort to win the Welsh vote.

The importance of the Welsh vote may be estimated from the following fact: That the given percentage of the now Welsh Republican vote of the following States would place them permanently in the Democratic column: Pennsylvania, 39½ per cent.; Ohio, 15 per cent.; Wisconsin, 9 per cent., and New York, 11 per cent.

Surely, a nationality polling such an important vote should demand the attention of the Democratic leaders of the various States where the Welsh have settled.

JOHN E. OWENS.

A TEMPTING THEORY IN PRACTICE.

THIS generation is fond of object-lessons. If a theory is actually in practice anywhere it would seem wiser to go and inspect its operation and see how it works than to sit down and philosophize about it or to give a series of lectures to prove or disprove it *a priori*. Here is the plan of Henry George, for instance, which he promises will remove poverty, abolish misery, equalize wealth and confer various other boons upon humanity—why not study it where it is being practised? Perhaps it is not generally known that we have a working model in the United States to-day—an abundance of fertile soil, held in common by a sparse population, every head of a family owning ten times as much as any one man can adequately till. I allude to the condition and environments of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory. These men are not savages. They are civilized and many of them are enlightened. They wear such clothes as we do, eat such food as we do and share in such progress and aspirations. In the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Congress it is said:

"These people have, in a great measure, passed from a state of barbarism and savagery. Many of them are educated. They have fine schools and churches. They are engaged in lucrative business of various kinds. In fact, so far as outward appearances go, there would seem to be very little difference between their civilization and that of the States."

Here we have the requisite conditions for a successful experiment—and the experiment is now forty or fifty years old. Here we have a population living by industry expended in agricultural pursuits. They do not live by hunting or fishing or by plunder. They live by raising corn, cattle, horses, hogs, hay, vegetables; in fact they live much as we ourselves live—60,000 or 70,000 people—and they possess 20,000,000 acres of land, an average of 1,500 acres to every head of a family. The general fertility of the land is indicated by the desperate fight made by the headlong frontiersmen under Payne. Where could there be more ideal conditions for trying Mr. George's socialistic experiment?

Well, it has been in practice here for more than a generation—almost half a century. How has it resulted? It is acknowledged without dissent that all members have an equal right to the land, as they have to the air they breathe. Does an equalization of wealth ensue? Has the golden age returned to earth in that sacred little *imperium in imperio* where, protected by its treaties and by the army of the United States, the Five Nations have worked out their own salvation on their own lines?

On the contrary, we are officially informed by the same Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the most energetic and enterprising Indians have fenced in the richest and choicest lands in immense quantities, and that the great majority of Indians are content to work for them by the month as farm hands, making no effort whatever to till or even to occupy any portion of the land which is admittedly their own. A considerable number of farms have been thus seized and held, each ranging from 500 to 5,000 acres in extent, and the red aristocrat who occupies the baronial mansion seems to have no difficulty in hiring for $16 a month as many of his partners as he may require. On these great estates the crops are raised and harvested for him by Indians of the same tribe, perhaps of the same family, and the wage-earners do not seem to get any great amount of luxurious comfort or even of satisfaction from the reflection that they own as much of the land

as anybody. In fact, the Commissioner alleges that these poor laborers, working at precarious wages on their own land, which is held in "the grasping hand of moneyed monopolists and powerful and influential leaders and politicians," are growing "annually and daily poorer and less able to assert their equal ownership and tribal claim—their constitutional privilege and treaty rights."

It seems, curiously enough, that ingenuity and ability get to the front in the Indian Territory just the same as they do in Ohio or Georgia. One wealthy Creek, residing in a costly home, with spacious barns, stables, etc., his ranch skillfully managed, with modern methods and implements, raised, in addition to hay, 25,000 bushels of corn in one season, and fattened 200 head of beef cattle and 300 hogs for market, his joint owners, who plowed the corn and fed the hogs, meanwhile living in huts and cabins, without so much as a month's provisions for themselves or their families.

"Now this condition of semi-slavery," adds the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "exists in each of the Five Civilized Nations, and grows directly out of the holding of lands in common." This conclusion is calculated to surprise all champions of the single-tax theory and make the injudicious grieve; but the Commissioner goes on to declare that "this is the fundamental error from which proceed the troubles which afflict the Five Nations. The practical operation of this system of holding creates an aristocracy out of a few powerful and wealthy leaders, while the poor, although equal owners, are so impoverished as not to be able to assert their equal right of property and manhood."

Such estimate as is possible indicates that although every adult man is the possessor of from 500 to 1,000 acres of arable land wherever he may choose to select it yet, in fact, four out of five of these same men prefer to work by the month for little more than their board and clothes.

Is this the custom of the great millenial scheme? If so, it would follow that avarice is more or less beneficent after all, and that, as a lecturer on economics has observed, "where everybody owns everything nobody ever owns anything." It remains probable that as long as brain power shall dominate, energy and self-denial acquire, and ambition and rapacity attain their ends, Socialism will remain a dream which, as Senator Palmer said recently, humanity cannot afford to forego, but which will never be realized.

BESSIE B. CROFFUT.

THE DECLINE OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

THE Christian Church is in the midst of a great conflict. Never since the organization of Christianity have so many forces been arrayed against her. What certain theologians are pleased to term "the world power" was never stronger than it is to-day. No longer is the church opposed by barbaric races, by superstitious philosophers, by priests of mythical religions, but by the highest culture, the deepest learning, and the profoundest wisdom of enlightened nations. All along the line of her progress she is resisted by the "world power," which represents the highest attainments and the best ideals of the human mind.

Nor are all her opponents found beyond the pale. Within her solemn shades, robed in her vestments, voicing her commands, representing her to

the world, stand many who are ready to cast off her authority and dispute her supremacy. Multitudes who yet obey her decrees are beginning to question; and doubt is the first step towards disobedience and desertion.

The world will never know how many honest souls within the church groan in spirit and are troubled, yet keep a seal upon their lips and a chain upon their tongues "for conscience sake," lest they "cause their brother to offend." They are silent not for fear of rebuke, for the time has gone by when to speak freely was to suffer persecution, and when to suggest that the church might not be infallible was to be accused of infidelity.

To-day men do not grope their way by the aid of a rushlight. The noonday sun now shines, and only the blind fail to perceive the dangers that lie in the way. On every hand within the church men freely admit that there are reasons for the great retrograde movement of the nineteenth century, which has borne, not only the so-called masses away from the church, but the "select few" as well. And here and there a bold voice is heard calling attention to the perils in her path. For a time these voices were silenced by a loud clamor of tongues, but they have at last commanded attention. And the watchmen who stand on the walls of Zion are neither few nor fearful. Courageous men, prophets of a new age, proclaim, with no uncertain sound, the demand, not of a new gospel, but of an old gospel with a new meaning.

Everywhere the demand is made for a more literal and faithful proclamation of the precepts of the founder of Christianity. "The Sermon on the Mount" is to many the epitome of divine philosophy. "Preach it! preach it!" cry reformers of every school everywhere; "not only preach it, but exemplify it." "Show us," they say, "that your practices conform to these precepts and we will believe you! Follow Christ, and we will follow you!"

But just here lies the controversy. The church professes to teach the precepts of Christ, to preach his gospel. The world listens and replies: "You have perverted the truth!" And behold the spectacle of an unbelieving world teaching a believing church, the true principles of her religion! This is one of the most striking and significant signs of the age. And it is altogether new. The world has been familiar from the beginning with the retort: "Physician, heal thyself." But only in modern times have men ventured to say: "Physician, let us prescribe the medicine!"

Early in the Christian era, when to avow belief in Christianity was to imperil life, when persecution drove men to despair, he who found no place of rest on earth was taught to hope for repose in heaven. From the fiery furnaces of affliction men lifted up their hearts in hope of reward for all their pain. For every tear a jewel in their crown, for every sigh a song, for every hour of torture an age of bliss. And so at last the whole church looks upwards with weeping eyes and prays for release from earthly tribulation. Martyrdom becomes a sacrifice, and the departed spirit ascends, crowned and glorified, into heavenly places. But when the church at last emerged triumphant from the fiery baptism and became the supreme power on earth, when her devotees, in their woes, turned to her for relief, she said to them as at first: "Murmur not, my children. Endure the cross with patience, and you shall have reward in heaven." This has been her only answer to the cry of need through all the ages. To every appeal for consolation and help, she replies: "Wait:—trust:—be patient:—hope."

But human patience is not infinite, and there is a limit to the strongest faith. This answer might have been sufficient if the church had obeyed her own precepts. But when the poor and needy, the oppressed and sorrowing,

who were taught to look to Heaven for future recompense, saw holy priests and favored princes robed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day; saw them laying up treasures on earth in defiance of moth and rust and thieves; saw them, with easy consciences, serving God and mammon, they began to doubt the sincerity of the prophets.

And presently they began to affirm that all truth does not dwell under a church spire; that the church is powerless; that she cannot prevent misfortune, cannot heal the sick, cannot feed the hungry and clothe the naked, cannot raise the dead, cannot save the soul. Then they began to say that a church so weak, so worldly, could not be a divine institution. And soon they began to desert her altars. They said: "To deny the infallibility of the church, the efficacy of her ordinances, or the truth of her creeds, is not to deny the efficacy of religion. We are not at war with Christianity, but with the church's exposition of Christianity. Reverence for divine truth is compatible with the most profound contempt for ecclesiasticism. For that sublime Person who trod the earth, whose touch was life and whose smile was salvation, we have only veneration and love, but no longer for the institution that claims to represent Him.

The church denounces her accusers as unbelievers, and goes on her way, amassing treasure, building temples and palaces, making compacts with kings and covenants with mighty men, while the forces arrayed against her are increasing in numbers and power. She has lost her supremacy, her authority has passed away. She is but a sign, a shadow. And it is impossible for her to regain her lost ascendancy, or to return to her throne. Dreams of her universal dominion are delusion. Her sceptre has been broken forever. Already we are in a transition period. The revolutionary movement of the age is universal and irresistible. Thrones are beginning to totter. A volcano smoulders beneath the palaces of kings, and when thrones topple over pulpits will fall.

What then? A reign of anarchy and atheism? Some would-be seers predict it. But there are better things in store for the world. There have been revivals of religion in the past, more or less local and temporary. There is yet to be a revival of religion which is to be world-wide—a restoration of faith in God and love for man—when the brightest dreams of universal brotherhood shall be realized. But it will come in spite of, rather than through, the church. It will come as a reaction against ecclesiastical tyranny; as a protest against mere forms and ceremonials. It will, however, reach the church, change her creeds, modify her methods, and transform her spirit. All true souls within her communion will hail with gladness their emancipation from the tyranny of ecclesiasticism.

That revival is already on its way. A thousand signs herald its coming. Not the least significant are the earnest controversies within the church as to the essentials of faith. The moulds of doctrine are being broken. Large liberty of thought and expression is demanded. Partition walls are being broken down. Everywhere the cry is heard: "Break the chains of tradition and custom!" What form the faith of the future will assume who shall prophesy? There will be faith on earth while time endures. For man is essentially a religious being. Belief in God is a necessity of his nature. But he must be free to express his faith in forms suited to the age in which he lives.

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POLITICAL CAUSES OF THE BUSINESS DEPRESSION.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THAT business depression exists and has existed since midsummer no one doubts. Much as we deplore this fact, the painful proof of it is manifest; confident as we are that the worst is over and the country is now on the road to recovery, it is certainly true that a general depression, starting with stringency of money and a financial panic, has extended through all branches of business and has brought suffering and misery. It is equally true that this condition has not been limited to our country, but has been world-wide in extent, and is in part due to world-wide causes which it is quite beyond the power of legislation here, past or future, to control.

The fact remains, however, that legislation cannot escape its share of responsibility. Unwise laws can impair confidence, shake credit and disturb industrial stability, until the people, under the stress of suffering, demand and get remedial legislation by repeal or otherwise. Political action in this country can and does to a large extent affect our industrial interests. How far this connection of business with politics is wise or proper, it is not my purpose now to discuss.

Because it exists, economic and financial questions have, espec-

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ially in late years, received prominent attention in political campaigns. Carefully, thoughtfully, the people have considered these matters in the firm belief that political action would affect their own material welfare. Since 1888 the political issues have been largely on these lines, and while other and sometimes local questions have also been considered, the attention of the country has been directed most to important matters of national and economic policy.

It is not strange then that again this year the old questions should have arisen. While it is an "off year," with only a few State elections, and those involving largely local issues, yet business depression and popular belief that its cause and remedy are to be found in legislation have brought both parties sharply to face the issue of responsibility for present conditions.

Unfortunately the issue is complicated by the political situation. The Democratic party is in power, but Republican laws and policy are still in force. There has not been time yet to change or repeal these with the exception of a single measure, and that one only by a special session of a Democratic Congress convened by a Democratic President.

All other laws remain. The Republican policy upon tariff and finance, with this exception, is still the law of the land. Our revenue is still raised under Republican taxation, and our money spent under Republican appropriations. If mills are closed and men idle, it is well to remember that the McKinley Bill and high protection are still in full force; if the cause of sound money is threatened, that the Sherman law has only just been repealed; if there is an increasing deficit in the Treasury approaching fifty million dollars a year, that the Democratic party left in March, 1889, a surplus of over one hundred millions, and that our income and expenses since have been determined by Republican laws.

There has been a change only of the party in power with no fair chance yet to make the people's will and Democratic policy the law of the land. As measures are more important than men, so the acts and laws of a party have the larger share of responsibility for results dependent upon political control. A Democratic administration with Republican laws to enforce is not responsible for those laws, nor for their evil results, until at least it has had opportunity to change them.

No doubt a suffering people are apt to lay their ills to the party in power. It is easy to say to an idle workingman: "Your party has won a national victory, and now you are out of a job," and to ask him to believe that the one fact has caused the other. However untrue this conclusion, it is hard to reach him, and to show him the real facts and the true causes of his idleness, especially in the haste and excitement of a short campaign. No doubt this Republican appeal to idle men, and this tendency to attribute hard times to the governing party, were important factors in the recent elections, and the Democratic party had to suffer for causes it did not create and over which it had little control. Now that the election is over the people will more carefully and fairly consider the situation and measure party responsibility for it.

Realizing its responsibility for present laws, the Republican party seeks to escape from it by claiming that not these laws but the fear of laws which are to be enacted has shaken confidence and brought adversity. This then is the issue—Is our admitted distress due to existing Republican legislation which the country has condemned and ordered to be repealed, or to impending Democratic legislation which is to carry out the people's will?

Let us see what the situation is: We find the country suffering from a diminished revenue, increased expenditures, a reduced gold reserve and a flood of useless silver. The Republican party through its McKinley Bill declared its purpose to shut off imports and so reduce revenue. Then it set the precedent of a billion-dollar Congress, and by its laws fastened this expenditure on the future. Then for partisan purposes, and with the aid of Territories which it created States, protection and silver through the Republican party made their coalition for a double burden on the people and passed the Silver Bill against the unanimous protest of the Democratic party. Four years of reckless, extravagant legislation had to be paid for by impaired confidence, with the inevitable result of panic and distress. Although the evil of the Sherman Bill was continually becoming more clear and burdensome, its authors in their State and National conventions either openly indorsed it or uttered no word of protest against it, until at last a financial crisis, due principally to it, broke their silence and forced them to lend their aid in undoing their own mischief. Then they claimed that the bill was passed to prevent the free coinage of silver. But at the time of its passage the House had

already defeated free coinage, and it was known that the President would veto it. Their excuse means that over a Presidential veto a Republican Senate and a Republican House by a two-thirds vote would have supported free coinage though a majority of the House had just voted the other way. The country does not credit this excuse. It believes that the Sherman Bill was passed less from a patriotic purpose to avert danger than from a political purpose to risk a danger in order to save the silver-mining States to the Republican party and to facilitate the passage of the McKinley Bill. So Republicans themselves have declared. Senator Teller, in the recent debate upon the repeal of the Sherman Bill, said :

" I want to refer to the statement made by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) that the Sherman law was passed to save the country from a free coinage act. The Senator from Ohio was the Chairman of the Conference Committee which framed that act ; and on the floor of the Senate, when he made the report, he stated in the most emphatic manner that the House of Representatives had determined in a very positive way that no free coinage bill could pass that body. Mr. President, I say here now with all due deference to the honorable Senator, and trying to keep as closely within the rules of senatorial decency and courtesy as the circumstances will admit, that his present statement was an afterthought. The records will not support it. The matter was brought here in that shape for the reason that it was supposed it would quiet the agitation and would maintain intact in the Northwest the Republican column of States. We were told in plain, unmistakable language that this might be a sop to our people which would save us and save our political organization in that great section of the country and that we could get nothing better. I repeat, Mr. President, there was not a man in this body nor anywhere else, who gave attention to this subject, who did not know we had reached a point where it was absolutely impossible to pass a free coinage bill."

Another Republican, Senator Jones, of Nevada, is quoted in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of September 6, 1893, as having said to his associates in the Conference Committee, which framed the Sherman Bill, these words :

"' Now I want to tell you, gentlemen, that the McKinley Bill will be over in the Senate in a very short time. If you reject our ultimatum on the silver proposition the silver men in the Senate will move the free coinage bill as an amendment to the McKinley Bill, and there are enough Democrats who will vote with us to carry it. Now after that amendment is adopted in the Senate, all the Democrats will vote against the McKinley Bill because it is a protective measure, and the Eastern protectionists will vote against it because it contains free silver. The free silver Republicans in the Senate will be the only men who will vote for it ; and being protectionists they will be the only consistent men in the Senate, being for protection and for the

free coinage of silver.' When I got through they were listening to me, and before the conference broke up the silver purchase law known as the Sherman Act was agreed to. If there are many more misrepresentations on the floor of the Senate as to the reasons why the act of 1890 was agreed to and came about, I will take the floor and explain what occurred and how it came to be adopted."

And again, but a few days ago, in the closing debate on the repeal of the Sherman Bill, at least one other Republican Senator in effect repeated the charge and served notice that the coalition of silver and protection was ended because the Republican party had not kept faith with silver.

It is true that neither party is united upon this question, but the difference between them is that at the critical moment the Republican party yields to financial heresy in its ranks and the Democratic party conquers it. This was strikingly shown by the Democratic administration from 1884 to 1888. Its unflinching stand for sound money was met by the criticism and opposition of the Republican party, expressed in the Republican national convention of 1888, later by Republican leaders, notably by Mr. McKinley, who said in his speech at Toledo, February, 1891:

"During all of his (Cleveland's) years as the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of our great products, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored even before his inauguration to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards and to the end of his administration persistently used his power to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else the servant."

This was followed by Republican acts in admitting the silver Territories and in the passage of the Sherman Bill. Always the spirit of compromise was dominating that party and giving new life and vigor to its financial unsoundness. Contrast with this the action of the Democratic party not only from 1884 to 1888, but later in meeting division within its ranks upon this question. With an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives in 1892 it fought and conquered the demand for the passage of silver legislation, believed by the country to be unsound and unsafe. It faced the issue again in its national convention, and settled it not by compromise, but by argument and the triumphant assertion of a sound principle and policy; and then, as its pledge for the future, it nominated as its candidate

the one man most conspicuous before the country for consistent, steadfast devotion to such policy. Again, within a few weeks, when a general demand arose for the repeal of so much of the Sherman Bill as business men believed had been the great cause of depression, and the Democratic party properly was called upon to face this responsibility, it found united action impossible and the only course open concession or a fight. It chose the latter, although the fatal spirit of compromise was in the air. Such compromise was suggested by Republican precedents, but Democratic precedents and pledges prevailed, and unconditional repeal, through a fight, obtained a great and deserved victory. Ex-Speaker Reed has recently said that this was a victory of the Democratic President over his party. A Democratic President was indeed at the helm, but a Democratic crew was aboard the ship, and, while he "kept the rudder true," together they sailed the ship out of financial shoals into safe waters. The President stood for right and led his party, instead of following the precedent set by his predecessor, who yielded to wrong because led by his party. Democratic State conventions have, almost without exception, declared this leadership to be the expression and enforcement of true Democratic principles. I believe that Republican action on the silver question, marked as it has been by bargains, concessions and compromises culminating in the Sherman Bill, has been the chief cause of business depression. That bill cannot escape responsibility, as Republicans contend, on the ground that the panic did not come until three years after its passage. It took time for it to make its evil fully felt, and it will take time to recover from that evil now that the cause has ceased.

Through these three years the Sherman Bill has steadily been doing its mischievous work, heaping up silver, driving out gold and impairing the public confidence that our increasing currency could be kept at par with gold. During the administration of President Harrison, from March, 1889, to March, 1893, the treasury gold, outside of the reserve of $100,000,000, fell from $96,000,000 to $3,000,000, while our paper currency, outside of the $346,000,000 of legal tenders, rose from $246,000,000 to $448,000,000. The proportion of free gold to this currency fell from thirty-nine to less than one per cent. Time was constantly making matters worse. The crisis had got to come. The man

who fell from the third story window to the sidewalk declared that it was not the fall that hurt him, but bringing up so suddenly on the ground. Under the Sherman Bill the country had been steadily falling and was certain to bring up with a round turn at the end. The best proof that this was the cause of the business depression comes from business itself. In the midst of its distress it knew and stated the cause of it and the remedy. From boards of trade and business centres all over the country there came a unanimous demand. For what? To let the tariff alone? No, but to repeal the Sherman Bill. Impatient of delay, as if its very life depended upon this action, business watched the movement for repeal. Every step in that movement it felt and indicated as keenly as the barometer does a change of weather. It said emphatically through its representative boards that the one predominant cause of its trouble was the financial legislation of a Republican Congress and the one remedy was its repeal. As this remedy was delayed by weeks and months of discussion and obstruction, the business depression became more serious and so deep rooted that now the repeal itself cannot produce an immediate cure.

But the Republican party, anxious to escape its responsibility, insists that the crisis was due, not to its laws, but to impending Democratic laws; that we have not been reaping the whirlwind Republicans have sown, but are suffering because the country, by a large majority, has thrust them from power and condemned their financial and tariff policy. Let us examine their claim. What is or was the impending Democratic legislation at the time of the crisis? First, the repeal of the mischievous provisions of the Republican Sherman Bill. To that the Democratic party was pledged; for that a Democratic President had called together a Democratic Congress in special session, which now has redeemed the pledge and met the responsibility that rested upon it. Undoubtedly this impending legislation was not feared as a cause of trouble, but hoped for as a necessary remedy. Next is the repeal of the McKinley Bill. It is true the Democratic party has, by the deliberate, repeated judgment of the people, been charged with this duty, which it means faithfully to meet, and so obey the people's mandate to reduce the tariff. But we emphatically assert that the promise of such reduction has not caused present depression; but on the contrary that the reduction,

when accomplished, will be only a blessing to the people and their industries. We know that the Republicans tell the laborer out of work that a Democratic victory which condemned unjust taxation, and promised that the power of the people's government would be used not for selfish interests but for the equal benefit of all,—that this has brought him idleness and poverty. They neglect to tell him that he is still living under high protection and the McKinley Bill, or that after three years of trial it has failed to give him its promised benefits of work, high wages and prosperity. If called upon to meet this fact, they excuse the failure of that law by asserting in the words of Mr. Reed that "The McKinley Bill is in prison under sentence of death," and they ask with him, "How can it help you or me?" No doubt that is its condition. It was charged with the crime of robbery, tried before the people fairly and fully, with proof of the influences by which it was produced, its purposes and effect,—it was found guilty, sentenced and is in prison awaiting execution. But this was last November. And even before that it had been tried and condemned. It is an old offender. It was first tried in 1890, when the facts in the case were fresh in the public mind, and was then found guilty. True, a Republican Senate and President could for a while stay proceedings. A little time might be given it for repentance and to prepare for death. But it was in prison then and has been for three years with the condemnation of the country upon it and with the certainty that it must go. Timid manufacturers who really believed that their prosperity was dependent upon it ought to have been shortening sail since 1890.

Let us look a little into the past and see how far the promise or fear of tariff reduction has injured business or caused depression. There has scarcely been a year from the close of the war until 1888 when there has not been promised and impending tariff reduction. The war tariff itself was passed with the pledge that it should be reduced when the necessity for a war revenue was over. Presidents Grant and Arthur and their Secretaries of the Treasury repeatedly recommended such reduction. Some measures in that direction, like the removal of the duty on hides in 1872, were passed. Then the tariff commission of 1882 took up the subject, and after a thorough examination recommended a reduction of duties of from twenty to twenty-five per cent.; and

later, in 1884, the Republican party became very largely in favor of some reduction. Then followed the earnest recommendation of President Cleveland in 1887, and the introduction of the Mills Bill. In all these years there were promise and hope of tariff reduction through both the Republican and Democratic parties, and though these efforts failed—some of them unexpectedly—nowhere did the anticipation of tariff reduction cause panic or business distress. Then came the tariff reform victories of 1890 and 1892, and not for many months after the last was there a panic or business depression. Not until our revenue fell off, and gold was exported, and the gold reserve impaired, and silver purchases enormously increased—all acts directly chargeable to Republican legislation—not until then was confidence destroyed. After that business became stagnant and mills idle. That these were the true causes of the trouble Republicans and Protectionists have admitted. In a recent interview Mr. Thomas Dolan, the well-known protectionist of Philadelphia and of its Manufacturers' Club, said:

"I believe that the depression is almost wholly due to the silver policy. If the alarm was due to the victory of the Democrats, why was it not manifested last November? The people knew then as well as they know now that it was within the power of the new administration to repeal the tariff laws, yet no uneasiness was felt. In fact, in the woollen business everything went along swimmingly until the first of July."

The *American Wool Reporter,* a standard authority, corroborates this statement. It says:

"For those who believe the tariff has been and is the paramount factor in the present depression in the industrial and business world, it may be of interest to note that certain descriptions of wools actually advanced in prices in the spring months—clothing wools were fully one cent per pound higher in March than in January, and some wools two cents per pound higher. If the tariff was a factor it had not made itself manifest in prices during these months. As we have shown in previous issues, the goods market was in good shape, the manufacturers with large orders in hand right through the spring months. The depression is due to a lack of confidence in the stability of our currency."

And no less an authority than Senator Sherman, in the debate in the Senate on October 17, 1893, said:

"If we would try it (repeal of the Sherman act) to-morrow, after all the long debate that has been had, and dispose of this question as we think best for the people of the United States, while you are assuming your responsibility, we would gladden the hearts of millions of laboring men

who are now being turned out of employment; we would relieve the business cares of thousands of men whose whole fortunes are embarked in trade; we would relieve the farmer and his product for free transportation to foreign countries now clogged for the want of money. In the present condition of affairs there is no money to buy cotton or corn and wheat for foreign consumption. Break down the barrier now maintained by the Senate of the United States, check this viper called obstruction to the will of the majority, give the Senate free power and play, and in ten days from this time the skies will brighten, business will resume its ordinary course, and 'the clouds that lower upon our house will be in the deep bosom of the ocean buried.'"

Let us go a step further and see what the Democratic tariff policy is, and whether it can be an injury or cause of alarm to our industries. Its policy, as often stated, is a revenue tariff with reduction of duties to cheapen the necessaries of life, and give free raw materials to our industries. This it has declared in National and State platforms, formulated into bills and voted for in Congress. This it is pledged to give in its new bill. It means free wool, coal, iron ore and other raw materials, with fair and proper reduction on finished products.

It is something in favor of such a policy that since 1890 it has, after thorough consideration, been twice indorsed by a large majority of our people; that great manufacturing States like New York, New Jersey and Connecticut have constantly supported it, and even Massachusetts voted for it in 1890; that it has been the policy of our nation through most of its life; that, after thorough trial of the low tariff of 1846, manufacturing New England joined with the rest of the country in demanding the lower tariff of 1857, and under these low tariffs many of our great manufacturing cities were founded, and their industries established and prospered. Can such a policy now, after a generation more of active industrial life, with our industries older, with our labor more efficient, with our progress in inventions and greater aptitude for manufacturing, can it, with its assured benefit of free raw material, be a just cause for alarm?

Let us consider some pertinent facts upon this point gathered from the industries themselves, and, first, a bit of evidence from New England. In February, 1889, its iron and steel industries prepared a statement and petition, setting forth their condition and asking Congress for free coal, iron ore and reduced duties on pig and scrap iron. That statement declared that the tendency of these duties had been "to wipe out the iron and steel indus-

tries, large and small, of New England." It gives the facts to support this claim. Again, it says : "It is then clearly the duty on coal and crude iron that is strangling in New England one of the largest of all the wonderful industries of our modern days." It adds : "There is no necessity for letting it die ; that it is only the existing duties on coal, ore and crude iron that are strangling it ; and that the abolition of those duties will not only keep it alive, but will insure it a tremendous vitality and large increase."

This statement and petition were signed by 598 iron and steel industries of New England, including almost without exception every one of importance, and by men of both political parties, including the then Republican Governor of Massachusetts. Certainly to that industry there is hope of new life and growth when a Democratic tariff bill takes the place of the McKinley law.

Turn next to the woollen industry. The burden to-day of a duty upon wool is clearly shown by the fact that this industry asks and gets an additional duty on its finished products called compensatory, because given to offset this burden. The industry itself asked Congress in 1866 for free wool, and said that with it a duty of twenty-five per cent. on its finished products was sufficient, and recently over 700 woollen manufacturers and dealers, including some of the largest in the country, have again asked for this benefit. They have no fear that free wool, which in all other civilized countries has been a help to this industry, will here work it harm ; and they remember that since 1888 the Democratic party has twice formulated its policy into bills which gave free wool, still leaving a duty on its product larger than the labor cost of the product and much larger than the twenty-five per cent. asked by the woollen industry in 1866.

Turn next to the boot and shoe and leather industries. What better proof could be given of the benefit of the Democratic policy of free raw materials than the growth and prosperity of those industries after the duty on hides was removed in 1872, and their unanimous protest against the proposition to reimpose that duty by the McKinley Bill ? With their principal raw material free, they export annually over thirteen million dollars worth of goods, competing in the markets of the world with the labor of the world. Mr. McKinley said there was no reason for a duty on wool which did not equally apply to hides. He was right, but he did not put back the duty against this protest. The Demo-

cratic party says that every reason which made hides free demands that wool be free, and it proposes to act upon this belief. The great advantage of free silk to the silk industry, of free rags to the paper industry, of free hides to the boot and shoe and leather industries, can and ought to be extended to other industries as a benefit not only to all the people as consumers, but to the industries themselves, giving them a larger market here and a better chance to send their products into foreign markets.

This is the policy of the Democratic party as declared in its platforms, formulated in its measures and supported by its votes. It advocates a revenue tariff, remembering that revenue has been the basis of every tariff, even our war tariff, until 1888, when another principle, controlling the Republican party, supplanted it and found expression in the McKinley Bill. It believes that a tariff, which gives free raw materials and cheaper necessaries of life and which is required to raise a revenue of nearly two hundred million dollars, is a conservative measure, and a benefit to industries as well as to the people. It does not believe in tariff taxation which has for its purpose and result taking from one to give to another, or burdening all to enrich the few. It opposes the principle of the McKinley Bill that taxation can be laid not for revenue, a public purpose, but solely for private interests, to kill competition, encourage trusts and cut off revenue.

The country deliberately—emphatically—said in 1890 and 1892 that the Democratic policy was right in principle and would be beneficial in its results. It is hardly conceivable that its mature judgment, twice expressed, was wholly wrong. It certainly is no proof of this that a great business depression has come under another tariff policy, which by the same judgment the country condemned and ordered to be repealed.

WILLIAM E. RUSSELL.

THE BATTLE-SHIP OF THE FUTURE—A REPLY TO ADMIRAL COLOMB.

BY CAPT. W. T. SAMPSON, U. S. N., CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF ORDNANCE.

A BATTLE-SHIP is that fighting ship which combines in the highest possible degree the powers of offence and defence. This is no new distinction, for in all times the ships which possessed these high qualities, whether propelled by oars, sails, or machinery, have been accorded the honor of bearing the shock of battle when fleets have met. Other vessels intended for special purposes have been always associated with the battle-ships. Never in the history of navies have these auxiliaries been so numerous in proportion to the number of battle-ships, or so various in type, as they are now. We have cruisers large and small, protected cruisers, armored cruisers, rams, commerce-destroyers, gunboats, torpedo cruisers, torpedo boats, etc. Each of these types has its own characteristics, in which speed, the number and size of guns, coal endurance, manœuvring power, etc., are made most prominent, according to the supposed needs of the case. Each is a fighting ship in its way; but none of them, nor all of them acting together, could be expected to meet a battle-ship in a fair fight. Before a fleet of battle-ships a host of these other craft must scurry to cover, or only venture out under protection of darkness.

Attempts are periodically made to magnify the importance of each of these types of auxiliaries. At one time we are told that a fleet of commerce-destroyers would constitute the most efficient naval force for a nation; again, it is a fleet of rams or a sufficient number of torpedo boats. While commerce-destroyers might succeed in driving an enemy's commerce from the seas, Mahan

has shown that this alone is not sufficient to terminate a war, or even to greatly influence the result. A fleet of swift and heavy rams would be able to greatly annoy a smaller number of battle-ships, but they could do little more. Nor could those night-hawks, the torpedo boats, hope to do more than frighten their big enemies, the battle-ships.

It is not intended to assert that rams or torpedo boats could not occasionally destroy a battle-ship, but the circumstances must be very favorable to the smaller craft to admit of such a result. It is not intended in this brief article to attempt to give the reasons for these opinions. They are expressed here only to define and outline by contrast the characteristics of the battle-ship, which embodies in the highest degree in which they can be combined the good qualities of all other fighting ships. She mounts heavy guns to pierce the armor of her enemies; she mounts numerous guns of lighter calibre to enable her to meet similar fire from all sorts of craft and to destroy the quick-moving torpedo boats which would escape the slow-working, heavy guns; she carries armor to protect herself against any but the heaviest projectiles, and, so far as possible, against even these; she carries torpedoes to destroy an enemy who may, in the manœuvres of battle, come within her reach; she carries such a supply of coal and ammunition as will enable her to perform her duty between the times when she can renew her supply. Being essentially a fighting machine, she does not require high speed to enable her to escape from an enemy. When war shall come between any of the great nations which depend in whole or in part upon their naval strength, it will be the battle-ship which will settle the issue. And such, in brief, is the battle-ship of to-day.

But the battle-ship of the future—to predict her design would be to solve at once problems destined for many a year to baffle the skill of the naval architect. If the powder question were settled forever, if the quality of gun steel and the system of manufacture of guns were decided beyond cavil, if the quality of armor had been definitely established, if the strength of projectiles had reached a limit, if the means of attack and defence were to be restricted to those now in use; even were all these elements fixed and unalterable, yet would it be a difficult task to predict the design of the future battle-ship. But, when it is re-

membered that these elements may alter, that they may be modified, that they may even be exchanged for others more suitable, the problem becomes more complex, the solution more difficult. When it is also borne in mind that many other elements of design which are not purely military are likewise liable to change, such as the character of the fuel used, or the whole system of propulsion, the prediction partakes of the nature of prophecy.

A brief glance at the influence which would probably be produced upon the future battle-ship by a modification of each of the elements referred to may assist us in arriving at a conclusion as to the probable influence of all combined. If, at the same time, we glance at the progress or changes which each has undergone during thirty years, which comprehend the period in which the greatest changes have been made, we shall have the important aid of history also to guide us.

We may, for brevity, consider together the gun, its powder and projectile, for, as Admiral Colomb has said, the gun will probably always have a predominating influence in deciding the design of the fighting ship. That battle-ship will best fulfil its mission which carries the most powerful battery the most steadily, with the greatest celerity, from place to place, and to the greatest distance, and in which the stability is best protected.

The power of the gun has enormously increased within the past thirty years. This increase in power is not represented by increase in size, but by the greatly increased velocity which it imparts to a projectile greatly increased in weight. The 15-inch smooth bore guns mounted in our monitors, which may be taken to represent the maximum efficiency of guns in our service thirty years ago, would barely penetrate six inches of iron at the muzzle, while at 1,500 yards the penetration would not exceed 3½ inches. The 13-inch rifles to be placed in our battle-ships will penetrate 27 inches of steel at the muzzle, or 23 inches at 1,500 yards; at greater distances the difference becomes more marked.

Smokeless powder, whose greatest advantage lies in the high velocity it can impart to the projectile, will probably still further increase the velocity as the powder is developed. This may, and probably will, continue until it becomes necessary to modify the form of the gun and increase the strength of the material. As the slow burning brown powder was a step in advance of the quicker burning black, distributing the pressure more uni-

formly along the bore of the gun, so does the smokeless powder make a decided advance in the same manner, until we now have reached a muzzle velocity which is nearly double what was obtained with the smooth bore thirty years ago, and which, at a distance of 1,500 yards is three times as great as was possible with the old gun. We may expect the mutual reaction of the gun and the powder, as regards development, to continue. Every improvement in the powder will be met by an appropriate modification in the gun, and every increase in the strength of the gun will be utilized by an increase in the pressure of the powder. Thus the energy of the projectile will increase and the difficulty in controlling the recoil of the gun will become greater. When the energy of the projectile was but a few hundred foot tons, it was comparatively easy to restrain the recoil, but when the energy of the projectile rises to 30,000 foot tons, it becomes a far more difficult problem to control the recoil, demanding the use of powerful hydraulic machinery. The necessary protection of this machinery has led to an increase of armor on the ship beyond what was before necessary, and this in turn has demanded a larger ship to carry it.

The increased velocity has made necessary greater strength in the projectile, for those of cast iron are broken to fragments, even against light and soft armor; wrought-iron projectiles are deformed like a leaden bullet ; cast steel is only better than cast iron, but the very highest skill of the metallurgical art has succeeded in producing an armor piercing projectile of wonderful strength, which, under favorable conditions of impact, can transfer nearly its total energy to the opposing armor. Yet in this very matter of projectiles naval artillery is now the weakest. The energy which the gun can impart to the projectile is sufficient to crush the strongest to fragments, even when the armor is soft, if the line of impact is oblique to the armor ; and when the armor is hardened by the Harvey process the projectile is nearly always broken, whatever may be the line of impact. The armor-piercing power of the gun is therefore limited by the strength of the projectile which can be manufactured.

Turning for a moment to the armor itself, we see that since the time when wooden walls were found to be insufficient protection against the increasing energy of the shot, and the introduction of steam engines made more effective protection necessary to

save the machinery from injury, it has been one prolonged struggle for supremacy between the gun and the armor. For every increase in the power of the gun there was an increase in the thickness of the armor, until the armor became so heavy that its protection had to be limited to a portion of the ship and even then only large ships could carry the weight which was required. Then commenced a decided improvement in the quality of the armor, which has progressed through the vicissitudes of compound armor and all steel armor, and has now developed into alloys of nickel and steel, of chrome, nickel, and steel, and has finally culminated in the Harvey process of hardening the surface of the armor made of the above alloys. This armor, as before stated, defies the best projectile which has yet been produced. The armor has now decidedly the advantage.

It has reached such a stage of development, has attained such a degree of excellence, that it may in future be reduced in thickness 25 per cent. under what was but just now considered necessary. This weight may be saved or expended to increase the protection, the battery power, the speed or the coal endurance. If saved, we shall have a smaller ship, retaining all other characteristics of battery, speed and endurance, but manifestly in no great degree superior to the larger ship carrying thicker armor. Each would have the same protection, battery, speed and endurance. The smaller ship would be considerably less in cost and more economical in maintenance. On the other hand, the saving in weight due to the superior quality of armor may be used to increase the area of the armor, and there will result a ship having all the characteristics of the original, but with better protection.

If additional protection is not considered as desirable as additional power of offence, then the additional weight can be used to increase the number of guns or increase their size. The choice between increase in size or increase of numbers would depend upon whether or not the guns are already large enough for the purpose intended. It would be folly to arm a ship with guns manifestly overmatched by the armor of her enemy. On the other hand, guns which are too large are correspondingly less efficient.

To apply the saving in weight to an increase in speed beyond the present limit of about fifteen to seventeen knots is not per-

missible, nor is it desirable to increase the coal endurance beyond what is necessary to enable the ship to reach and act at the points intended.

To go somewhat more into detail, we see that the design of the fighting ship, in distinction from that of a cruiser, must depend upon the guns which she is to carry. From this single condition, when rightly interpreted and understood, will follow all other requirements. For instance, the guns must have power to overcome the armor of her adversary. Should the adversary make the mistake of encasing herself in such thick armor that she must limit that armor to a comparatively small area, leaving sufficient unprotected to render her a certain prey to moderate guns, then it would not be necessary to attack her armor in order to destroy her. The armor protection then should be so distributed that it must be punctured to fatally injure the ship. It may be stated as a rule that the battle-ship should carry guns that will overmatch, at least under favorable conditions of impact, the armor which she herself carries. This may seem to be reducing all fighting ships to the same level, leaving no advantage with either of two opposing sides. But it must be remembered that, like two opposing armies, the victory will probably rest with the one which can bring the greater number into action.

The oft-repeated proposition to save weight in armor by reducing the freeboard, or, in other words, by making the fighting ship of the monitor type, will not produce the ship of the future. Those who advocate the monitor overlook the fact that the present battle-ship has incorporated the only useful feature of that type, which is the turret. The low freeboard of the monitor is not compatible with the present speed. Considerable height is necessary to keep the bow wave from coming on board the ship. No better illustration of this can be found than in our coast defence vessel, the "Monterey." At her maximum speed of about fourteen knots, the forward part of the vessel is several feet under water, rendering it impossible to make good practice with her forward guns, when running even at less than maximum speed.

Bearing in mind that the following remarks are limited to the battle-ship and recalling her description, we may venture to predict the directions in which this mighty engine of war will be developed.

First, It may be stated with confidence that her speed will be quite moderate, not exceeding sixteen or seventeen knots, as a maximum. Undoubtedly there might arise occasions when a higher speed would be of advantage to a fleet in pursuit of a weaker one, or when it would prove invaluable to the weaker one in making her escape ; but these occasions are strategical and not tactical. That is to say, small difference of speed will cut no figure in an actual engagement, nor will superior speed enable the defeated fleet to escape ; for it will be found now, as in the time of sailing fleets, that, after a general engagement, the victors will have the advantage in speed even if they did not before. It will be one of the surest signs of defeat that the vanquished have lost in manœuvring power. The fleet having the highest average speed will have it in its power to avoid an engagement, but it cannot be said with certainty that an advantage in speed will enable a fleet to bring on an engagement. Now, when it is remembered that an increase in speed demands the sacrifice of other qualities which are of vital importance in a fight, I think the limit fixed will prove a safe prediction.

While high speed in a battle-ship is not demanded, economical speed is a very important consideration. It is important that the maximum speed may be depended upon at all times; hence the importance given to the question of sheathing and coppering the bottoms of steel ships to prevent the marine growth and consequent loss of speed. Without going into the merits of sheathing, it is thought that the time is not far distant when some more efficacious method will be found for preventing this marine growth. The advocates of sheathing overlook the fact that it is at best only a partial remedy. The injurious effect of foul bottoms has been brought into prominence by the high speed of recent years. When wooden ships were sheathed and the speed was low, the loss from this cause was far less noticeable, although bottoms were foul.

Second, The coal endurance of the future battle-ship must be determined by the distance at which she may be required to act from her base of supplies. This, in its turn, must be determined by the policy of the nation. Our own country having no distant colonies to defend will maintain but a moderate fleet of battle-ships and only for defensive purposes. A proper defence, however, demands that an enemy shall not be permitted to establish

or maintain a base of supplies on our side of either great ocean. This consideration limits the necessary endurance of our battle-ships to a very moderate amount, but to cover all probable demands it should be fixed at about 5,000 miles at an economical speed. All the reasons for this estimate cannot be stated here.

With the introduction of liquid fuel, this endurance might be reduced. Objections still exist to the use of this fuel, but so desirable is it for naval use that we may count upon the removal of them. The fact that its advantages are not so great for the merchant service has delayed its adoption, and will continue to do so for a time. As soon as a demand for it is created it will be manufactured in necessary quantities. We shall then see our ships receiving their fuel in a few hours instead of requiring days, as is now the case. Subdivision, one of the greatest safeguards against under-water injury, may then be greatly extended.

It is evident that moderate speed and moderate endurance will in themselves require a ship of but moderate displacement. It remains to be seen how other requirements will influence the size of the ship.

Third, The subjects armor and armament are best treated together because they are so interdependent. It has been stated, probably without much consideration, that armor will be abandoned for the same reason that led to its abandonment as a personal protection for the soldier, because it had ceased to protect against the improved weapons of warfare, and the weight of the armor could not be increased. But this condition of things does not seem likely to arise in regard to ships. Aside from this, the armor carried by fighting ships is principally for the protection of the stability and machinery of the ship, rather than the men who man her. If any one is in doubt as to the utility of armor on a battle-ship, let him consider from every imaginable point of view the result of an engagement between two fighting ships of the same displacement, one protected by suitable armor and the other without it. The unarmored ship has the advantage that she can devote the weight given to armor in her adversary to increasing the weight of her armament, increasing her speed, or increasing her endurance. Each of these would be an undoubted advantage, but when we consider these advantages as they bear upon the supreme moment when the ships are engaged in battle, we see that the question of coal endurance is not likely to influ-

ence the result; for it will depend quite as much upon which has received the most recent supply as upon the actual quantity each can carry in her bunkers.

The advantage of superior speed in battle will consist mainly in ramming and avoiding the ram; but it seems very improbable that an unarmored ship would venture to ram an armored one; if this view be correct, the advantage in superior speed will be limited to that of enabling the unarmored ship to choose her fighting distance. As a very moderate superiority of speed would enable her to do this, it would be best to use a large part of her extra displacement in increasing both the weight of her guns and their number. She would thus, by the superior volume of her fire, have some compensation for her own vulnerability. But whatever increase of weight she could possibly give to her guns would be far more than compensated for by the resistance of the armor of her adversary. The unarmored ship would appear to be left with the overwhelming disadvantage that every blow she received would pierce her through and through. Under such circumstances all her other advantages would disappear. Neither superior speed, endurance nor armament could compensate for lack of protection.

The armor applied to a ship has two distinct objects—first, to protect the stability of the ship, and, second, to protect the machinery contained in the ship; included in the latter is not only the propelling machinery, but more especially, from their otherwise exposed position, the guns and the machinery necessary for working them. Incidentally the armor which protects the guns protects the men stationed at them. The larger the guns, the more extended the appliances for handling them, and, consequently, the more effective the protection required. In other words, where heavy guns are mounted, heavy armor must be used, and both conspire to increase the size of the ship.

The necessity for armor being admitted, it remains to determine where its utility ceases. This brings us face to face with the controversy of small ironclads *versus* large ones. Those who advocate the smaller vessels do so on the ground of economy and in the belief that a number of small vessels, costing less than the price of one battle-ship, would be more than a match for her in battle. A little consideration will, I think, show the fallacy of this contention, for if we assume the same characteristics for both

the battle-ship and the smaller ironclads, it can be shown that they can be more economically obtained in one structure than when distributed among several. If it is assumed that a number of smaller vessels, with less gun power than the battle-ships, can vanquish her by mere force of numbers, there is no good ground for the assumption. The smaller vessels must collectively be at least equal in this respect to their larger antagonist; they must, also, have equal protection, or they will be at a decided disadvantage. In the days of sailing ships, when the manœuvring power was very restricted and guns were necessarily mounted in broadside, it was possible for a number of small vessels to take such positions with reference to a larger antagonist as to put her quite at their mercy. This is not now the case. A battle-ship, with her battery rightly disposed, would be quite indifferent as to the position assumed by such enemies. On the other hand, in the case under consideration, the smaller vessels would be obliged to take position on the beam of the battle-ship if they hoped to pierce her armor, or they must rely upon destroying her by an attack upon her unarmored parts. Without mentioning the greater steadiness of the battle-ship, it may then be fairly assumed that she would be more than a match for the smaller ironclads, whether cost or gun power be made the basis of comparison.

Where then shall cease the constant tendency to greater size which accompanies increase of gun powder and armor protection? If a large vessel is better than a smaller one, can there be any limit? Several considerations control the dimensions. The great cost is a most potent one. A first class battle-ship costs $5,000,000, and only a first class nation can afford to maintain a fleet of such costly weapons. Certain numbers are required in order that their services may extend over a greater area and consequently the individual size or cost must be limited. The liability to accident increases with the dimensions; in taking the ground, or in collision, the great weight of the battle-ship is her destruction. For our own country a decided limit is fixed by the depth of water in our harbors,—for, manifestly, our battle-ships should be capable of entering our own ports. Doubtless the limit has been reached in the "Iowa," now building. Nor need we fear that our battle-ships of 10,000 or 11,000 tons will be greatly outclassed by anything they will ever encounter.

The battle-ship is, or should be, at every stage of the develop-

ment of the art of naval warfare, a definite machine; and only such variations from a fixed character should exist as are demanded by her environment; by which is meant the character and extent of the area over which she is intended to act. A battle-ship is intended to meet the enemy and fight to a finish. Numbers will, of course, in most cases determine the result, but this is no argument against the theory that the individual ships should possess in the highest degree attainable the maximum fighting power. And very important it is that the battle-ships of a nation should possess uniformity in speed and manœuvring power. That nation which possesses the most homogeneous line of battle has, other things being equal, a great advantage. So important is this consideration that it would be better to sacrifice some qualities which would be a decided improvement in a new ship rather than depart from the leading characteristics of the other ships with which she must be associated. It is not intended by this to exclude improvements, but they must be important ones to outweigh the advantages of a homogeneous fleet.

In conclusion, I may say that the battle-ship of the future will, like all human contrivances, be of gradual growth, resulting from the adaptation to her use of improvements and discoveries in many branches of science. Under the crucial test of war it may be found that many mistakes have been made. If I should venture to point out one of these, it would be the multiplicity of devices which every branch of physical science has contributed to overcrowd our ships. Not that they do not admirably serve their purpose, but I fear that we, as sailors, are growing to rely upon them, and will be lost when the rude shock of battle breaks our electric wires and disarranges the delicate machinery upon which we now depend in a thousand ways. In the main, however, I venture to think that the battle-ship of to-day has a sound reason for all her principal features, and the type will persist. The stability will continue to be carefully protected by vertical armor. Many of the accidents both in battle and times of peace, to which great ships are liable, will be diminished by the adoption of liquid fuel. The main battery will be mounted in turrets furnishing complete protection to the guns, and, as far as possible, to the machinery for their manipulation, and for the supply of ammunition. The secondary battery will be protected in proportion to its importance, while every gun

position with its crew will be protected against machine and rapid gun fire. The time will never come when we shall cease to demand higher requirements in the battle-ship. Fortunately all requirements are interchangeable. Armor may be substituted for guns, guns for fuel, so that the saving in one direction may at once be utilized in another. The advent of hard-surfaced armor will demand that the calibre of the main battery be maintained; for until projectiles of greater strength can be produced the only way to overcome Harvey armor is to crush it with an overwhelming blow. In addition to this, it will undoubtedly be found that all armor under the constantly varying angles of impact in battle will furnish greater protection than is considered possible when judged by the result of normal impact on the proving ground. For this reason again, the larger calibre of the gun must be maintained, and this, in its turn, determines the great size of the battle-ship of the future, subject to the restrictions which have been indicated.

W. T. Sampson, Captain, U. S. N.

THE MISSION OF THE POPULIST PARTY.

BY SENATOR WILLIAM ALFRED PEFFER, OF KANSAS.

THE Populist Party is an organized demand that the functions of government shall be exercised only for the mutual benefit of all the people. It asserts that government is useful only to the extent that it serves to advance the common weal. Believing that the public good is paramount to private interests, it protests against the delegation of sovereign powers to private agencies. Its motto is: "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none." Its creed is written in a single line of the Declaration of Independence—"All men are created equal." Devoted to the objects for which the constitution of the United States was adopted, it proposes to "form a more perfect union" by cultivating a national sentiment among the people; to "insure domestic tranquility" by securing to every man and woman what they earn; to "establish justice" by procuring an equitable distribution of the products and profits of labor; to "provide for the common defence" by interesting every citizen in the ownership of his home; to "promote the general welfare" by abolishing class legislation and limiting the government to its proper functions; and to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" by protecting the producing masses against the spoliation of speculators and usurers.

The Populist claims that the mission of his party is to emancipate labor. He believes that men are not only created equal, but that they are equally entitled to the use of natural resources in procuring means of subsistence and comfort. He believes that an equitable distribution of the products and profits of labor is essential to the highest form of civilization; that taxation should only be for public purposes, and that all moneys raised by taxes should go into the public treasury; that public needs should be

supplied by public agencies, and that the people should be served equally and alike.

The party believes in popular government. Its demands may be summarized fairly to be—

1. An exclusively national currency in amount amply sufficient for all the uses for which money is needed by the people, to consist of gold and silver coined on equal terms, and government paper, each and all legal tender in payment of debts of whatever nature or amount, receivable for taxes and all public dues.

2. That rates of interest for the use of money be reduced to the level of average net profits in productive industries.

3. That the means of public transportation be brought under public control, to the end that carriage shall not cost more than it is reasonably worth, and that charges may be made uniform.

4. That large private land-holdings be discouraged by law.

It is charged against Populists that they favor paternalism in government. This is an error. They only demand that public functions shall be exercised by public agents, and that sovereign powers shall not be delegated to private persons or corporations having only private interests to serve. They would popularize government to the end that it may accomplish the work for which it was established—to serve the people, all the people, not only a few.

If it be paternalism to require the government to look after any of the private interests of the people, why do we not drive from our grounds as a tramp the postman who delivers our mail? If it be paternalism to bring our transportation business under public control, why do we not repeal the inter-State commerce law and restore the carrying trade to private citizens from whose rapacity the people were partially released some years ago? If it be paternalism to establish government agencies to supply currency to the people, what means the national bank act whose title reads: "An act to provide a national currency secured by a pledge of United States bonds, and to provide for the circulation and redemption thereof?"

All there is in the charge of paternalism lies in the fact that Populists believe that, as to these particular matters, the people would be served, more equitably and at greatly reduced expense, by public agents working on fixed salaries, than by private persons who use their business for private ends.

It will be observed that the party deals with live issues only, and they are those chiefly which relate to the use of natural resources of subsistence and to the distribution of property and property values. This is the only party that clearly expresses a well-defined position on the "money question." It states the kind of money the party wants—gold, silver and paper; it demands that the metals be coined freely, in unlimited quantities, at a ratio of 16 to 1; that the currency shall be issued by the general government only—not by banks—and that it shall be a full legal tender.

To the financial part of the platform it is objected—

1. That the volume of currency required in a given community or State is an unknown quantity, that too much is worse than too little, and that, therefore, it is always better to be within rather than without the proper limit.

2. That paper money cannot safely be issued except on a specie basis, and that the issue ought not to exceed three or four dollars to one dollar of the coin reserve.

3. That no more silver should be coined unless, through international agreement, the principal commercial nations agree to use silver coin at an agreed ratio to gold.

4. That gold is the only proper and safe money material, because its commercial value is always equal to its coin value, and therefore it is the "money of the world."

To the first objection the Populist answers that it is no more difficult to ascertain how much money is required by the people than it is to find out how much of any staple article they need. In normal conditions there is a normal demand for things, and the demand indicates the number, quantity or amount required. Our Treasury officials, in their annual reports, place stress on the need of a more "flexible" currency to meet increased demands which appear periodically—and especially when farmers' crops are to be moved. Bankers complain of scarcity of money at particular seasons. They discover the scarcity because of a demand which they are unable to supply. People make known their need of money in much the same way that they let their need of anything else be known—by asking for it, offering to buy or desiring to borrow or hire it. If it be suggested that the demand might be so great that to supply it would be to derange values, disturb business and bankrupt the people, it is answered that in

normal conditions men do not purchase more of anything than they need. Why should they buy more money than they need? If they did the excess would advantage them nothing; it would be utterly useless, as all idle money is useless. Populists do not demand an unlimited supply of currency, they ask only for enough; and as an indication of what, from their present information, they regard as a fair limit, they place the amount at not less than fifty dollars per capita, and that is less than we had once when we had none too much.

Answering the second objection, there is no need of an exclusively specie basis for money. That doctrine is a legacy of the dark ages; it had its origin in barbarism. The proper basis for money is property—property that the people produce and of which they have a surplus to exchange for other commodities, and this includes gold and silver.

Hon. John Davis, a distinguished Populist, thus defines certain essential prerequisites to a good currency:

"First, there must be a regularly established government, as the issuing of money is an act of sovereignty. The said government must be in practical operation, collecting and disbursing revenues and performing the usual monetary functions of a civilized government. Then the money, when issued, must be receivable in the revenues of the issuing government, and it must possess the quality of legal tender. The quantity of the money issued must be in reasonable proportion to the revenues collected; and the material of the money must be fashioned and executed in the highest style of art, above the arts of the counterfeiters."

Value is indefinable, yet everybody understands its meaning. It is an ideal thing, though we all speak of it as if it were a definite quantity. Let a given number and quantity of surplus products of a community be collected and compared with respect to the amount of human labor expended in their production, and find some one article whose value alone, divided or multiplied, is a common divisor of the values of the rest, and you have a unit of value. To illustrate: Take, say, a bushel of wheat; divided into tenths, one-tenth will measure the value of one pound of cotton; divided into hundredths, one-hundredth will measure the value of one pound of salt; entire it will measure the value of a pig; multiplied by twenty-five, it will measure the value of a cow; multiplied by seventy-five it will measure the value of a horse; and so on as to the value of all other articles. Here we have a common measure of value—a bushel of wheat. What, then, let us inquire, is the value

of a bushel of wheat? Why, what it will purchase of other articles in the open market. Of course there will be fluctuations in quantity produced from year to year, the demand will not always be the same, many circumstances will operate to vary prices; still, for common convenience we use a bushel of wheat for the common measure. But wheat, and especially a bushel of it, is an unwieldy thing to use in making exchanges, in paying debts and the like. Let us give a name to the value of a bushel of wheat—what we all understand the value to be, though we cannot define it—and then agree on some small, light, convenient article of manufacture to represent that value. Say we use the word dollar as a name or title to represent the value of the wheat measure, and let us make the representative out of silver or aluminum or paper, and use that for money in place of wheat. We use silver dollars now, and paper dollars, and the foregoing illustration explains their relation to other things. The intrinsic value of the two dollar pieces is not the same; that is to say, the commercial value of the materials of which they are made is greater in one than in the other, but the money value of each is exactly the same. Value resides in the property dealt in, and not necessarily in the money pieces which pay for it. A paper dollar is quite as good to buy sugar with as a dollar made of gold or silver. Intrinsic value in money coins is a delusion. The doctrine of equivalents is impossible of application now. Whatever value money has the law gives it. Legal tender is a legal function imparted by the sovereign power of the people for their convenience in transacting their business.

But, if we should agree that a "specie basis" is necessary, our own experience proves that a much larger amount of paper than three to four dollars can be floated on one dollar of gold reserve. Our national bank circulation is now about $180,000,000. It is redeemable in United States notes, of which there is $346,000,000 out, and that is all redeemable in gold. Treasury notes issued in payment for silver bullion amounts to, say, $156,000,000, all payable in gold, so the department holds. These several sums, amounting to nearly $700,000,000, are all redeemable in gold, and we have only $100,000,000 provided for that purpose—one dollar in gold to float seven dollars in paper.

Answering the third objection, it is urged that silver is quite as good as gold for use in money coins, and that both metals

ought to be so used if one of them is, so as to divide between them the money work to be performed. The base will be more ample with both than with one, the average fluctuation in bullion values will be less, and a fair general level of prices of other commodities will be more easily maintained. We ought to coin both metals freely, or, if we discard one, then in order to prevent undue falling of prices by reason of the increasing value of the other, it will be better to discard that also, and resort to the use of some other suitable material of little value to make our money coins out of. The talk about maintaining parity between the values of metals, unless both are wholly monopolized by the government, is silly; but to maintain parity between the value of money coins is easily done if the law does not discriminate against any of them. We always maintained coin parity when we minted gold and silver on equal terms, and we have done so twenty years—since 1873—with a constantly increasing stock of silver, and with limited coinage. It is the law that maintains parity among values of money pieces, not the market price of the material of which they are made. Government cannot regulate prices of articles sold and bought in the open market; but it can regulate the value of money. It is true that when a marketable commodity of considerable value is used for money coins, traders, bankers, and speculators, by dealing in the commodity, may run prices up or down at their pleasure and thus derange values generally, create "corners," and force panics.

As matter of fact the people use very little coin. To ascertain the proportions of different kinds of money circulating, the Comptroller of the Currency procured statements from 3,364 national banks for the first day of July, 1890, and from 3,474 banks for September 17th of the same year; and from these reports it appeared that of the total receipts of $421,824,726 on the first day named, and $327,278,251 on the second day—a grand total of $748,102,977 for both days—the "cash" receipts were but 8.96 per cent., and 91.04 per cent. was in "checks, drafts, and other substitutes for money." Of the first day's receipts, .89 per cent. was in gold coin and .32 per cent. in silver coin—1.21 per cent. in both. Of the second day's receipts, 1.13 per cent. was in gold coin and .43 per cent. in silver coin—1.56 per cent. in both. If we use so little coin, why all this fuss about it? A busy, productive, prosperous people like ours can always get gold

for their wheat and cotton as long as people who want wheat and cotton have gold to pay for them.

Answering the fourth objection, the commercial value of gold bullion is largely dependent upon its value for coinage. The value of the gold coin now in the world is estimated at nearly $4,000,000,000, the accumulation of many centuries. Gold is practically indestructible. If this vast amount were demonetized and thrown on the market, its value, pound for pound, would fall quite as low as that of silver bullion now. But, aside from this consideration, there is not gold enough in the world nor in this country, nor in any other, to perform the necessary money functions only, at the expense of all other property values. There is gold enough if we are content with wheat at fifty cents a bushel and cotton at five cents a pound, with a constant lowering of the general level of prices; and that is what a permanent gold basis means.

The doctrine was well stated by the Royal Commission, in their "Bullion Report," eighty-three years ago: "The amount of gold in the world will suffice to perform the exchanges of the world. If these be more or less, it would only affect the average level of prices the world over."

The assessed valuation of the taxable property of the people of the United States is about $24,000,000,000, the estimated value being put at about two and one-half times that amount, or say $60,000,000,000. A large part of this, of course, represents real estate and other fixed property that does not often change hands, and therefore but little active money is required to handle it. But the value of our internal commerce has grown to an almost inconceivably large amount. In 1877 it was equal to twenty-five times the value of our total foreign commerce; and if the same rate of progress has continued to the present—and there is no reason to doubt that it has—our trade among ourselves is not less than $45,000,000,000. And this does not include any portion of the vast aggregate of local traffic among the people at their home market towns. Nor does it include banking business, nor that of insurance companies and loan agents. It is within reasonable bounds to say that the people of the United States now transact a business among themselves, which requires the constant use of ready money, equal to $100,000,000,000 annually. Yet the Treasury officials say that our total stock of money is but little

over $1,600,000,000, and nearly half of that is in Treasury and bank vaults, held as reserves—not in use at all. When we add to the amount of these reserves the moneys kept in the treasuries of State and municipal officers, and the errors in estimates of gold in the country, the free money—that which is always available for use in business—is found to be not in excees of $600,000,000, or less than $10 per capita; and at the late extraordinary session of Congress an annual increase of about $50,000,000 was cut off. Of the gold coin supposed to be in the country a reserve fund of $100,000,000 is kept in the United States Treasury, leaving but $400,000,000 to "perform the exchanges" of a great and growing people, doing a business among themselves amounting to $100,000,000,000, a sum two hundred and fifty times as large as our stock of available gold.

To say that, in the absence of coin, paper cannot be made good money is to deny our own experience. The people of the United States have been using little else than paper money during all of the last thirty-two years, though we have been on a gold basis, and no man has lost a dollar by its use. Our losses have come from its having been taken away from us, and funded in coin bonds, increasing our debts and depriving us in large measure of the means of payment. The depreciation of property values by a rapid withdrawal of government paper, from 1865 to 1869, cost the country more than the great war.

The Populist party is the only party that honestly favors good money. Democrats and Republicans alike declare their purpose to make all dollars equally good and to maintain the parity between them, and the recent act of Congress repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman law contains a similar declaration; but when an amendment was proposed to the bill in the Senate to make good the platform promises by incorporating them in the law, there were not enough Senators in favor of it to secure a yea and nay vote on the amendment. We have seven different kinds of money, and only one of them is good, according to the determination of the Treasury officials. Bank notes are not legal tender, neither are silver certificates, nor gold certificates. Treasury notes are not legal tender in cases where another kind of money is expressed in the contract, and United States notes (greenbacks) will not pay either principal or interest on any government bond. None of our paper

money is taxable. Silver dollars are by law full legal tender in payment of debts to any amount whatever, but the Treasury does not pay them out on any obligation unless they are specially requested. In practice, we have but one full legal tender money—gold coin; and Republicans and Democrats are agreed on continuing that policy; while Populists demand gold, silver, and paper money, all equally full legal tender.

The fact that we have now out about $700,000,000 in paper is proof that our stock of coin is utterly inadequate to perform all the money duty required in the people's business transactions. The discontinuance of silver coinage stops the supply from that source. It is believed by men best informed on the subject that the gold used in the arts has reached an amount about equal to the annual output of the mines. Then the world's stock of gold coin will not be increased unless the arts are drawn upon, and that can be done successfully only at a price above the money value of the coin. Russia, Austria, Italy, and the United States all want more gold. Where is it to come from? And what will it cost the purchaser? Are we to drop back to Roman methods of procuring treasure? When all the nations set out on gold hunting expeditions, who will be the victor and what will become of the spoils?

It is evident that we must have more money, and Congress alone is authorized to prepare it. States are prohibited by the Constitution of the United States from making anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts, and nothing is money that is not a tender. The people can rely only on Congress for a safe circulating medium.

Populists demand not only a sufficiency of money, but a reduction of interest rates at least as low as the general level of the people's savings. They aver that with interest at present legal and actual rates, an increase in the volume of money in the country would be of little permanent benefit, for bankers and brokers would control its circulation, just as they do now. But with interest charges reduced to three or two per cent. the business of the money-lender would be no more profitable than that of the farmer—and why should it be?

It is strange that most people have not yet discovered the destroying power of interest. Let us take two examples—Massachusetts and the United States. In 1790 the taxable property

of Massachusetts was given at $44,024,349. If that amount—$44,000,000 in round numbers—had been put at interest then (1790) at six per cent., compounded annually, and continued to 1890—one hundred years—it would have amounted to $14,937,461,615. The taxable property of Massachusetts in 1890 was valued at $2,154,134,626—a little more than one-seventh part of the amount which the State's value one hundred years before would have amounted to in the same length of time at six per cent. interest compounded annually. The property valuation of the United States in 1790 was estimated to be $619,977,247. If that sum had then been put at interest at six per cent. and continued to 1890—one hundred years—compounded annually, it would have amounted to $210,358,279,907. The estimated value of our property in 1890 was about $60,000,000,000, but little more than one-fourth of what our value one hundred years before would have amounted to at six per cent. interest for the same time, compounded annually. It appears that a six per cent. rate of interest would have accumulated in one hundred years $12,783,326,989, more than the people of Massachusetts, with all their advantages, were able to save during the same time out of their combined labor and its profits. It further appears that the same rate of interest would have accumulated $150,000,000,000 more in one hundred years than the people of the United States, with all their acquisitions of new territory, were able to save out of their labor and its profits in the same time. We have been paying six to twelve per cent. annual interest—often much higher—when we have not saved out of our combined earnings as much as four per cent. This explains how the wealth of the country is being so rapidly transferred from the people who produced it to those who did not. It is passing through the interest channel. The rate of interest ought to be regulated by the general level of net profits in productive industry and kept at a figure which men engaged in usual vocations can afford to pay, return the principal, and save the property purchased with the money hired. To illustrate: John engages to buy a farm, and borrows money to pay for it, or purchases on time, which is the same thing. The rate of interest ought to be what, with prudent management through a reasonable number of average seasons, he can pay yearly, with part of the principal, until he has paid out and has the farm left.

Three per cent. compounded annually is a fair average the

world over for labor's saving. It has been a little more in the United States, but a gold basis will soon bring us to the general level, and that will settle lower as population and trade increase.

While the Populist party favors government ownership and control of railroads, it wisely leaves for future consideration the means by which such ownership and control can best be brought about. The conditions which seem to make necessary such a change in our transportation system preclude all probability of its ever being practicable, if it were desirable, to purchase existing railway lines. The total capitalization of railroads in the United States in 1890 was put at $9,871,378,389—nearly ten thousand million dollars. It would be putting the figures high to say that the roads are worth one-half the amount of their capital stock. This leaves a fictitious value of $5,000,000,000 which the people must maintain for the roads by transportation charges twice as high as they would be if the capitalization were only half as much. It is the excessive capitalization which the people have to maintain that they complain about. It would be an unbusinesslike proceeding for the people to purchase roads when they could build better ones just where and when they are needed for less than half the money that would be required to clear these companies' books. It is conceded that none of the highly capitalized railroad corporations expect to pay their debts. If they can keep even on interest account, they do well, and that is all they are trying to do. While charges have been greatly reduced, they are still based on capitalization, and courts have held that the companies are entitled to reasonable profits on their investment. The people have but one safe remedy—to construct their own roads as needed, and then they will "own and control" them.

This is not a new doctrine. A select committee of the Senate of the United States, at the head of which was Hon. William Windom, then a Senator and afterward Secretary of the Treasury appointed in December, 1872, reported among other recommendations one proposing the construction of a "government freight railway," for the purpose of effectively regulating interstate commerce. A government freight railway would have no capitalization, no debt, bonded or otherwise; its charges would be only what it would cost to handle the traffic and keep the road in repair. That would reduce cost of carriage to a minimum, and nothing else will.

Populists complain of legislation in the interest of favored classes. At the very time when the homestead law was passed a scheme was hatching to absorb the public lands by railway corporations. Scarcely had the great war begun when a plan was laid to establish a system of national banking based on the people's debts; and while customs duties were raised to increase the public revenues, cheap foreign labor was brought in under contract to man the factories. Banks have been specially favored. When it was to their interest to withdraw their notes it was done with impunity. They have been permitted to openly violate the law which authorizes their existence, and this without rebuke. The United States Senate shields them from exposure. When the Treasury was flush, public moneys were lavishly left with the banks to use without interest, and when the great banks in New York city needed funds to relieve the stringency in the "money market" there, they had only to ask and they received. And now that the Treasury is running short in gold reserves, there is a demand for more bonds to purchase more gold to be used in redeeming Treasury notes which the law requires to be redeemed in silver, thus again reducing the reserves, making another bond issue necessary to procure more gold; and so on, as the "money market" may require. These "Napoleons of Finance" are playing a bold game.

Since 1879, a period of fourteen years, the banks have had free use of an annual average of $18,000,000 of the public moneys. This they have used to lend to their patrons at an average rate not less than ten per cent., while at the same time drawing four per cent. or four and one-half per cent. from the Government on bonds deposited as security for the money left with them, as the following statement shows:

STATEMENT SHOWING AMOUNT OF THE BALANCE OF PUBLIC MONEYS HELD BY THE NATIONAL BANK DEPOSITORIES AT THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS JUNE 30 OF EACH YEAR SINCE AND INCLUDING 1879 IS AS FOLLOWS:

1879	$7,183,403.42	1887	$19,190,076.79
1880	7,999,953.86	1888	54,913,489.74
1881	8,933,550.79	1889	43,305,511.91
1882	9,610,432.86	1890	26,994,464.70
1883	10,030,698.33	1891	22,900,329.65
1884	10,716,144.17	1892	12,559,446.61
1885	10,985,141.34	1893	12,393,071.11
1886	14,036,632.18		

No amount of interest has been paid by national bank depositories for the use of the public moneys deposited therewith.

If farmers had asked for the use of that money and offered

their farms as security for repayment, they would have learned that the law was not made for their benefit.

Since 1880, premium has been paid on Government bonds by the Treasury Department amounting in the aggregate to $60,125,-218.98, as the following statement shows :

STATEMENT SHOWING AMOUNT OF PREMIUM PAID ON GOVERNMENT BONDS SINCE AND INCLUDING THE YEAR 1880.

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1880	$2,795,320.42	1890	$20,304,224.06
1881	1,061,248.73	1891	10 401,220.61
1888	8,270,842.46		
1889	17,292,362.65	Total	$60,125,218.98

Nearly all that gratuity to bondholders was bestowed during years of great depression and hardship among other classes of people.

The Treasury has been in the habit of advancing interest on bonds six months to nine months before it was due. This was done ostensibly in the public interest, but the bondholder was the only person that profited by the transaction. The following statement shows how much of the people's money went that way since 1880.

STATEMENT SHOWING AMOUNT OF MONEY ADVANCED BY THE TREASURY FOR INTEREST NOT DUE ON GOVERNMENT BONDS SINCE AND INCLUDING THE YEAR 1881.

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1881	$3,091,947.07	1887	$8,735,743.23
1882	11,165,900.21	1888	15,904 117.50
1883	3,93 ,726.00	1891	13,229.726.50
1884	220.969.62	1892	5,361,086 80
From July 1, 1893, to Oct. 1, 1893			5,003,666 15
Total			$66,697,883.08

The use of $66,000,000 for six months at the rate of five per cent. per annum is $3,300,000—money enough to pay the wages of a thousand workingmen a year at present rates.

Rapid accumulation of wealth by a few citizens, as we have seen it in the United States during the last thirty years, is evidence of morbidly abnormal conditions. It is inconsistent with free institutions. It is breeding anarchy and trouble. No man can honestly take to himself what he does not earn ; and if he does no more than that, riches will come to him slowly. It is only when he gets what he does not earn that his "success" attracts attention. Fortunes running into millions of dollars must be made up of property and profits mostly produced and earned by persons other than those who claim them.

No man ever earned a million dollars. If he was moved to

great undertakings, nature's God inspired him. And if, in the play of his ambition he marshalled effective forces, his equipment cost him little. To a great mind success is compensation. The value of its labor cannot be measured with money. A strong man's intellect moves as easily as a blacksmith's arm. Both are gifts.

The best men are content with little. Vast enterprises which move the world are maintained by contributions from the labor of the poor. Leaders do but organize and direct; the rank and file do all the rest. Apply the "iron law of wages" equally to all that work and you scale down the salaries of many useless people. If the Republic is to endure we must encourage the average man.

W. A. PEFFER.

ARE OUR PATENT LAWS INIQUITOUS?

BY THE HON. W. E. SIMONDS, EX-COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS.

Is it wrong in itself or hurtful to the national prosperity for the grain-raisers of the West to plant the seed and till the ground? Is it wrong to permit those grain-raisers to own and sell the products of their toil? These two questions are less unreasonable than the one which heads this article.

The inventor holds his property by two distinct and impregnable titles. It is his because of his natural right to it, and also because the public welfare—formulating its need and will in the Constitution and statutes—demands that it shall be his. Various kinds of natural rights exist independently of statute, because they are instinctively recognized by all men who are wholly sane. Our Declaration of Independence is explicitly based upon natural rights. Its second sentence is this: "We hold these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The "pursuit of happiness' meant in large part the undisturbed possession of property; the colonies were suffering from "taxation without representation." Among other natural rights, Blackstone catalogues the natural right of property thus: "The third absolute right inherent in every Englishman is that of property."

This recognition of natural right in property is not confined to civilization; if an Indian fashions a bow from a sapling that he cuts, or a garment from the skin of a beast that he kills, his fellows instinctively recognize his right of property therein. Anything capable of reduction to possession and having value in exchange is property-subject-matter. No higher title to an exclusive right in an article of property is imaginable than that which springs from making it out of materials belonging to no

one else. An invention is the visible expression of a mental conception; it is capable of reduction to possession, and has value in exchange, wherefore it is property-subject-matter; the inventor makes it out of materials belonging to no one else, wherefore it is his property by natural right and by the high title of creation.

Let us pause to understand what the possession of the invention means. The invention is the visible expression of a mental conception; its value does not reside in the intrinsic worth of the wood, or iron, or brass by the use of which the mental conception is made manifest; it resides in the visible expression of the mental conception itself; the inventor must have dominion of that; no one must be permitted to appropriate the inventor's idea without his consent; otherwise he does not retain possession of his invention.

The inventor's property is not a monopoly in any other sense than is the ownership of a house. Blackstone properly defines monopoly as "a license or privilege whereby the public in general is restricted from the liberty of manufacturing or trading which he had before." The inventor does not deprive his fellow man of any right he had before. His invention, in order to be an invention, must be something new. A patent can only be had for something new. Monopoly works a deprivation to the public. Invention adds to the stock of public possessions.

So much for an inventor's title to his property as a matter of natural right. Now as to his ownership "because the public welfare demands that it shall be his." It was precisely on that ground that the builders of the Constitution authorized the granting of patents. They were seeking to benefit the public, not to reward inventors. Their motive was enlightened selfishness. "In order to promote the progress of science and useful arts" they authorized Congress "to secure for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." The first Congress enacted a patent law in 1790, and there has been one ever since. The first year there were three patents granted; the last year, 1892, there were forty thousand applied for, twenty-three thousand granted, and the revenue therefrom was more than $1,200,000, being $175,000 in excess of expenses, which was added to the $4,000,000 already in the treasury to the credit of the Patent Office. Numerically and financially our patent law is beyond question a success.

Has it promoted the progress of science and the useful arts? The growth of our manufactures is the marvel of the ages, and the percentage thereof not originally based upon, or at some time vigorously stimulated by, some invention recorded in the Patent Office is a small one. The following are a few and only a few of the American inventors whose reputation has become national and whose improvements have formed the foundation of manufacturing industries of great magnitude: John Fitch, Robert Fulton, and James Rumsey, as to steamboats; Eli Whitney, as to the cotton-gin; Oliver Evans, as to milling-machinery; Amos Whittemore, Erastus B. Bigelow, and Barton H. Jenks, as to looms; Eli Terry, Ira Ives, Noble Jerome, and Chauncey Jerome, as to clocks; Peter Lorillard, as to tobacco making; E. I. Du Pont de Nemours, as to gunpowder; Jesse Reed, as to nail-making; William Edwards, as to leather-making; Jethro Wood, as to iron plows; Thomas Blanchard, as to lathes for turning irregular forms; Asa Spencer, as to geometrical lathes; Richard M. Hoe, Isaac Adams, Stephen P. Ruggles, Andrew Campbell, Moses S. Beach, and G. P. Gordon, as to printing-presses; Samuel W. Collins and Elisha K. Root, as to axe-making; Oliver Ames, as to shovels; William Woodworth, as to wood-working; Thaddeus Fairbanks, as to scales; John J. Howe and Chauncey O. Crosby, as to pin-making; Eliphalet Nott and Jordon L. Mott, as to stoves; Robert L. and Alexander Stuart, as to sugar-refining; Matthew W. Baldwin and Ross Winans, as to locomotives; Cyrus H. McCormick and William P. Ketchum, as to mowing and reaping; Samuel Colt, Ethan Allen, Christian Sharps, Edmund Maynard, Rollin White, Christopher M. Spencer, Horace Smith, and Daniel P. Wesson, as to fire-arms; Alonzo D. Phillips, as to friction-matches; Henry A. Wells, as to hat making; Charles Goodyear, Nathaniel Hayward, and Horace H. Day, as to India-rubber; John Ericsson, as to naval construction and hot-air engines; Elias Howe, Jr., Allen B. Wilson, Isaac Singer, J. E. A. Gibbs, William O. Grover, and William E. Baker, as to sewing-machines; S. F. B. Morse, Royal E. House, and David E. Hughes, as to telegraphs; Henry B. Tatham, as to lead pipe; Cullen Whipple, as to wood-screws; Jonas Chickering and Henry Steinway, Jr., as to pianos; Henry Burden, as to horse-shoe machinery; Linus Yale, as to locks; John A. Roebling, as to cables, chains, and bridges; George H. Corliss, as to steam-en-

gines; Asa Whitney and Nathan Washburn, as to car-wheels; Gail Borden, Jr., as to condensed milk; William and Coleman Sellers, as to shafting and iron-working; Henry Disston, as to saws; James J. Mapes, as to fertilizers; John Stephenson, as to horse-cars; R. P. Parrott, as to cannon; Richard J. Gatling, as to Gatling guns.

This list is confined to those inventors whose patents have expired, and whose inventions are now public property. In a short time the list will be augmented by the telephone and the electric light.

This list affords simply a hint of the variety and extent of American inventions. The whole number of patents granted prior to January 1, 1893, was half a million, and the proportion thereof which has been of practical value is vastly larger than the public dreams. Men in general hear only of great inventions, the cotton-gin, the telegraph, the air-brake, the sewing machine, the telephone and the electric light, those which dominate the markets and the mind of the world; they take little note of the tens of thousands of minor inventions, whose aggregated value is far greater than that of the phenomenal improvements which blaze like meteors before the public eye.

In the State of Connecticut lies the Naugatuck Valley, named from the river that courses through it; it is about fifty miles long, with the borough of Winstead at its head, and Long Island Sound at its foot. The valley is cradled between two ranges of barren hillsides; except for slight strips of land along the water course it is hardly worth the settlement. Yet, if a rill of liquid gold ran down the river bed it would not deposit at the valley foot at the year's end so much of wealth as the valley now produces. Boroughs, villages, hamlets and a city are strung along the valley in practical continuity, and all are filled with manufacturing industries built upon patented improvements. The variety of productions would fill a book in their description. Among them are textiles, scythes, edge tools, coffin trimmings, pins, needles, hooks and eyes, clocks, silverware, plated ware, photographic instruments and materials, telegraphic instruments and wire, furniture, miscellaneous hardware, goods of brass and copper in endless variety, and so on. Yankee enterprise, availing itself of patented inventions, has given this barren valley a wealth-producing capacity worthy the envy of Crœsus. And this

is only a sample of the instances which are almost countless in the country taken as a whole. It is gratifying to know that this wonder-working influence is operative here and there, even in the sunny South.

The settlement and cultivation of the great West have only been made possible through patented inventions. Banish our agricultural inventions, and the entire population of the United States, men, women and children, would not suffice to raise and care for half of our present crops. It was Whitney's improvements in cotton-gins that made cotton into a king; we produced three billion six hundred and twenty-two million pounds of that staple in 1889, and without patented inventions it would have required the labor of three millions of men for twelve months simply to clean it. In that same year we produced two billion bushels of corn; destroy patented inventions used in its production, and it would have taken the labor of the twenty-four millions of men and boys that are in the land to plant and harvest it. Meanwhile, where should we have found the labor for the four hundred and ninety million bushels of wheat and the seven hundred and fifty million bushels of oats we raised that year, even if we had managed to do without potatoes and other vegetables? Under the old order of things the value of each bushel of this grain would have been consumed in carting it from Omaha to Chicago, while now it is carried across a continent and then across an ocean, and still sold at a living profit. Right there it is just as well for the farmer to know that competent persons believe that except for patented improvements in compound marine engines, lessening the cost of ocean transportation, his grain could not to-day be laid down in Europe at a price which would permit him to undersell his foreign competitors.

And now, what is the influence of patents on the fortunes of mechanics? We should not have had more than half our present manufacturing industries but for patented inventions, nor employment for more than half our present force of manufacturing mechanics. No delusion is more surely a delusion than the somewhat common one that inventions lessen the wages and the numbers of manual laborers. The same kind of mechanics that now gets two dollars and fifty cents per day received not more than one-half that wage in 1843. At the meeting of the American Social Science Association in 1878 a member read a paper to

the effect that a single great daily newspaper in New York, using modern machinery, had practically displaced five thousand printers using the press of Benjamin Franklin. He forgot the perfectly apparent fact that the wages of this army, if employed, would so enhance the cost of the paper as to destroy the enterprise. Every calculation like his has the fatal defect of forgetting the sure relation between lessened price and increased consumption. No modern volume of business can be done in the ancient way. It must be done in the new way, or not be done at all.

Possibly the sewing machine is the greatest labor-saving device ever known. It is related of Walter Hunt that in 1838 he had nearly completed his invention thereof; that his wife bewailed its effect upon the fortunes of tailors and seamstresses, and that thereupon he gave it over to forgetfulness. Nevertheless it was introduced into public use between 1850 and 1870. In 1850 there was one tailor to four hundred and forty-two inhabitants; in 1870 there was one tailor to three hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants; in that twenty years population increased sixty-five per cent., but the number of tailors had increased more than one hundred per cent. Meanwhile the manufacture and sale of sewing machines gave employment to many thousands of mechanics, and millions of the machines went into use in factories and families. The locomotive is another great labor-saver, which was made common in America between 1850 and 1870, but while in those two decades population increased sixty-five per cent. the makers of carriages and wagons increased more than two hundred per cent.

The plea of him who objects to patents, when plainly stated, is that inventors invent, as birds sing, because they must, and if they were not permitted to have the exclusive right for a little time the public could have the use of their improvements from the beginning. Inventors do not invent because they must; they are actuated by the ordinary motives of human nature—they invent for a livelihood and for remuneration. The "must" argument was ventilated before a British parliamentary commission, and a host of inventors, with Bessemer at their head, promptly appeared and put a quietus upon that notion. Take away the inventor's inducement to invent, and you kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

And if it were true that inventors invent, as birds sing, the

objector's difficulty would be only half overcome. The patent laws are necessary in order to induce capital to take the risk of commercially developing inventions. If to-day, for the first time, an inventor were to produce the sewing machine, that inventor would hawk it up and down the line in vain to find the foolish capitalist who would risk $200,000 upon its commercial development, with the certainty that success would but invite ruinous competition. The history of American carpet-making is instructive upon this point, and also in showing how inventions reduce prices in the long run. A generation ago our carpets were nearly all made for us by foreign hands, and the prices were excessive; a great American inventor produced the Bigelow carpet loom; two and a-half millions of dollars were ventured upon it by the Lowell and Hartford companies. To-day the prices of carpets are less than half what they were, and we import less than one per cent. of the carpets that we use. Without the patent law, these millions would never have been risked upon this wonderfully fruitful experiment.

That portion of the public which thinks itself aggrieved by the patent system points at four patented improvements out of the half million as specific objects of complaint: barbed wire, driven wells, Bell's telephone and Berliner's improvement thereon. It has no just grievance against the barbed wire patents; that invention has proved of enormous value to the public, especially in treeless regions; the complaint is based upon an unwillingness to allow the inventors a minute remuneration for their contribution to the public weal. The complaint against the driven-well patents should be directed against the pirates who knowingly led innocent users into infringement; those users could have avoided trouble if they had acted with the caution and sagacity they ordinarily used in other business matters. The Bell invention deserved the princely recompense it has received; it will be open to the public after January 30, 1894. The complaint in the Berliner case is that the application for the patent was delayed for a long term of years in the Patent Office, during which it should have been running towards expiration. The patent laws were not at fault; they were *abused*. Let the abuse be brought home to the right party, in the suit now pending to repeal that patent. Let us add to the patent laws in two particulars: First, by providing that no innocent user of a patented "manufacture"

or "composition of matter" shall be sued for infringement so long as the maker or seller can be reached; and, Second, by providing that a patent shall begin to run not later than three years from and after the first application therefor. But let it never be said that the agency which has been the most potent of any in the development of our magnificent material prosperity is iniquitous.

W. E. SIMONDS.

WHAT DREAMS ARE MADE OF.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE difficulties in investigating the phenomena of sleep by those experimental methods which have done so much in advancing our physiological knowledge in other directions are obvious. The condition is so unstable that the least interference changes or destroys it, so that the physiologist is in somewhat the same position as a chemist who tries to analyse a substance in which the constituent elements are so loosely connected as to fly apart at a touch. The chemist, however, has this advantage, viz., that when his problematical material is disintegrated the elements of which it was composed are still in existence, and can be tested for and even measured by appropriate means; whereas, when sleep has fled it "leaves no wrack behind" save its mysterious restorative effect and certain vague recollections in the mind of the subject.

Our chief hope of gaining further light in this most important branch of physiological research—important on account of the gravity of the sleep troubles which our civilized life has engendered—seems to rest on the fact that sleep is essentially the same both in character and origin in man and in lower animals which have an infinitely simpler nervous organization. Here, as in so many other problems in biology, the teaching of Darwin that all living beings are bound together in blood relationship is of the utmost use in unravelling complex phenomena which completely baffled the methods of the older order of physiologists.

But, in the meantime, it is well that we should keep our eyes open to every other possible source of information. The physician who would understand the state of the brain in sleep in order that he may combat the distressing symptoms and disastrous

consequences of insomnia, must by no means neglect—what was an important part of the professional duty of his lineal predecessor, the mystery man of the barbarous ages—the interpretation of dreams. Just as we are not infrequently able to localize the seat of some internal disease by taking note of the facial expression and mental disposition of a patient, so (according to the writer's experience) the cause of not a few obscure cases of insomnia can be learned from the character of the dreams which accompany the long delayed slumber. The reason is that sleep is often seriously interfered with, especially in those who have the nervous system in an irritable state from worry or overwork, by irregularities in the functions of other parts of the body which do not attract the patient's attention when awake, but which, in that delicately balanced condition when the mind is isolated from other disturbing agencies, suffice to give the thoughts a definite direction; just as electric currents, too slight to be otherwise appreciable, will deflect the needle of a sensitive galvanometer. Thus, defective sleep very frequently results from disturbances of the digestive apparatus, or from a slight interference with the functions of the heart or lungs, of which the patient is himself quite unaware, but which will give rise to dreams of a sufficiently characteristic nature to enable an expert to diagnose the true nature of the case.

A considerable experience in treating ailments of this kind has convinced me that the study of dreams is important on practical as well as on philosophic grounds, for not infrequently the future of a dreamer depends quite as much on the right interpretation of his visions as it was thought to do in the days of the Egyptian and Babylonish monarchies.

But dreaming, apart from its pathological aspect, is a subject of perennial interest to all. So mysterious, and so apart from our conscious selves, are the workings of the brain during sleep, that our curiosity is constantly provoked, and we ask the question—"What could have made me dream in such and such a manner?" Very often no shadow of a reason can be brought forward in answer; and we can well understand the belief of the ancients that dreams were occasioned by some supernatural intervention. Nor will deliberate introspection, and the ordinary methods of the psychologists help us here to any great extent. To the normal waking intellect the Sleep Land must always re-

main a foreign and unknown country, where the laws and customs are utterly different from those by which the waking mind lives and moves; and where even the stable verities of space and time are turned topsy-turvy. To be in two places at once is as much a matter of course to the dreamer as it was to Sir Boyle Roche's immortal bird, for dream landscapes are as miscible as wine and water; while two or more characters can with the greatest ease be merged into one, like the faces in a composite photograph. A month may be crammed into a moment, and yet have plenty of room to stretch out its weeks and days. Events occurring at one spot may, without the least break of continuity, be transferred to the antipodes, and the flitting is of such a commonplace character that no one raises an eyebrow. It is a land which we may only enter blindfold, and under a spell which transmutes everything into a mercurial dream-equivalent; and before we again pass the boundary (intangible as a line of longitude, yet often more difficult to cross than Alps or oceans) we are made to drink of lethe, and carry next to nothing away.

But, for all that, it is a region where there is much more movement astir than we generally imagine, and where a great deal of important business is in progress, beyond that of overhauling the animal machinery. We do not know enough of this unconscious cerebration—this commerce incessantly carried on among the brain cells—to be able to understand the full utility of such a perpetual bustle of ideas. We are in the position of a child who peers through the dust-dimmed windows of a factory; or of a savage looking down upon the roaring Bourse.

Speaking very generally one may say that during sleep the brain does an immense amount of sorting and pigeon-holing of impressions received since the previous night's rest. It would appear also that some process akin to stock-taking, and the rummaging of out-of-the-way corners, also goes on when the judgment and will are taking holiday. In certain emergencies the usual "night staff" of the brain are capable of much more than such junior-clerk's work as this; but whether they can accomplish the marvels we sometimes read of without calling up some of their day colleagues (unknown perhaps to the head of the firm) is doubtful. Let it suffice for present purposes to say that this unconscious cerebration during sleep is undoubtedly of great utility, and is probably essential to every being with the least

spark of reasoning power; and that to it, in the first place, may be attributed the phenomena of dreaming.

Whether the occasional emergence of the traffic into the department of consciousness is in any way necessary to the mind in health is quite another matter, and I am inclined to think that we should, most of us, get along very well if we were never aware of dreaming throughout the whole of our lives. But we should dream, nevertheless. Certain writers on physiology (whom I will not specify by name) still take it for granted that we never dream except when we are aware, on awaking, of having done so. This idea was commonly prevalent among the physiologists of the first half of the century, as also was the belief that dreaming only occurred at the moment when consciousness began to resume its sway. The evidence, however, points conclusively to the existence of a certain amount of cerebral activity during the whole period of sleep. and there can be no doubt that the vast majority of our dreams never come to our knowledge. In considering the raw material of dreams we must therefore take into account this unbroken current of ideas which passes through the sleeping brain, and which only reveals itself to the conscious ego when some disturbing element intervenes. We may compare it to an invisible and silent river, flowing by without betraying its presence, save where there is a splash of a fish or of a falling stone, or some foaming eddy where a rock breaks the smooth surface.

If the question be asked, What is the nature of this procession of dream-ideas, and from whence do they come? the answer is: They may consist of reproductions of any thought or circumstance which may have impressed the memory from our earliest childhood. The storehouses of the mind are of incredible vastness. We are apt to judge of the contents of our memories by our volitional power of recollection; but the two bear as little relationship as do the treasure-vaults of a bank and the drawing power of a single depositor. Nothing that the eyes have seen, or the ears have heard, or which has once passed the turn-stile of one of the other senses, is ever let go. Every face of the thousands we survey in passing through a great city, every word on every page we read, every tree and hill and stream we catch a glimpse of as we are whirled along on the railroad, every sound which vibrates on our ears from morning to night, is indelibly registered

within. They may be, and most of them are, entered on the record without our knowledge, and they may remain there for a great part of a lifetime without our having any suspicion of their presence, and quite beyond the reach of our powers of recollection ; but for all that they are there, and may come to light under appropriate conditions.

It is not possible on the present occasion to discuss the evidence which seems to justify this belief. The proof rests, however, chiefly on the fact that, on seeing something a second time (as, for instance, a landscape or a building), we often become aware that we have carried a mental picture, made up of innumerable details, within our memories for many months or years. It is also found that in certain peculiar mental states, such as those induced in hypnotized subjects, or which accompany other abnormal cerebral conditions, an incredible power is manifested of reproducing the minutest particular of things seen or heard many years before. But the quiet and even unrolling of the endless panorama of memory during sleep is not sufficient of itself to account for remembered dreams. There must be a selective agency which picks out this or that incident, and, secondly, a process of combination, which gives the ideas so seized upon their place in the extravaganzas which are performed nightly even in the most puritanical skull.

There are many ways in which an idea can thus be singled out and rendered luminous. As in the waking state, it may result from the confluence of distant streams of thought. We are often conscious, when we analyze our mental processes, of separate undercurrents three or four deep, flowing beneath what is ostensibly occupying our minds ; and not infrequently, when some original or vivid thought leaps suddenly into prominence, we are aware that it is the result of such a union. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the clash and friction of two intersecting streams of ideas results in bringing both into prominence, as two individuals, passing unnoticed along the footway, may suddenly, by colliding, become the centre of interest to all the street. Or, again, to use a more poetic simile, we may compare the sudden luminosity of a point among the dim and dubious currents of sub-concious thoughts to the bright spots of a nebula, where two meteor streams cut one another.

There can be no doubt that when the will is off duty the

various parts of the thinking apparatus work in almost absolute independence. It is no uncommon experience to wake with words on our lips which have no relation whatever to the dream which arouses us. The pictures which most people can see upon their eyelids in the dark generally have no reference to the thoughts which, at the same moment, are making themselves known to the consciousness; and if we watch such an eyelid vision, it keeps changing in a manner so independent of our will, and takes shapes so at variance with what is occupying our mind at the time, that it is difficult to avoid the impression that the pictures are caused by some agency which is not ourselves. And this is the case even when "the mind's eye" has before it some definite scene. Last night, while lying awake, I was thinking of an incident of Lord Roberts's march to Candahar, and had before me a mental picture of a glaring Afghan plain backed by mountains, and of a troop of Pathan horsemen, with swaying lances and flying drapery, sweeping across it in a cloud of dust. Being aware at the time that certain objects were shaping themselves upon the black background of my eyelids, I withdrew my thoughts momentarily from Afghanistan (but not enough to obliterate the desert landscape) and was at once conscious of a vision of—innumerable old boots, of all shapes and sizes, but in a uniform condition of utter dilapidation! These two subjective pictures, so ridiculously incongruous, were both visible at once, and, although they appeared on different planes, there was no superimposition of either; and a vague impression was created that the boots were before the eyes and the war scene behind them.

Again, we occasionally wake with a start with the impression that we have been touched, or that we have heard certain words or some loud and ominous sound, and yet we are aware that this has interrupted a dream, and has not formed part of it. It would seem, therefore, that many of the brain centres, especially those of the organs of perception, have each an independent power of ideation, and that, during sleep, several of them may be exercising it at the same time.

Now, one of the most constant and automatic operations of the brain, both in man and in the lower animals, is the collation of information received from the several sense organs. A dog hears a rustle in the bushes which might be caused by any moving object; he turns his eyes in the direction of the sound,

and catches a glimpse of a small brown animal; he lowers his nose, and perceives a peculiar odor. The several impressions so received—each of which would be insufficient as a trustworthy guide to action—are combined, and are referred to memories of previous experience, and the result is the idea "rabbit." Yet, since the materials for a mental picture are but meagre, the aid of the imagination would in all probability be called in to give definiteness to the concept before the act of pursuit was commenced. All animals, except those very low down in the scale, must employ this method in order to interpret the impressions received through the senses. It is as necessary for existence as any other power or instinct which they possess, and must come into play automatically on every occasion when movements (other than those which are the outcome of mere reflex excitability) are resorted to in response to messages received from the external world. We must remember also that in the case imagined each of the ears would give a different version of the sound heard, and that only by comparing them could the dog tell from what spot the vibrations originated; while the eyes, by presenting independent and slightly different images, would provide data for estimating the distance and bulk of the object seen.

This process of continually comparing impressions received through different channels and of correcting the testimony of one sense by that of another, is as universal and automatic as the act of breathing. Being almost entirely independent of volition it would be likely, like other involuntary vital processes, to go on while the will is in abeyance during sleep. It is the experience of every dreamer that the sleeping mind is swayed by a propensity to theorize upon and explain that which is brought before it.

Now it becomes apparent, on a little reflection, that if, when the judgment is in abeyance, we have each of the centres connected with the organs of sense romancing on its own account in complete independence of the others, and at the same time this inveterate habit of comparing the reports so given in, and of advancing theories to reconcile all the diverse "facts" (for, asleep or awake, we "believe our own senses"), we have nearly all that is necessary for the manufacture of a typical dream. Nor are the reports which seem to come from without the only things which the sleeping mind seeks to interpret. Two or more independent currents of thought may become emphasized at the same

moment, and these will be at once taken cognizance of by the "explanatory centre," and an attempt made to harmonize them *inter se*, and to fit them into the theory which is in course of construction. The central "incident" of a dream, as well as the prevailing *motif*, may depend on the dominance of one or more of the sense-impressions or thought-streams over the others. In the latter case this may be accounted for by the sudden emergence of some moving memory, or by the nascent liveliness of the product of an idea-marriage ; in the former, some *quasi* message from the outer world may contain a modicum of truth, for it is seldom that the sentinels of the soul are dead asleep, and the ears especially are likely to transmit real vibrations to mix with and outvoice the ghost-sounds of the auditory centre. For, except in abnormal conditions of the brain, genuine sense impressions resulting from material stimuli will always take precedence of those which are merely subjective. Hence a noise which sets the auditory apparatus to work, or a draught of cold air which sends a shiver through the sensory nerves of one part of the body, may not only give rise to a dream, but will be likely to exercise a prevailing influence on the "explanatory centre" from beginning to end. Again, when one of the viscera is in trouble and sends an unceasing stream of complaints to the brain, this will, as most of us know by sad experience, so influence the other faculties as to change a couch of rest into a place of torment. All the throng of facile and errant fancies forthwith take service under this sombre chief and become as zealous to inflict misery as the familiars of Torquemada. It will be seen, however, that in this class of cases, the factitious evidence, although subsidiary to the genuine, is still capable of distorting it in the most fantastic fashion ; so that the conclusion arrived at is, as often as not, on a par with the most outrageous premise.

Occasionally the problem to be answered does not arise out of the dream material, but is arbitrarily propounded beforehand. In this case it may have not the remotest connection with any of the topics which may casually trickle to the fore during sleep. Yet these are pressed into the service of the "explanatory centre," to elucidate the standing riddles, and, to do them justice, they never shirk the attempt. This is often the case when we retire to rest with our minds vaguely puzzled over some minor matter. The

brooding process, so begun, is continued with hardly any break of continuity after the will has withdrawn for the night, and when many of the couplings of the rational machinery are disconnected, like those of an engine which is at rest in the repairing shed. But on the retirement of the trained and practical staff of psychic agencies their place is taken by a mob of casual and vagrant notions, who take up the task with light-hearted alacrity. These, by ignoring all difficulties, and by over-riding all logical restraints, arrive with the utmost ease at a solution. Whereupon both we and our new helpers rejoice together, and there is much congratulatory shaking of immaterial hands. The deputy ego (that good, foolish fellow, who ostensibly takes charge when the ego is off duty) is most agreeably surprised to find that the job has proved so easy, and glows and struts with honest pride.

It has occurred to me that possibly this feeling of satisfaction at the conclusion of a dream argument (which is only equalled under ordinary waking conditions when we have accomplished some difficult feat, or duty, in a thoroughly creditable manner) may have a more legitimate basis than is apparent. Given the farrago of heterogeneous and incompatible items which the uncontrolled sense organs and the errant memory fling together, the final outcome, however insane it seems, may perhaps be the only legitimate or possible one according to certain mysterious laws of deduction which prevail in Sleep Land.

In a recent volume of the *Journal of the Proceedings of The Society for Psychical Research*, Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson describes a dream which he had during an illness at Nice, which illustrates the propensity during sleep to interpret what is occupying the mind, with an utter disregard of the appropriateness of the means.

"In the afternoon there sprang up a storm of wind, with monstrous clouds of dust; my room looked on a steep hill of trees whose boughs were all blowing in the same direction; the world seemed to pass my windows like a mill-race. By this turmoil of movement I was confused, but not distressed, and surprised not to be distressed; for even in good health a high wind has often a painful influence upon my nerves. In the midst of this I dozed off asleep. I had just been reading Scott's life of Dryden, had been struck with the fact that Dryden had translated some of the Latin hymns, and had wondered I had never remarked them in his works. As soon as I was asleep I dreamed a reason why the sound of the wind and the sight of the flying dust had not distressed me. There was no wind, it seemed, no dust; it was only Dryden singing his hymns in *one direction*, and all those

who had blamed or attacked him after the revolution singing them in another. This point about the two directions is very singular or insane. In part, it meant that Dryden was continuously flying past yet never passing my window in the direction of the wind and dust, and all his detractors similarly flying past yet not passing towards the other side. But it applied, besides this, both to the words and to the music in a manner wholly insusceptible of expression."

In this case we must remember that the dreamer was suffering from illness, and therefore, from the disturbed state of the cerebral circulation, the fancies were of an exceptionally fantastic and vivid character. Nevertheless, the processes we see underlying them are essentially those of ordinary sleep-ideation. The chief problem to be explained here was: *Why am I not distressed by the wind and dust?* The method adopted by the novelist's deputy ego (or other fellow, as he prefers to style him) was that of combining the recollection of the facts about Dryden with the recollection (aided by continued auditory impressions) of the wind bowing the trees. As is often the case, the main problem had certain other questions mixed up with it. Mr. Stevenson states that he had been wondering why he had not seen the hymns in Dryden's works; and also that he had been watching the storm-swept branches of the trees which seemed to present the appearance of rushing by like a mill-race. The dream seems to attempt an explanation of both these points, as well as of the previous one. This merging of several distinct questions into one very often happens in dreams, and of course contributes not a little to their fantastic character.

Generally speaking, the sleeping mind seems to have little or no power of voluntary selection in dealing with the materials given to it, and totally lacks the faculty, continually exercised in the waking state, of extracting from the memory the special items which would be of most service in arriving at a judgment. As a controlling or directing agent the deputy ego is the veriest sham. Yet he never fails to put a good face on it, and gravely makes believe to weigh each of the multifarious scraps tossed at random into the dream-kaleidoscope by the sense organs or the memory; and pretends to superintend the arrangement of the resulting fortuitous pattern. In fact the Viceroy of Sleep Land resembles nothing in nature so much as a stage fool. Therein, in fact, lies his chief merit; for if we consider for a moment we shall find that we have every reason to be thankful for his com-

placent and boundless fatuity. It is impossible to astonish or disconcert him; and he is so sublimely confident and self-satisfied that his weary chief is seldom disturbed from rest, even in the most thrilling dream emergency.

Briefly to sum up: (1) It would be seen that, owing to the unceasing "unconscious cerebration" which is a necessary concomitant of our powers of intellect, the brain is always in part awake, and is especially active in shifting memorized matter. (2) The cerebral centres connected with the sense organs are (for some reason which we cannot at present explain) continually and independently employed in stimulating impressions from without. (3) Certain of the senses (especially that of hearing) remain open to external influences during sleep and convey actual vibrations to the brain. (4) There exists an ever active and purely involuntary predisposition on the part of the mental apparatus to compare and collate all the messages which come, or seem to come, from without, through the sense channels; and to collate these again with what is brought to the consciousness by involuntary recollection. (5) Associated with this there is a tendency (also automatic) to combine the evidence (real or bogus) so collected into a coherent whole, and to make the result either explain the more emphatic thoughts or impressions, or else answer some questions which occupied the attention before sleep began. (6) No voluntary power exists during sleep to pick out from the jumble handed in that which is relevant to the problem to be solved, or even to discern whether any piece of *pseudo* information is appropriate or the reverse for such a purpose. (7) Just as there is no power to discriminate real from false impressions at the outset, so, throughout a dream, we are completely oblivious to the most glaring fallacies and inconsistencies.

It will be seen that in the brief suggestions here put forward, I have not attempted to account for more than the familiar phenomena of every-night dreaming. Yet, even in these dreams, which, from their unusual character, attract especial attention (and which are usually associated with some abnormal or pathological condition) we may detect the same principles and the same essential processes at work; although, in such instances, we shall generally find that certain departments of the mind are in a state of activity which are usually quiescent during slumber.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

PARLIAMENTARY MANNERS.

BY JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M. P.

ENGLAND is acknowledged by every one to be the mother of modern parliaments. The saying has become quite a platitude among us of late. But although every modern nation may have adopted its scheme of parliamentary institutions from England, it is curious to note how very widely the parliaments sprung from England differ among themselves and differ from England's in their ways of doing business. The parliaments which come directly from England differ from her most of all. No one can doubt that the American Congress "stems," as a German would say, from the British Parliament—and how could it be possible for two legislative systems to be more utterly different in rules and practices and ways of doing business? We have nothing in the least degree resembling the Senate of the United States. The very idea of a body empowered to overrule State treaties being also empowered to hold secret sittings for the discussion of such subjects is absolutely foreign to our system. The Senate of the United States counts for a great deal—our Upper Chamber counts for nothing, except a little delay in the passing of inevitable legislation. The rules of order in neither branch of Congress are at all like ours. In Congress a stranger is taken on to the floor of the House. In the House of Commons the very messengers of the assembly dare not move beyond the recognized line of the bar. In both the American chambers there are officials whose kindly duty it is to enable strangers to obtain seats. In the English Parliament we employ officials to do the best they can to prevent strangers from obtaining seats. The truth is that, as I shall presently show, we have not room enough for ourselves in the House of Commons, and in the secret depths of our hearts we consider all strangers as intruders and nuisances, and we want

to get rid of them in the best way we can. Our hospitality is curiously unlike that of the Irish peasant—it is limited by the size of our dwelling—which the hospitality of the Irish peasant never is. Our "previous question" is not your "previous question," but something very different. We have no rules for calling the roll, such as those which we have all lately been reading of in the reports of the proceedings in your Senate. Our obstruction is not carried through on anything like the same lines as your obstruction.

I suppose it would be almost impossible to convey to any American mind a clear understanding of the ways of our House of Lords. Not many of us quite understand them ourselves. The Lord Chancellor is the Speaker of the House of Lords, but, high though his office be, he has none of the authority possessed by the Speaker of the House of Commons. He cannot decide on any question of order. He cannot even decide as to which peer is to speak. In the House of Lords there is no question of catching the Speaker's eye. The Lords keep order for themselves and decide, if a difference of opinion should arise, whether a peer is or is not in order, and whether this peer or that should first be heard. It would be hard to explain to an American stranger how or why so many peers sit and vote in the House of Lords by titles which the outer world never associates with their names. Then, again, how to explain the peculiar position of the Lord Chancellor? The Lord Chancellor sits on a red bench, which is called the wool-sack. But the wool-sack is not in the House of Lords. "Not in the House of Lords?" I can hear an American visitor exclaim. "Not in the House of Lords? Why I have seen him with my own eyes there in the House of Lords directing the proceedings." Yes, but the wool-sack is not technically in the House of Lords.

If the Lord Chancellor desires to make a speech—and unlike the Speaker of the House of Commons the Lord Chancellor often takes part in debate—he has to get off the wool-sack and step a few paces aside and forward, and thus bring himself constitutionally and technically into the House of Lords. More than once a Lord Chancellor has not, at his appointment to the office, been a member of the House of Lords, and consequently, although able to preside, was not able to take part in debate. Brougham was Lord Chancellor for some time before he was created a peer, and

therefore made a member of the House of Lords. There are several other instances. But I must not expect American readers to follow me into these bewildering problems or puzzles in English parliamentary government. The comfort is that it does not greatly matter whether we have one paradox more or less in our House of Lords. The House itself is paradox enough.

One great distinction there is that I can draw between the House of Commons and any other political assembly of representative men in the civilized world with which I am acquainted or of which I have ever heard or read. That distinction is that the House of Commons alone has the practice of not providing seats enough for its members to sit down in. You may be elected to the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority of voters. Your return may be recognized as valid and certain beyond the possibility of petition or adverse decision from the judges who deal with questions of electoral law. You may have been formally introduced to the House of Commons by two political comrades, one walking at either side. You may, thus escorted, have walked up the floor of the House to the table where the gowned and wigged clerks are sitting just under the august throne of Mr. Speaker. You may have handed in the certificate of your election. You may have signed the roll. I wonder why one's hand shakes as he signs that roll? I have signed it, I think, six times at successive elections, and my hand always quivered in the process. You may have sworn the prescribed oath and shaken the Speaker's hand of formal welcome. And yet have you found a seat in the House of Commons? Nothing of the kind. You are a member of the House, to be sure, just as much as Mr. Gladstone is—but have you got a seat in the House? No, you have not—at least you have not got a place to sit down in.

The House of Commons has some six hundred and seventy members, and it has seats for little more than half the number. Even if we take into account the Members' galleries, which run along two sides of the chamber, there still is not nearly room enough for all the men who are entitled to take their places in the House of Commons. What are the members to do who have not got seats? They are to do the best they can—to do anything they like short of taking seats in the House. They may crowd the bar—I do not mean any place of refreshment, although they may crowd that bar, too, if they please; I mean they may stand

below the line which is supposed to represent the brass bar that can, when occasion requires, be drawn out from either side, and so conjoined as to represent the division between some petitioner, or some alleged offender, and the House of Commons itself. They may stay in the newspaper room or the tea room; they may fall asleep in the library; they may walk on the terrace; they may lounge in the smoking room; but they cannot sit in the House. As in England there are so many superfluous women who could not possibly find husbands here, under our present matrimonial system, so in the House of Commons there are so many members who cannot possibly find seats. The struggle for seats from day to day is a curious and interesting competition, of which, so far as I know, the English House of Commons has an absolute monopoly.

It is in one sense a question of first come first served. The House of Commons usually meets at three o'clock in the afternoon. A member may come down to the House as early as he pleases and select a seat. If he comes very early—say at eight in the morning—he has on ordinary occasions a fair chance of a good place. He selects his place and he puts his hat into it. Then he goes away, to return at three o'clock when prayers are said by the chaplain of the House—at present and for some time past my distinguished friend Archdeacon Farrar. In the meantime our member in quest of a seat must not stir one inch outside the buildings which belong to the House of Commons. His claim to a seat is supposed to rest on his attention to the service of the House—and if he crosses a threshold for one moment outside the precincts of the House his claim to a seat is forfeit. So he spends from eight o'clock until three lounging about the library and the smoking-rooms, and the newspaper room, and at three he comes back into the House and listens to the prayers. Then having complied with all that ceremonial and having spent his whole day in nominal service of the House he is entitled to insert in a little brass frame at the back of his seat a small card bearing the printed word "prayers" and his own name written beneath, and thus he has secured that seat for the one sitting only. The struggle has to begin afresh on the very same conditions to-morrow.

There are certain men who are exempted from this struggle, and exempted, too, from the necessity of listening to prayers. These

are the members of the government and the men who composed the former government. The front bench on the side of the table at the speaker's right hand belongs to the members of the government; the front bench on his left is assigned by tradition and courtesy to the members of the late government. So the members of the government and the members of the late government are not compelled to be present when prayers are said as a condition to the securing of their seats for the evening. Accordingly they never are present at prayers. The only members of the House of Commons who never join in the prayers for the welfare of the Sovereign and the security and prosperity of the State are the men who are now governing the State and the men who were governing it the day before yesterday, and are madly anxious to be governing it again the day after to-morrow. Only the rank and file of the House of Commons are put to the trouble of attending prayers. The mere fact that you do attend prayers proclaims you to be a member of the rank and file. The moment you mount up in the service of the State you cease to attend prayers as a matter of course. Why should a privy councillor pray? One might as well not be a privy councillor if a privy councillor had to pray.

Now this is a part of the usages of the House of Commons which I would certainly alter if I could. I would abolish the public prayer altogether, or I would cease to make it a mere condition of securing a seat from which those who had seats already secured to them were understood to be entirely, properly, and naturally exempt. We are proud of our anomalies in the House of Commons. We are inclined to think that we could not get on in a constitutional parliament without a great many anomalies. I confess that I cannot see any reason to be proud of the anomaly which makes the listening to a prayer the one essential condition to an ordinary member's obtaining a seat for the evening and allows the leaders of the assembly on both sides to free their heads from any thought of a necessity for troubling themselves about joining in the public prayer to Heaven which is offered up in the hearing of their inferiors.

In every other parliamentary assembly that I know of each member has his assigned and recognized place, which he holds until the end either of the session or of the parliament. In most other parliaments that I know of each member has

a desk to write on while the House is carrying on its debate. In the House of Commons there is no desk for any member and the rule is that no man is to write a line or take a note or read a book or a newspaper in the debating chamber itself, except for the actual purposes of that debate. You may take a note of something said in the speech of a man to which you propose to reply. You may hold in your hand a cutting from a newspaper containing an account of some facts by which you propose to strengthen your reply. But you must not write an ordinary letter or glance for your own amusement at a book or a newspaper. If you venture to do anything of the kind you have the Sergeant-at-Arms down upon you at once with gentle but firm admonition.

My friend, the Honorable Edward Blake, who held a great position for many years in the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, and who is now a member of our House of Commons, told me that the late Mr. W. E. Forster, an English statesman of some mark, said to him in Ottawa that he could not understand how anything could be argued in favor of the Canadian practice, which is also the American practice, in regard to the occupying of desks and the writing of letters in the House itself—in the chamber of debate. Mr. Blake replied that on the contrary he could not understand how anything could be said against it. Mr. Forster argued that a great statesman might be making a great speech and no one would listen to him—men would go on writing their letters and not caring what he was saying. Mr. Blake insisted that according to universal experience the moment a good speech began men put aside their letter-writing and listened. This, of course, is my personal observation and experience. What is the difference? In the English House of Commons men go out the moment an uninteresting speaker gets up and hurry to the library or to one of the lobbies to write their letters. When the hour for the provincial and foreign post is arriving they rush out in a very stampede—they rush out as if they were flying madly for their lives—striving to escape from a house on fire. I wonder which would disconcert an ordinary speaker more—to observe that a number of his brother members were calmly writing letters while he was going on with his oration, or that they were flying like a disorganized and panic-stricken rabble from the House under his very eyes?

I have never quite understood why the House of Commons

should be considered a highly orderly assembly. I am not now writing with any special reference to certain recent scenes of tumult and disorder there. But I never, during my long acquaintance with the House of Commons, could understand where its title to be considered an orderly and decorous legislative assembly came in. My opinion is that when it is not a dull assembly it is often very disorderly. The House of Commons, in fact, is too large in numbers and too contracted in space to be orderly when any exciting question is under debate. I do not know how any assembly could in very exciting times be decorous and orderly when men are crammed up together within hearing of every interruption and indeed of every word. The recent riot —for it was nothing short of a riot during the short time it lasted —in the House of Commons was mainly caused by the fact that men were pent up so closely together that the movement of one man from his place suggested to another man that he who first sought to push his way through must have had it in his mind to assault somebody. But without considering the recent riot the House of Commons is almost the noisiest and rudest legislative assembly with which I have any manner of personal acquaintance.

I remember attending several sittings of the parliamentary assembly at Versailles when France was just beginning to pull herself together after the complete defeat of her armies in the French and Prussian war. I had just returned from a long visit to the United States—I heard at Liverpool the news of the fall of the Commune and the entry of the Versailles troops into Paris. I had not been in Paris for four years, and I was naturally anxious to see how things were going there. So I assisted, if I may use the phrase, at the birth of the new political reorganization. I had known the late Louis Blanc during his years of exile in London, and he secured me a place each day for several days in the assembly which held its sittings in the theatre of the palace at Versailles. That was, indeed, a time of wild emotion—a time prompting to disorder. The Legitimists were full of high hope —the Orleanists were not without expectation of opportunity— the Bonapartists, not altogether driven to despair, were full of wild desire to fight—nobody knew whether or not a civil war was impending; anything might have happened; there was no landmark left anywhere; there was no load-star visible nor any guid-

ing light in the sky. Yet I must say that the meetings of that assembly under those conditions—conditions the like of which no civilized country has known in our time—were not disorderly, were not seriously disturbed, did not make the President of the Assembly powerless, did not at any time that I saw call for the serious intervention of authority. I have heard debates on the reconstruction of the whole political system of France conducted with more quietude and more decorum than will be found in an ordinary discussion of the House of Commons when the time for division is drawing near and anything of political and partisan significance is depending on the vote. I know, of course, that there have been of late some fierce disturbances in the French representative assembly. But, considering all things, I do not think that France has any particular reason to be ashamed of the manner in which its representative assemblies since the fall of the Empire have tried to keep public order.

I believe that towards the outbreak of the Civil War in America there were some disorderly scenes on the floor of the House of Representatives. Disorder was almost inevitable, quite inevitable, sometimes, at a crisis when all the old systems of order were breaking up under men's eyes. But, except for such a time as that, I must say that the House of Representatives in Washington has always seemed to me a very respectable and decorous assembly. I may have been particularly lucky in the occasions on which I visited that assembly—they were a good many, and extended over nearly a quarter of a century—but I must say that it was my happy fortune never to see anything like disturbance in the House of Representatives at Washington. Of the Senate at Washington I need not speak. It is the best second chamber I have ever seen. It is not less orderly and less decorous than the House of Lords. Even in the recent all-night sittings of the Senate there does not seem to have been anything like disorder.

The one great guarantee of order in the House of Commons is the absolute deference paid to the authority of the Speaker. On that one momentous night in this session when there was a riot in the House of Commons it happened when the House was in committee, and the chairman of Ways and Means presiding, but the moment the Speaker was sent for and mounted into his chair the disturbance was over. That was a strange night in our par-

liamentary history. Not for two centuries at least had blows been interchanged on the floor of the House of Commons. The occupants of the Strangers' Gallery hissed on that occasion—a portentous sound. Never, even in the most exciting debates, or at the moment of the most thrilling division, did I hear the occupants of the Strangers' Gallery take general part in any expression of approval or disapproval. We are not like the one legislative chamber of Greece, where the strangers in the galleries shout, yell, cheer, hiss and accompany every speaker on the floor of the House with a perfect *charivari* of admiration or abhorrence. In the House of Commons the strangers are almost always well-behaved and self-controlled. Their propriety of demeanor is all the more to be praised when we consider the sort of example which they commonly get from the members of the representative chamber.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

BY H. G. PROUT, EDITOR OF THE "RAILROAD GAZETTE."

THE British Board of Trade reports that in 1892 there were twenty-one passengers killed in train accidents in the United Kingdom. In the same year there were one hundred and sixteen passengers killed in the same class of accidents in the United States.* In the months of August, September and October, 1893, there were at least one hundred and eight passengers killed on the railroads of the United States. The record of these three months is a national humiliation; it must grieve every patriotic citizen, for our railroads are the most remarkable industrial institution of the land, and the one in which a great many of us take the most pride. But the normal record, if it is shown by the figures of 1892, is bad enough; that is, $5\frac{1}{2}$ times as many passengers are killed in the United States as in the United Kingdom in a normal year. Apparently the matter will stand looking into. I propose to take up the inquiry under two heads: (1) Do we habitually kill more passengers than the Englishmen, and why? (2) Did we kill more than the average in the last three months of the World's Fair, and why?

Let us start with the table on the next page compiled from reliable statistics, giving data for the United Kingdom and the United States.

* The statistics for 1892 must be taken from the *Railroad Gazette*, as only an abstract of those of the Interstate Commerce Commission is yet out. They are imperfect, and subject to some correction, but are accurate enough for comparison. It must be borne in mind that we are speaking now of train accidents only—that is, accidents in which moving trains were involved and of casualties to the occupants of moving trains. This class of casualties is only a small part of the total, but is the only one which directly concerns the passenger.

(1)	Passengers killed. (2) U. K.	(3) U. S.	Millions of passenger journeys for one passenger killed. (4) U. K.	(5) U. S.	Millions of train-miles for one passenger killed. (6) U. K.	(7) U. S.
1887	25	207	29.3	2.1	14.3	3.1
1888	11	168	67.5	2.7	26.5	4.0
1889	88	108	8.8	4.6	3.4	6.6
1890	18	172	45.4	2.9	17.4	4.6
1891	5	177	169.1	3.1	64.7	4.7
1892	21	116	43.1	4.9	15.6	6.3
Average	28	158	60.5	3.8	23.1	5.0
Ratios	5.6		16		4.6	

From the averages of columns (2) and (3) we find 5.6 times as many passengers killed in the United States in six years as in the United Kingdom. But that proves nothing unless we know how many passengers were carried in the two countries. Columns (4) and (5) give us that measure. Those columns give the millions of passengers carried for each one killed. That is, in the United Kingdom there were 60½ million people who made one journey for one killed, and in the United States $3\frac{8}{10}$. In other words considering only the number of journeys and not the distance travelled it was 16 times as safe to travel by rail in the United Kingdom as in the United States. But here comes in a serious error. The passenger movement is not measured by the number alone but by the number and distance. For example, 10 persons, travelling 100 miles each, make 1,000 passenger-miles, and so do 100 persons travelling 10 miles each; and in each case the danger of accident is about equal. But the English never report the fundamental units of work, the passenger-mile and the ton-mile, while the Americans always do. The want of these units vitiates the English railroad statistics, and this shows how worthless columns (2) and (3) and columns (4) and (5) are for comparison. The average passenger journey in the United States is a good deal longer than in England; therefore the ratio of 16 shown by (4) and (5) is too great.

In columns (6) and (7) I have tried to get another basis of comparison. Those columns show the *millions* of miles made by all trains in both countries for one passenger killed. I have included freight trains as well as passenger, for the danger to passengers increases with the movement of freight trains. We see that in England $23\frac{1}{10}$ million miles were run by trains of all classes for one passenger killed, and in the United States 5 millions. Or, by this standard, it appears to have been more than

4½ times as dangerous to travel in the United States as in the United Kingdom.

And now the reader can take his choice. It may be five times as dangerous to travel by rail in the United States as in the United Kingdom, or it may be 16 times ; not having the passenger-mile unit we can only guess, and we should guess wildly. But there can be no doubt that the danger is much greater here than there. Why ?

December 31, 1892, there were in the United Kingdom 19,288 miles of railroad open for passenger traffic, and in the United States there were 175,233 miles. The British railroads cost about $200,000 a mile; the American cost about $50,000.* Safety is not in direct proportion to cost, but the two are closely allied. Again, in 1890, we had 375 inhabitants to one mile of railroad, and in 1891 England had 1,875 inhabitants to one mile of railroad ; we ran 12.6 train miles for each inhabitant, and in England 7.1 train miles were run for each inhabitant. That is, the public accommodation as measured by train-miles run was 1.8 times as great, and as measured by miles of railroad was five times as great here as there. Again, the average charge for hauling one ton of freight one mile is 0.967 cent in the United States, and probably between 2 and 2½ cents in England. The failure of the Englishmen to report the unit of traffic, the ton-mile, makes this last figure uncertain, but the range here given is accepted by the best authorities. Again, the average passenger fare in the United States is undoubtedly lower than in England, but this is a vexed and complicated subject, too long to go into here.

The meaning of all this is that you cannot eat your cake and have it. You cannot have about as many miles of railroad as all the other nations of the earth together, more miles per head than any other people, more train service than any other people, and cheaper freight rates than any one else in the world, and at the same time have more of the elements of safety than any one else. If the English standard had been enforced here half or three-quarters of our railroads (to jump at a figure) could not have been built. We have allowed investors to build railroads and work them when and where and how they chose, and one result

* The cost per mile is not a matter capable of exact determination. The usual figure of $60,000 a mile is obtained by counting certain securities twice. The Interstate Commerce Commission gives the total stock and debt as $60,942 per mile in 1891.

has been far the boldest and most energetic creation of a transportation system that mankind has ever attempted, and much the most wonderful development of a nation that history has ever known. Another result has been a quality of construction, equipment and operation that, to put it mildly, is not the safest in the world. All the facts and conditions must be looked at together; so looked at that they are a splendid example of the blessings and penalties of liberty. There is no question in my mind that in this instance the sum of the blessings vastly outweighs the sum of the penalties.

But this is general; I set out to say specifically why we kill more passengers than the English,—having shown that we do. Of the 19,288 miles of railroad open for traffic in the United Kingdom in 1891, 11,043 miles, or fifty-seven per cent. was double track; in the United States about five and one-half per cent. is double track. The absolute block system is used on 17,343 miles, or ninety per cent. of the railroads of the United Kingdom; in the United States the block system, absolute or permissive, is used on about five per cent. In the United Kingdom ninety-four per cent. of all junctions, crossings, turnouts, and passing and yard switches used by passenger trains are protected by interlocked signals. In the United States there are no records from which it is possible even to estimate the amount of such protection; but while it is considerable absolutely, it is very small relatively. But double tracks, block signals and interlocked signals at switches and crossings will prevent collisions except in the rare cases when an engineman disregards a signal, or from some defect in apparatus cannot stop his train at a signal; and collisions are about forty-six per cent. of all our train accidents.

In car and engine equipment the English have no advantage over us. On the contrary their lighter cars are more easily crushed in a wreck, their cars and tenders are more easily derailed, and their brake apparatus is on the whole probably inferior to ours. But their track is beyond question better. The best American track is safe enough. For final economy in maintenance, roads of heavy traffic may find it worth while to raise their track above the best of present standards, but not for safety alone. But that is not true of the average track, and doubtless more than 10 per cent. of our accidents are from defects of road.

A great deal is said in the newspapers about defective discipline as a cause of train accidents in the United States. There are no classified statistics that will give any just measure of the number due to this cause. The *Railroad Gazette* statistics, which are the only attempt at such a classification, attribute five per cent. of all derailments for the last six years to negligence in operation. Let us add to this *all* the collisions (obviously a violent forcing of facts to get a theory), and we may charge fifty-one per cent. of all train accidents to negligence. The British Board of Trade attributes forty-two per cent. of all the accidents in the United Kingdom in the last eleven years to "negligence, want of care, or mistakes of officers or servants." If now we treat the English statistics as we did the American, and add all the other causes which produced collisions, we have fifty-eight per cent. chargeable to negligence in the United Kingdom as against fifty-one per cent. in the United States. This is a pretty rude way of getting at the relations of things, but so far as it goes it confirms the opinion I have long held that the American railroad officer or employee is quite as vigilant, skilful and faithful as the Englishman.

And now we may sum up. We do habitually kill more passengers than the English, and we do so because they have, per unit of railroad line, more than ten times as much double track as we have, eighteen times as much block signaling, very much more interlocking of switches and signals and considerably better average track.

I have not mentioned the dreadful loss of life at street and highway crossings, and the slaughter of trespassers on the right of way, because that is entirely another branch of the subject. In casualties of that sort we have a specialty, and are quite beyond comparison.

If my facts and conclusions are correct (and if they are not, I trust that some one will set me right), we have reduced the reasons for the greater safety of railroad travel in England to a few simple physical facts. It has also been made tolerably clear why these facts exist; that is, we get what we have been willing, or able, to pay for. One of Charles Reade's characters says of the English courts "they sell you justice prime but dear." Much the same thing can be said of transportation on the English railroads. The quality of the service is first rate, and so is the price. We

have needed more service in proportion to the population, and cheaper service, than the inhabitants of an old and thickly-settled country, where the distances are short, and we have got it; but we have had to pay for it some way. One of the ways has been with our legs and arms, not to mention vital organs. It has been a commercial transaction, or, if you choose, a colossal real-estate speculation, and the sooner we clear our minds of sentimentality in talking about our railroads, and legislating about them, the sooner we shall learn what the real evils are and the way to remedy them.

It will be asked if we have not come to that place in developing our railroad system where a change in policy should begin; if we have not come to the place where safety should precede amount and economy of service. Certainly we have come to that place and the change *has* begun. With growing density of traffic on the more important railroads, double tracking goes on year after year and in increasing ratio. Signals of both sorts, that is, block signals and interlocked switch signals, are being introduced rapidly on lines of thin as well as heavy traffic, and increasing attention is paid to other means of safety. At the moment when I write the Safety Appliance Committee of the American Railway Association is sitting in New York to deliberate on the best means of extending the use of the block system. The American Railway Association is the most authoritative association of operating officers in America. Its consideration of block signaling is by no means a new thing, prompted by recent accidents, but has been going on carefully and systematically for two or three years. The gentlemen who compose the committee are confronted by a complicated set of conditions which are not merely mechanical, but economical and diplomatic. They approach the subject committed to them with zeal and knowledge and are impelled by the most powerful motives that actuate men. We may rest in confidence, therefore, that they will advance the matter of better signaling as fast as it can be done under the given conditions. This body and others, notably the Master Car-Builders' Association, have given a great deal of attention to other appliances, and to methods of moving trains, with a view to greater safety, and have advanced the art of railroading immensely. They are still unremitting in this work.

There are two great forces working to make railroad travel

safer: (1) The wish to make money from operation, and (2) public opinion as embodied in laws or expressed in various ways. No one who has not been in close touch with the control of railroads realizes the pressure on operating officers to save money. Rates fall and wages rise. The laws of the States and the nation have made it impossible to keep up rates; various forces make it impossible to reduce wages, and the railroads are between the devil and the deep sea. The profits of railroad working have fallen until more than sixty per cent. of the railroad securities of the country pay no dividend whatever, and the payment on total debt, stock, bonds, floating debt and obligations of all descriptions is only a trifle over three per cent. per annum. This condition is getting worse rather than better. So there is the greatest possible inducement to save money. If the use of safety appliances can be shown to be a means of economy they will be used. If they are not a means of economy they cannot be used, except on a few favored railroads. Fortunately, as traffic increases we gradually approach the line where it is cheaper to use block signals and interlocked switch signals than not to use them. When that line is reached in the history of any given railroad company is always somewhat a matter of conjecture. The line does not stand up before men's eyes, but can be found only by experiment.

Shall we then trust to the enlightened self interest of the railroads to make travel as safe as all the conditions will permit, or shall we use the second of the great forces and make legislation more special and more stringent? We may trust to the newspapers to remind the railroads of their delinquencies, whatever happens, and therefore we have only to consider the expression of public opinion in law. This is a very big question, indeed, too big to be thrashed out at the end of a magazine article; but a few suggestions may not be out of place.

For the sake of brevity, I shall have to state as true a proposition that it is hard to prove, that may be incapable of proof, but that I believe to be true. It is that any attempts to control by special laws the methods of working railroads will in the end do more harm than good. They will transfer responsibility from the railroad officers to the law-makers, the more specific the law the more complete the transfer. They will impede development by alarming investors, as has invariably been the case where the States have undertaken to control rates. They will substitute

for intelligent self-interest the perfunctory and arbitrary methods of bureaus. Of course, this is all a matter of degree. A little State control will do little harm and will sometimes do good. Much State control may do more good and will do more harm. But the kernel of the matter is that mankind does best when most let alone. One of our oldest and biggest railroads was long controlled very absolutely by one man, and for years no passenger was killed in one of its trains. The president's method was simple. If an accident happened all those immediately concerned were dismissed at once and without a hearing. It was rude railroading, but there was no wire-drawing and hair-splitting about discipline. Perhaps after all the best way for the State to treat the railroads in this matter of safety would be to make them pay high for loss of life and limb, and to prosecute vigorously, in the criminal courts, the individuals directly responsible for any accident.

It is not likely that the policy of the States or of the nation will be directed by such rank "individualism" as I preach. It is more likely that the notion of public control will spread and prevail for a time. In this case we could not do better, probably, than to follow pretty closely the Massachusetts commission law, modifying it a little, and to choose the commissioners to administer it from some such group of men as furnish the British Board of Trade Inspectors. This law would make it the duty of the commissioners to investigate all grave accidents thoroughly and promptly and to report upon them fully and publicly. It would give them power to call witnesses and to make them testify under oath, and to produce all records. The British Inspectors are retired officers of the Royal Engineers. They are men of education, of social standing, who cannot afford to be corrupt, and who have a safe and honorable position in the world. As professional soldiers, they are trained to a high sense of public duty. Our commissioners could be drawn from a similar class of men if the pay was good and the tenure of office long. A stern and fearless investigation of an accident, by such men, and *publicity* of the findings would be enough. No railroad could afford to ignore the warnings, or to be followed into the courts by the reports, of such a commission. In fact, this is exactly the kind of work that the Massachusetts Commission has done for a long time, and with great thoroughness and intelligence. The

New York Commission and the commissions of other States have also done the same kind of work, but not so well. The results of this work, especially in Massachusetts, have often been seen in permanent improvements.

Little space is left for the second topic, the World's Fair accidents ; but after all there is little that is special or peculiar to say of them. It is a fact that in August, September and October, 108 passengers were killed, that the average for three months, taking the six years' statistics already given, would be 53, and that therefore the mortality was twice the average. It is a fact, too, that most of the fatal accidents involved special trains or extra sections of regular trains, and that all but three of them were in what we may call World's Fair territory. All but one were collisions and must be classed under accidents due to negligence in operation. All but the Chester Bridge accident came from those derangements which follow a greatly increased and an unusual traffic. They may be traced to long hours and hard work by all the operating staff, from general managers to flagmen, or to the necessity for putting men at a kind of work with which they were not familiar, or to both. Who is responsible for such a condition of things ? The railroad officers foresaw the danger, but some of them could not beg or borrow money for more than their daily needs, and all of them spent very liberally, according to their means, in preparing for the Fair. And then arose the question of the proper policy of the roads as to the World's Fair rates. On one side stood the press and the public demanding reduced rates, some demanding even so low a rate as one dollar from New York to Chicago, and proving that it would pay the railroads to carry passengers at any rate, and that it was their duty to do so whether it would pay them or not. On this side also was enlisted the influence of certain railroad managers anxious to stimulate a big traffic. On the other side were those men of judgment and knowledge who feared the results which have actually come. It is easy to say that they should have stood out more resolutely than they did, but the public would never have been satisfied until the matter had been carried to demonstration. The demonstration was frightfully costly in money and in lives ; let us hope that the lesson will not be lost either by the railroads or the public.

H. G. Prout.

THE SERVANT GIRL OF THE FUTURE.

BY KATE GANNETT WELLS.

As IT is always a relief to assign great causes for small evils, it might be said that the Declaration of Independence, universal suffrage and unrestricted immigration are responsible for those minor domestic woes, which are in fact the home side of the vast labor-problem that is now astride the world.

We cannot abolish the Declaration of Independence, which, as a friendly critic has said, "abolished good manners," though the exasperating impertinence of the I-am-as-good-as-you spirit found among our servants is largely due to its immortal phrases, and can only be endured through the silent conviction that we are better than they. Universal suffrage, whatever may be its advantages, gives power to those who are unfit to use it, and who attack common sense and the liberties of others. The relation of immigration to reduction of servants' wages is so palpable that it eventually will win recognition.

There are, however, lesser causes for our domestic troubles which can be removed by individual housekeepers. If men had kept house instead of women, they would long ago have met the issue squarely, either by complete submission to servants' tyranny or by insistence on prompt obedience. We women have done neither. We have compromised, we have become philanthropic and sympathetic, and then we have of a sudden insisted on our rights, until even archangels would have left us without a week's warning.

There was neither so much trouble nor so much unwise treatment of servants until women began to belong to societies and, in the name of religion, to ignore class names. It takes courage to use class names for human beings as frankly as for flowers.

We have curvetted between "help" (the New England word for contumacious self-respect), domestics, servants, girls and—women. From the emigrant boarding-house keeper to the *grande dame* of society, we have prefixed to whichever term is used the possessive pronoun "my." The female employed prefers the word servant—it defines her; though she disdains the livery of cap and apron, unless she works for the upper classes. A philanthropist living in a flat will even say, "I keep no servant; I have a friend." "Does she eat with you?" "*She* prefers not to."

The difference, then, between a servant and any other employee lies in the prevalent custom of servants eating in the kitchen. Such a distinction sounds brutal, but it is vital. A dressmaker, a ladylike—not "slop"—seamstress, a trained nurse, a nursery governess will not eat there, so sorrow often attends the advent of any of these personages. To the kitchen and sleeping arrangements would I first ascribe our discomfort as housekeepers. I am not writing of the homes of the wealthy where the girls have their own parlors, but of the great middle class and all the classes below it. The unsanitary discomfort of a servants' room in a third-class street is best understood by those who board in it. The patience of the American people is slight compared with that of servants, whose household gods are confined to their trunks.

If good service is desired in the future, an employer should not only beautify her kitchen, but should build it in front of the house, where the servants can watch the passers-by just as she herself likes to do. It should always have a sofa—but not one with broken springs—armchairs, rocking-chairs, etc., and the dining-table should not be allowed to present a pell-mell rehash of the food and dishes of others. Servants' chambers usually are small and dingy or large and cheerless with several girls in one room, or else the servants live in common together, as if in barracks, on the top story of apartment houses.

The second chance for improvement lies in the manners of employers. Many seem unaware that servants are to be treated as if they had feelings. People grumble at or dictate to them, scold or flatter them, are scrupulously polite or studiously ignoring, never noticing their friends' servants on the streets, and scarcely recognizing their own. If the same girl constantly opens the same door for a gentleman, he is unaware of her except as a

means of information. At a dinner party it is considered bad form to recognize the waiter who has frequently served one. Even at a family dinner a lady guest acknowledges the presence of the waitress only by her eye-lids, the gentleman visitor not at all.

Servants are treated neither with decent natural politeness nor with frank cordiality. We are much more afraid of ourselves than of them. We expect them to work for us as if they loved us, and then we pride ourselves upon the kind advice we give them. We exhaust ourselves in preparation for our daughter's balls and deem it a lack of propriety that our servants should even want to go to parties. In the future they will go to their assemblies as freely as we go to ours, they returning as we go out. Perhaps the desire of the philanthropists to curtail the evening pleasures of their servants out of regard for their health arises from ignorance of the principle that fun is healthy. If our servants were more at liberty to do as they chose in the evening and were not obliged to be at home when the adult children are not, we should find women much more willing to accept household service. Of course the girls may be cross in the morning. So are society's daughters; both get over it. It is not strange that girls dislike housework when they know that no matter how well they have done their work they must ask leave to go out in the evening, and must be home at a fixed early hour.

A third point in the service of the future will be the right of servants to speak their minds as freely as their employers. They do so now, but it is considered as beyond their rights. When it is their right they will not care to do it. We forgive our children if they are cross, on account of their youth: servants are always immature; can we not forgive them? It is more of a relief to them to bluster and be impertinent than it is to the educated people who are aware of their consciences. Quarrels between employers and employees entered on the records of gossip or at intelligence offices do harm to both persons. Americans have less self respect than would be inferred from their printed Constitution.

The words employer and employee bring us to the real issue in the "servant-girl question,"—the want of written contract. Among the upper classes engagements are often made from house to house. Among the lower and middle classes they are made at

intelligence offices. Though an engagement may begin well, as far as the books of the office are concerned, afterwards it is seldom that either mistress or maid keeps any memorandum of wages paid or received. Any contract for household service must largely be vague for both parties, except in regard to wages. Nor can it be wholly definite in the future, though each time the contracting parties should make it as definite as their mental peculiarities allow. In regard to wages, however, there is much to be said. It is difficult for a well-bred woman to realize how constantly girls are cheated. Wages are still due even if dishes are broken. When a girl is not morally worthy of them, she yet is legally entitled to them.

The collection of wages which are fraudulently withheld has been taken up by various women's unions, notably by the one in Boston. Out of one hundred and twenty-eight complaints received in 1891, eighty-two related to domestic service, where the ignorance of the plaintiff was as pitiable as the poverty of the defendant. If it were only poor people who deferred payment! Rich and "well-to-do" persons allow a girl's wages to run on, doling out a little from time to time, till they amount to $600 or $700.

Variation in the scale of wages results from the variety of social classes for which servants work, and from that agility in moral quibbling by which a woman entices away her friend's servant through promise of higher wages. It is only in the families of the partially middle and lower classes (terms are disagreeable) that wages are wickedly cheapened, until there is no one more to be pitied than the frowsy, incompetent, perpetually busy, half-fed and half-clothed drudge of all work, not daring to leave her place lest she have not strength, even if she have the brains, to get another. But these conditions are not peculiar to household work. Look at the sweating system! It is better after all to incur some of the evils of individual contract and of want of it,—than to be bound by a servant trades-unionism, which fixes the prices for work. Among the lower grades of servants, wages have been reduced and work increased by the influx of immigrants, only a few of whom are desirable even as cheap servants, unless they belong to the northern races. As a rule respectable families will not take immigrants and they, if doing housework, prefer to hire by the day.

In time also women will learn how to direct. Now an American mother is often a simultaneous cook, chambermaid, parlormaid and nursery maid, because she has not the courage of a commander. Or, if she has, when she has trained a servant the latter is sure to leave her, exclaims somebody. Of course, that somebody would do the same if she were in the girl's position. A mistress need not prove her knowledge by actual performance unless there is occasion. If she is poor or "middling-off" she will do fully enough work herself not to be condemned as inhuman.

Servants deceive, cheat and lie! So do ladies and children. Servants ask too many "privileges!" There is no such word in a contract. Each party has mutual rights. Not until mistresses cease to call rights by the false term of "privileges," will they have honest, continuous service. "I did every thing for her, she had so many 'privileges,' but when my children had diphtheria she left," moans a mother. Of course. Did not your friends do likewise? Would you have stayed under similar circumstances ? Was it in the contract that she should remain with you in an epidemic or that you should take care of her? She was selfish to leave,—just like most people, only she was poor, dependent on herself, and should therefore be doubly careful of her health. Increase a girl's "privileges," but demand in return exact performance in work and tolerable truthfulness.

It is often said that domestic training schools would supply better servants. They might. Yet if we have trained servants in our homes they will ask higher wages, and many of us would rather teach a girl than pay more. Such schools, however, do not reach down to the families who most need efficient help, such as the family of the young mechanic and day laborer, where the girl is on an equality with the mother ; and further down still to the sixth-class restaurant-keeper whose "help" must wash, wipe and wait in a second and be good tempered ! It is proposed also that ladies shall sign papers agreeing to engage only those servants who have received diplomas. Self-interest never binds itself, it gets what it wants the shortest way it can.

Training schools will surely furnish one of the means for a brighter outlook, but any large result from them is to be as much doubted as from coöperative kitchens. If we should have polyandry—one woman having several husbands—the courtesy of man might allow her to avail herself of such

a kitchen, but as long as a man has but one wife he will prefer his individual kitchen and cook. Imagine an omelette-souffle served by coöperation to an impatient father of a family! Reform to the contrary, a woman's first duty is to her husband, even if, being a man, he is mistaken. A wise recourse, however, unto cook and bake shops and New England kitchens affords great relief to housekeepers and these should be largely frequented—by those who can afford it. Yet many economists of real, practical insight find in these peripatetic, coöperative kitchens the needed relief for the future. I doubt if they are right, for behind all the philanthropy, nervous-action, university-extension, college-settlement ferment which marks this special decade, there is a deep undercurrent of individual home feeling, which will make women forego "causes" for husbands and families. The knowledge which they are now so rapidly acquiring will lead them to apply it to their own homes until they will be ashamed to keep house with incompetent service; while the record of having changed servants constantly will be proof of a woman's inability to be chairman of a committee.

Domestic labor is drudgery only when it dawdles. Most of us do not know how to manage because we dare not be independent, so our servants impose on our timorousness. An intelligent, just mistress, who directs her work and cannot be humbugged, who gives her girls more leisure than she claims for herself, and who is too wise to take offence at trifles, seldom has trouble. On the other hand a nervous, capricious, kind housekeeper has no relief.

The future of our American home-life depends on this question of servants. No exclusively coöperative benefits can take the place of the daily, early "roughing" of home life, when father, mother, babies and servants are inexperienced together and each helps along towards love and order. As we grow older (or richer) we find that comprehension of the inborn limitations and perversities of servants gives us individual patience in training them until they become experienced. Then we must part with some of our personal liberties and pay them high wages. They are worthy of them, for our homes are never theirs "*de facto or de jure.*"

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

THOUGHTS ON ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

BY THE LATE EDWARD A. FREEMAN, LL. D., D. C. L., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

I SPOKE in a former article* of the origin and growth of the English universities, and of the special feature which distinguishes them from the universities of other countries, namely, the existence of many colleges in one university. I will now speak of the changes which have taken place in the universities and their colleges during the last forty years. I speak mainly of Oxford, but many remarks will apply to Cambridge also. These changes fall under three main heads:

First, Changes in the constitution of the university itself and of its colleges.

Second, Changes in the relation of the university to the nation at large.

Third, Changes in the studies of the university.

Now, changes in the university have caused changes in the colleges, and the existence of the colleges has affected the course of change in the university. Some have been made directly by act of Parliament or by commissioners empowered by Parliament. Some have been made by formal acts of the university or of the several colleges. And some have come of themselves.

I explained before, how, by the original constitution of both universities, the supreme authority rested in a general assembly, convocation or senate, of all who had taken the highest degree in any faculty, that is, of every doctor and master who had kept his name on the books. But at Oxford the democratic character of this constitution had been broken down by the rule that

* THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1881.

nothing could be proposed to convocation which had not been approved by a body called the hebdomadal board ; that is, the vice-chancellor, the two proctors, and the heads of colleges and halls. Convocation could only say yea and nay to their proposals, no amendment could be made, and all debate was in Latin. Here was the greatest encroachment made by the colleges on the university ; for in the university constitution heads of colleges had no privilege over other doctors or masters. It was further objected that neither the hebdomadal board nor the convocation itself really represented the university. The heads, as being, except a few professors and canons, almost the only married men in the university, lived much among themselves, and knew little of what other people thought and felt. Convocation, meanwhile, largely consisted of non-residents. A measure of no great general interest was left to the resident members; but any exciting question, above all any theological question, drew up hundreds of men from all parts. It was said that many non-resident members of convocation were unfit to judge of university affairs, and that their votes often swamped those of the resident members. In truth the votes of many non-resident members were better worth having than the votes of many residents. But the lowering of the standard for degrees, and the giving of the higher degree at random to all who had taken the lower, had greatly lowered the character of convocation. Every doctor and master ought to be fit to judge of university matters, but every doctor and master was not.

Nothing has yet been done to remedy this last evil; but the constitution of the university has been improved in other ways. This was done by act of Parliament in 1854. The powers and constitution of convocation were left as they were ; but the body that was to propose measures to it was changed. The new body, called the hebdomadal council, is mainly elective. Besides the chancellor, vice-chancellor, and proctors, eighteen members are chosen, six heads of houses, six professors or readers, while six may be members of convocation of any kind. These are chosen by a body called congregation, consisting of all resident or official members of convocation. And all statutes are first proposed by the council to congregation, which can not only accept or reject, but can make amendments and debate in English. When a statute has passed congregation, convocation still says

yea or nay. The act meant to give the old congregation a new constitution and new power; but the lawyers said that the words used left the old congregation as it was, and set up a new congregation beside it in Oxford. So there are now two bodies called congregation, with different constitutions and different duties.

Much greater freedom of action is gained for the university in this change. The constitution of the council was doubtless meant to let the head down easily and to lift the professors up easily. After more than thirty years, the distinction is perhaps needless, and both heads and professors might be left to find their level. If any limitation is needed, a representation of faculties would be better. And the number of the council should be either larger or smaller. Nothing can be really debated in it, for the number is too large for conversation and too small for set speeches.

In another case the encroachments of the colleges on the university have been got rid of by abolishing the statute which required every member of the university to become a member of some college or hall. Men may now come, and do come in considerable numbers, who are members of the university only and not members of any college. For all university purposes they are on the same level as other members of the university; they simply use the advantages of a college life. And it is, of course, open to non-collegiate members of the university to obtain scholarships and fellowships in the colleges.

The colleges themselves have also been greatly changed, how far for the better is largely matter of opinion. Much will depend on the view which any man takes of the nature and duty of a college and of its relations to the university. It must be remembered that a college is in its origin simply a foundation to provide a dwelling and maintenance for certain students in the university. It is a *foundation*, not an *institution*. In making a foundation there was nothing unreasonable if the founder, in dispensing his bounty, gave a preference to those who came from some county or school in which he took a special interest. In a teaching institution restrictions of this kind must work badly. An inferior man might often be chosen when a better man might be had. Changes in the colleges have heretofore taken the direction of getting rid of restrictions and preferences of all kinds. Fellowships and scholarships have been thrown open; scholars have lost their claim or preference to fellowships. The

number of fellowships has been greatly lessened. The nature and position of fellowships have also been greatly changed. They have ceased to be held for life. They are held for a term of years, or they have duties in college attached to them, or they are attached to offices in the university, as professorships. And in most cases marriage is allowed. Most of these changes would be undoubted improvements in a teaching college which stood by itself and not alongside of other colleges in an university.

Formerly a man was, first of all, a fellow of his college, a member of its foundation; he might or might not take on him the duties of a tutor. Now a man is made tutor, and he receives a fellowship as part payment of his work as tutor. And as married fellows cannot live in college, the tutor stands in a less close relation to his pupils than he used to stand. Scholarships, again, originally meant for students who could not come to the university without help, have sunk into rare prizes, given as rewards for cleverness in an examination, whether those who receive them have any need of them or not; or, rather, they are likely to be got by lads who have been specially prepared at expensive schools, while those for whom scholarships were meant have to come to the university how they can,—perhaps as non-collegiate students. In Oxford, as elsewhere, educational reform has largely meant taking from the poor to give to the rich.

In all these ways the colleges have forgotten their nature as *foundations* designed for the maintenance of students in the university, each foundation having something distinctive in its character and objects. They have become teaching institutions, all after the same model and doing the same work. Each strives to get as many under-graduates as it can, and to draw to it the most brilliant under-graduates by the offer of scholarships. The colleges have, in fact, become large boarding-schools, each of which undertakes to do the work of the university. The doubt therefore suggests itself whether the work of the university could not be better done by the university itself than by twenty and more distinct and independent institutions within it.

The second head is the relation of the universities to the nation at large. Here the chief point of change is the divergency of religious distinctions in the university and its colleges. The universities were not in their origin, as many people seem to think, what we should now call clerical institutions; they

were hardly ecclesiastical institutions. But at a time when the whole nation was of one religion, and when religion was mixed up with every action of life, they naturally grew up under religious influences. At a time when the thought that there could be more religious bodies than one in the nation had not come into any one's head, there was no conscious restriction to one religious body, to the exclusion of others. Divinity was naturally one of the studies, and among the highest, of the university. But there could be no formal restrictions to the Church of England till there were other religious bodies in the land besides the Church of England. At Oxford every student who matriculated was required to sign the Articles of Religion of the Church of England. The absurdity of making mere lads subscribe thirty-nine propositions in controversial theology need not be dwelled on. At Cambridge the subscription came at a late stage, so that a Non-conformist could be examined and could win honors in his examination, but could not take a degree. All this is now abolished. Everything, every degree and office, in both universities is open without distinction, except that degrees in divinity can be taken only by clergymen of the Church of England. And all university terms and other services are according to the use of the Church of England. This could hardly be otherwise, so long as a national church is acknowledged at all. But no one is bound to attend such services or is forbidden to attend any other.

The colleges, in their original foundation, were particularly more ecclesiastical than the university. They are in law lay corporations, and it may be well to remind every one once more that at no time was there anything monastic about them. But in foundations which were meant to be communities,—artificial families,—the religious element (in the modern sense of the word) was necessarily strong. The college chapel comes more home to men than the university church. In the minds of founders religion and learning always went together. But the strictly clerical element varied in different colleges; in some the fellows had to take holy orders sooner or later; in others they might all be laymen. At present there is no restriction on admission to the colleges and their foundations. Non-conformists and Jews have held scholarships and fellowships. Of clerical fellowships only a few are left to supply chaplains and theological teachers. Only two of the heads are under any restriction. The Rector of Lin-

coln College is necessarily a clergyman. And at Christ Church, a very strong foundation, a body of students were attached to the cathedral chapel of the diocese. They were, therefore, under the sole management of the dean and canons. The governing body now consists of the dean and canons together with the students—answering nearly to the fellows of other colleges—on whom there is no restriction. There is also the new foundation of Hertford College, a rich college, and also the large hall called Keble College, both which have been founded strictly as Church of England institutions. It is equally possible to found Non-conformist halls or colleges. But it should be understood that Mansfield College and Manchester New College, Non-conformist institutions in Oxford, are not colleges in the old sense and have no connection with the University. But there is nothing whatever to hinder them from becoming halls or colleges.

Under the head of the relations of the universities to the nation at large might further come several schemes by which the universities send out examiners and lecturers to various places. The sending of lecturers, which must be good or bad accordingly as their lectures are good or bad, is called university extension, which has nothing to do with the constitution of the universities.

Our third subject is those studies themselves. In the old theory there was, besides arts, the three superior faculties of divinity, law, and medicine, to which none but graduates in arts were admitted. It is hard to define arts. We might say that it takes in whatever subjects are at any time held to be essential to a general, liberal education, as distinguished from the strictly professional faculties. What these subjects are will differ according to the ideas of different ages. The essential thing in any age is that they should be subjects which are good for every man; good for the general culture of the mind, without any reference to a man's special calling. An university is a place at once of special learning and of general training of the mind; it is assuredly not a place for each man to come to and there learn his own calling. The course for the first degree at all events should be preliminary, good for all, desirable first of all for the training of the mind; only in a secondary way for the sake of the actual knowledge gained in it. The study of special subjects should not come till this first foundation is laid. It follows that the age at which students come to the university should be the earliest at which they are able to

benefit by the preliminary training. The first degree taken, a more special course may follow, at what is still an early time of life, and that should lead to the second, the master's degree.

Something like this was the old theory; but it was very imperfectly carried out, and it has not been thrown altogether aside. Fifty years back and less, the training given by the universities, the course for the first degree, was mainly what is called "classical" and mathematical. The details differed largely at Oxford and at Cambridge Universities; at Cambridge mathematics had a greater prominence than they had in Oxford, and the character of "classical" scholarship in the two was exactly the same. Cambridge, we may say, gave more attention to the minute knowledge of the "classical" languages, and Oxford more to the knowledge of the books written in them. The old system, in short, had a very good course as a preliminary course, and nothing could be better than the single searching examination for the bachelor's degree. The unlucky thing was, that it was sometimes forgotten that the course was only a preliminary course. The faults of the system were these:

First, The degradation of the common degree. A high class in the examination was well worth having; a pass degree, though better than nothing at all, was worth comparatively little.

Second, The absence of any further examination or exercise for the master's degree, which had become a matter of form. Hence many men, because they had got a good class for their bachelor's degree, were tempted to fancy that they already knew all that they needed to know, and became teachers at a stage when they should still have been learners.

Third, Even forty or fifty years back, men were beginning to come to the university later than was good for them, later than they had done at the beginning of the century.

The bill-of-reform needed was clear. For the first point, the standard of the bachelor's degree should have been raised, so as to be in itself respectable, and the wretched excitement of class-lists should have been got rid of. And more use should have been made than was made—or than could have been made fifty years back—of the great teachings of modern philology. For the second point, the master's degree should have been made to require real proficiency in some branch of knowledge, the wider the range of subjects the better. The master's degree would then become honor-

able, and no one could any longer say that the general assembly of the university was an incompetent body. Thirdly, every encouragement should have been given to students to come early to the university, in order to have time for both their preliminary and their special course.

Instead of this, change has taken quite opposite directions. A very natural and reasonable cry for the introduction of other subjects into the arts course, besides "classics" and mathematics, has been met in a wrong way. Instead of keeping the old subjects preliminary, and putting the newer subjects into a separate course for the master's degree, a number of new subjects have been made alternative with old ones for the bachelor's degree.

Instead of keeping one preliminary course for all candidates for the bachelor's degree, every attempt has been made in these alternative courses specially to adapt different forms of them to particular classes of men. The crowning absurdity is the establishment of schools in law and theology, subjects which have their distinct faculties in the university, as alternative ways of getting a degree in the faculty of arts. The degree, the class, may now be had in endless different ways, so that it is impossible to know what each man's degree, or class, means. The one searching examination, which was a real test of real work, is exchanged for endless petty examinations in this and that, one after another, so that everybody seems to be always either examining or being examined, without any time for study, reading, or thought being left for either teacher or learner. For the master's degree nothing has been done; it is still given without distinction to all who can anyhow get the bachelor's degree. By all this, the temptation to men to fancy that they have learned everything, and to become teachers before their time has been strengthened. The notion of teaching and learning, without reference to examinations, is driven out of men's heads.

Again, the excessive attention to those subjects only which tell in examinations has done much to hinder the usefulness of the professors. Their business, as distinguished from that of the college rector, clearly is to teach those subjects which are not required for examination and the higher branches of those which are. Those who love learning for its own sake are always a minority, and with that minority the professors have to put up. The educational power at Oxford now lies mainly, neither with

professors nor with colleges after the old pattern, nor yet with doctors and masters lecturing as such, according to a still older pattern. That is to say, a teacher belonging to one college lectures to men of several colleges or of all. If this arrangement is found convenient, it follows that the colleges, as separate teaching institutions, are no longer needed. They are attempting to do the work of the university, which ought to be done by some authority in the university.

Add to this, there are what are called boards of studies in each branch of examination. Of these the professors are *ex officio* members; but with these are joined others elected by the body of teachers in that branch. That body is defined to be all who are certified by the heads of their colleges to be teachers in that branch. That is to say, a young man who begins to teach when he ought to be still learning is, on the certificate perhaps of another young man no better qualified than himself, put on a level with the professor who is presumably a master of his subject. In the business done at these boards the professors have no vote or advantage beyond any lecturer of this kind; the professors have to send in their scheme of lectures for approval to the board then formed, and the lectures of the professors are announced confusedly with the lectures of the other lecturers. From the point of view of the advancement of learning comment seems hardly needed.

The associate class of teachers thus called into being, college officers, if anything, taking on themselves university functions, are mostly hard-working men. Their fault is rather that they work too hard, that they leave no time for themselves or their pupils to read or think. Some of them are really able men, who do good work as far as their position allows. But their position is a wrong one; they should be either professors or college tutors, not a confusion of the two. It is very remarkable that the best commission arose out of a movement for the advancement of learning as distinguished from examination, and for the recognition of the professors as the representatives of learning. The result has been the bondage and degradation of learning and of its professors. All this strangely suggests the question whether twenty and more independent institutions, as distinguished from their ancient nature as foundations, are not mischievous rather than useful in the university.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

THE HAWAIIAN SITUATION.

I.—THE INVASION OF HAWAII.

BY EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State, on July 14, 1851, wrote to Luther Severance, representing the United States at Honolulu:

"The Government of the United States was the first to acknowledge the national existence of the Hawaiian Government, and to treat with it as an independent state. Its example was soon followed by several of the Governments of Europe; and the United States, true to its treaty obligations, has in no case interfered with the Hawaiian Government for the purpose of opposing the course of its own independent conduct or of dictating to it any particular line of policy. In acknowledging the independence of the Islands, and of the Government established over them, it was not seeking to promote any peculiar object of its own. What it did, and all that it did, was done openly in the face of day, in entire good faith, and known to all nations. . . . But while thus indisposed to exercise any sinister influence itself over the counsels of Hawaii, or to overawe the proceedings of its Government by the menace or the actual application of superior military force, it expects to see other powerful nations act in the same spirit."

Mr. Webster went further, directing Mr. Severance to return to the Hawaiian Government an act of contingent surrender to the United States, placed in his hands by that Government, and specifically warned Mr. Severance against encouraging in any quarter the idea that the Islands would be annexed to the United States.

Up to January 16, 1893, the broad principles laid down in Mr. Webster's quoted words were not only the rule of conduct for the Government of the United States in its relations with the Government of Hawaii; but they were also recognized by those who desire, as well as by those who do not desire, the

annexation of the Hawaiian archipelago to this country. The state papers of Secretary Marcy and Secretary Blaine, and the published utterances of other distinguished citizens of the United States who have regarded annexation as the ultimate and desirable destiny of these islands of the Pacific, will be searched to no purpose for indications of a belief that annexation should be brought about otherwise than in fidelity to treaty obligations, "openly in the face of day, in entire good faith and known to all nations," and without the "menace or actual application of superior military force." A belief to the contrary is so repugnant to the traditions and temper of the American people, and so clearly involves adherence to the theory of insular colonial expansion by conquest, that one may safely assert it will find scant favor among the people of the United States.

The dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani and the establishment of an oligarchy on the island of Oahu, "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon," were effected on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 17, 1893, in the presence of a considerable body of the naval forces of the United States, armed with Gatling guns, and stationed in the immediate vicinity and in plain sight of the Palace and Government Building, where the so-called revolution was consummated.

The local causes of this so-called revolution, remote and proximate, are relatively immaterial to the United States. They, with the general issue of annexation, dwindle before the question, What were the purpose and the effect of the presence of the forces of the United States in Honolulu on January the sixteenth and seventeenth?

The recognized government of a nation with which we were at peace had officially notified Minister Stevens, our representative, of its ability to preserve order and protect property. The Vice-Consul-General of the United States, Mr. W. Porter Boyd, testifies that no uneasiness was felt at the consulate, and that the landing of the troops was a complete surprise to him. All the signs of street life betokened good order, and, soon after the blue-jackets had trailed their artillery through the streets, the population of Honolulu was enjoying the regular Monday evening out-of-door concert of the Hawaiian Band. The landing of the troops was promptly followed by the protests of

the proper authorities of the kingdom and the island, transmitted officially to Minister Stevens. No evidence has been presented to Commissioner Blount to show that there was any apprehension or any desire for the presence ashore of the men of the "Boston" under arms, except on the part of the members of the Citizens' Committee of Safety. The matter was not referred to at the mass meeting of the foreign population, organized by that committee, and held but a few hours before the troops landed.

The Committee of Safety, at whose request Mr. Stevens summoned the troops, did not prefer that request as American citizens. It could not, for only five of its thirteen members owed allegiance to and were under the protection of the United States. By the admission of several of their own number to Mr. Blount, they were engaged in plotting secretly the overthrow of the government and the establishment of themselves in power until they could transfer the Islands to the United States, and Minister Stevens was in their full confidence at the time they asked for, and he ordered, the landing of the troops. They had been threatened with arrest by the government they planned to overthrow, and he had promised to protect them. The troops of the "Boston" were the only means he had of keeping good that promise, and he did not scruple to use them for it. But even to the thirteen engaged in the plot the danger of arrest was not so imminent as to deter them from requesting Mr. Stevens not to land the troops too soon for their purposes. Mr. W. O. Smith, the attorney-general of the Provisional Government and a leader in the committee, testifies that at a conference on Monday afternoon, at four o'clock, "our plans had not been perfected, our papers had not been completed, and, after a hasty discussion—the time being short—it was decided that it was impossible for us to take the necessary steps, and we should request that the troops be not landed until the next morning, the hour in the morning being immaterial—whether it was nine, eight, or six o'clock in the morning—but we must have further time to prevent bloodshed." Nevertheless the "Boston's" men landed at five o'clock, Mr. Stevens being apparently the only man on the Island of Oahu who deemed their presence necessary at that time.

To keep pace with Mr. Stevens' haste the Committee of Safety met secretly a few hours later and selected Judge

Sanford B. Dole as the civil head of their oligarchy, and Mr. John H. Soper, a citizen of the United States, as the head of its military forces, then in existence only in the imagination of the conclave. Mr. Soper admits that he did not agree to accept the command of the provisional "army" until he was assured that Minister Stevens would recognize the Provisional Government on Tuesday. On their part both Judge Dole and Minister Stevens apparently did not have entire confidence in the prowess of "General" Soper, as witness the following letter to Judge Dole the next day:

U. S. LEGATION, Jan. 17, 1893.

Think Captain Wiltse will endeavor to maintain order and protect life and property, but do not think he would take command of the men of the Provisional Government. Will have him come to the Legation soon as possible and take his opinion and inform you soon as possible.

Yours truly, JOHN L. STEVENS.

The purpose of the presence of the blue-jackets, in the minds of the committee that asked for it, is summed up in the admission of Judge Dole that when the troops were first furnished they could not have gotten along without their aid, and of Mr. Henry Waterhouse of the Committee:

"We knew the feeling of those who were in power then—that they were cowards—that by going up with a bold front and they supposing that the American troops would assist us, that would help us out."

The forces of the United States, thus brought ashore against the protest of a friendly Power, at the request of men engaged in a plot to overturn that Power, were stationed, remote from the residences of Americans, less than a hundred yards from the Government Building, designated by Minister Stevens as the place in which the Provisional Government should be established to secure his recognition, and in plain sight of the Queen's palace windows. Admiral Skerrett sums up the disposition of the forces thus:

"The American troops were well located if designed to promote the movement for the Provisional Government, and very improperly located if only intended to protect American citizens in person and property."

The Queen was dethroned and the oligarchy established by proclamation, read by a citizen of the United States, shortly before three o'clock, and recognized, in the name of the United States, by Minister Stevens before it was in possession of any

point held in force by the Queen's government. With more prudence Captain Wiltse, in command of the "Boston," declined to recognize it until it came into possession of the military posts of the Queen, as it did by her voluntary surrender of them early in the evening. Her surrender was in terms "to the superior force of the United States," and "until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative," and on this understanding it was accepted by the junta.

On February 25, 1843, King Kamehameha III. ceded the Hawaiian Islands to Lord George Paulet under duress of the guns of Her Majesty's ship "Carysfort," subject to review by the government of Queen Victoria, and the British flag was raised over Honolulu. On July 31 of the same year Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, representing the Queen, declined to accept the cession, and recognized the King as the lawful sovereign of the Islands, stating that this act of restoration should be accepted by the King

"as a most powerful and convincing proof not only of the responsibility he is under to render immediate reparation for real wrongs committed upon British subjects or their property, but also of the importance which attaches to the maintenance of those friendly and reciprocally advantageous relations which have for so many years subsisted between the two nations."

The people of Hawaii have dedicated one of the public squares of Honolulu to the memory of this just and generous restoration of their national life.

The questions raised by Commissioner Blount's report—and the statement of facts given in these pages rests on the testimony of annexationists—take precedence of any question of territorial expansion. Through the action of their representative the United States were placed on January 16 and 17 in the position of armed invaders of a friendly state, giving countenance and moral support to a plot to overturn a Government, which could not otherwise have succeeded and would not otherwise have been attempted. The character of that Government does not enter into the question of the observance of our treaty obligations to it or into that consideration which is due to the weak from the strong in the mind of every American.

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

II.—A PLEA FOR ANNEXATION.

BY THE HON. JOHN L. STEVENS, RECENTLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO HAWAII.

A GRAVE question is now before the American people, the wrong solution of which will deeply affect the moral standing of the United States before the world. Will the American nation stand by its century's record in favor of republican government and of free Christian civilization, or will it repudiate its past by using its power to murder its own offspring and to stamp out the reforming work of pure and noble men and women who have made the Hawaiian Islands what they are, thus following the once infamous example of the Austrian Hapsburgs in stifling the noble aspirations of Italy and Hungary. The facts and reasons given in the following article bear on the inquiry: Shall this Nation continue its policy towards Hawaii on the lines indicated by Marcy, Seward, Grant and Blaine, or shall it follow a different and uncertain path, endangering, if not disgracefully sacrificing, American prestige and American interests in the North Pacific?

When Cook first saw Hawaii, in 1778, he estimated the population at four hundred thousand. This undoubtedly was an exaggeration. The real numbers probably did not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand, and on the arrival of the American missionaries, in 1820, there were not more than one hundred and fifty thousand. This rapid reduction of the native population prior to the advent of the missionaries conclusively answers the charge that Christian instruction and Christian life were influential in decimating the native Hawaiians. There are reasons for the belief that this decrease of the race had already been operative before Cook's discovery, and that this earlier tendency to extinction has been augmented by the vices of men claiming to be civilized, while more hostile to Christian efforts than the original barbarians. The reduction has gone on consecutively from the two hundred and fifty thousand in the time of Cook to the thirty-four thousand at the present date.

Nothing more conclusively than these figures proves that the future of the Islands must be controlled by other than the native race. These beautiful and sunny isles, with their rich resources and splendid future possibilities, must and will be improved and

governed by an intelligent and powerful race. While the surviving natives should be most kindly dealt with, allowed every possible opportunity to improve their condition and help themselves, it would be throwing to the winds all past experience and historical instruction to think longer of governing the Islands by the native race which comprises about one-third of the population. The native monarchy was continued twenty years after the seeds of death were in its members. The Kamehameha race of kings, who reigned ninety years, became extinct in 1874. During the most of that period the natives constituted a very large majority of the population, and most of the kings of that dynasty had more or less ability and tried to rule for the welfare of their people. The monarchy then rested on a logical foundation. There were numerous chiefs subordinate to the king, and the mass of the population when the missionaries arrived among them were in abject servile subjection to the king and chiefs, who held the land, fishing rights, and timber, the chief property of the Islands. Thus there was a kind of feudal system on which the monarchy rested, somewhat analogous to the foundation on which European monarchies were long maintained.

The missionaries who began their labors there in 1820 were no ordinary men. They were clergymen, teachers and physicians. The native monarch had enough natural sense to perceive the value of their intelligent assistance. These missionaries were obliged to deal with men and things as they found them. They obtained a healthy influence over the king and chiefs. By unwearied efforts, in the progress of time and events, a tolerable native monarchy was established and a full code of laws—mostly of American type—was enacted and put in force, and the American school system inaugurated. No other kind of government was then practicable. This state of things went on until 1874, when the Kamehameha race of kings became extinct by death. In the meanwhile the chiefs and their families had nearly all passed to their graves. Thus the logical foundation of the monarchy—the Hawaiian feudal system—no longer existed. Who should fill the vacant throne? This the Legislature decided by the election of David Kalakaua, the American influence being exerted in his support in preference to another candidate with British sympathies and affiliations. A large number of native Hawaiians, stirred up by irresponsible white men, re-

sisted this election, drove the Legislature from its hall of assemblage, and created a formidable riot. Soldiers and sailors were landed from the United States vessels then in the harbor of Honolulu, and the riot was suppressed,—thus, in effect, this elected king was secured on the throne by American influence.

It did not take long to prove Kalakaua's utter unfitness as a ruler. Weak, good-natured and dissolute, he soon drew around him men and women of like character, and the influence of himself and favorites was very deleterious to private and public morals throughout the Islands, especially among the natives. Reckless in expenditures, greedy of gain to gratify his vicious tastes and to feed his unworthy favorites, he was a fitting tool of those who knew how to make use of the semi-barbarous king to their pecuniary advantage, and who openly boasted of their dictatorial powers at the Hawaiian palace. Instead of drawing around him the best men, as his Kamehameha predecessors had often done, he fell into the hands of irresponsible adventurers. This continued to such an increased degree as to bring its culmination in 1887, when all the respectable and responsible men of the Islands were obliged to take decisive action. Kalakaua had then been for several years chiefly under the control of one Gibson, an American by birth, who went to Hawaii as a Mormon missionary, gained political power by stirring up the native Hawaiians against the white citizens, raising the cry of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians." He became the king's chief minister, and soon completely dominated him and the rest of the cabinet.

The incidental event which finally precipitated the revolution of 1887 was the king's taking a bribe of seventy thousand dollars in gold for a license to sell opium in the Islands. This gold was carried in bags to the palace, and expended by the king for his personal uses. The king then sold the license to another party for a larger sum and did not return the seventy thousand dollars to the first purchaser. Though the Islands were then exceedingly prosperous, the taxes and expenses were so largely increased by worse than useless expenditures and official corruption, that the taxpayers had no alternative but to take decisive measures. They organized and armed, and with united voice demanded the dismissal of Gibson, the establishment

of a new constitution taking from the king much of the power which he had so abused, and the creation of a Ministry responsible to a majority of the legislature. Finding himself powerless to withstand this just demand of the principal citizens of the Island, the king yielded, removed Gibson from his office, and consented to the appointment of a Reform Ministry, three of them being from the best men of the Islands, two of them born in Hawaii of sturdy American stock and thoroughly American in ideas and sympathies.

At the time of this uprising in 1887 many wished to abolish the monarchy at once. But the more conservative said: "Let the monarchy be tried once more under new restrictions." Many of the American residents, especially those of the old missionary stock, were tender and forbearing towards the native rulers and disliked to assent to extreme measures, so long as there was a possibility of getting on with a native monarchy. The more resolute and radical reformers yielded to the views of the conservatives. Every careful observer of the circumstances then saw clearly that should the monarchy again fall into the hands of adventurers and repeat its imbecility and corruption, it could not survive. While Kalakaua was facile and good natured, he had never assented to the new constitution in good faith. He sought opportunities to change it and to regain his lost power. When he died in January, 1890, his sister Liliuokalani by his appointment became the sovereign. Liliuokalani had strongly disapproved of her brother's assent to the reform constitution of 1887. She was known to have been in the Wilcox plot, the armed revolt of 1889, for the overthrow of the constitutional government. Incapable of ruling, self willed to extreme obstinacy, she soon fell into the hands of the unworthy, openly defying public and private morals.

Scorning the opinions and advice of all the best men of the Islands, both of her own race and the whites, she finally united her political fortunes with the opium ring and those who were leagued to carry through the Legislature a sweeping lottery charter of the Louisiana type, which, if its originators could have been successful in their plans, would have given the palace adventurers, the opium ring, and the lottery gang, complete control of the Hawaiian government, and made Honolulu not only a secure opium depot, but a strong fortress from which the

lottery men could play on the American, Canadian, and Australian people. Deep in the conspiracy to remove the Wilcox-Jones Ministry, whom all the best men of the Islands wished to continue, she signed the lottery and opium bills, appointed to her Cabinet the men who had been the chief parties in bribing the lottery bill through the Legislature, and followed this with an attempted *coup d'etat*, calling a worthless mob of retainers to her assistance, trying to proclaim a constitution giving herself arbitrary power, overturning an incorruptible Supreme Court, and giving to herself the appointment of new judges. This was Saturday, January 14, 1893. From that hour the Hawaiian monarchy was dead, and no restoration is possible, except by the exercise of some outside and foreign force. At the date of her downfall Liliuokalani was without the sympathy and aid of the best of the native Hawaiians and of nearly all the respectable and responsible white residents of the Islands.

Amid the exciting events in Honolulu following the revolutionary attempts of Liliuokalani to proclaim a despotic constitution, by which she flung away her crown, a small force of marines and sailors was landed from the United States ship "Boston," as a precautionary step for the protection of American life and property, and as a safeguard against night incendiarism stimulated by the hope of plunder, greatly feared by many of the best citizens. This was doing precisely what had been repeatedly done in previous exciting days in Honolulu, during a period running back many years. The men of the "Boston" came on shore nearly fifty hours after the fall of the queen, in whose defence no effective aid was offered by those who had surrounded her in her carnival of immorality and official corruption. The naval commander and the United States Minister earnestly sought to faithfully carry out the prior rules of the Legation, especially those contained in the last instructions issued to the United States Minister and naval commander, by Secretary Bayard, July 12, 1887. Neither by force, threats, nor intimidation, did the United States officials oppose the fallen queen or aid the Provisional Government, the latter being supported by the same men, with now increased numbers, who found it imperatively necessary to take despotic power from King Kalakaua in 1887, by the adoption of the reformed constitution, and who crushed out the Wilcox rebellion in 1889. All asse-

tions to the contrary as to the action of the United States officials and marines are absolutely untrue and certain to be swept aside by time and history, however plausibly stated and however strongly these assertions may be supported by the perjured testimony of persons deeply compromised by the vices and unlawful actions of which they had been guilty before Liliuokalani lost her throne.

The Hawaiian monarchy being thus extinct, and the Hawaiian Islands being not sufficient to constitute an independent nation, all who really understand their situation know that good government is now the first and imperative need. Such being the fact, they apply for admission to the American Union as a Territory. Their best and now controlling citizens do not wish to be admitted as a State. By property interests, commercial association, by school and political education, by the general prevalence of American laws, legal decisions, social and religious ideas, these Islands have become thorougly Americanized. Go into the Chamber of Commerce, into the principal churches, into the courts, into the schools of Honolulu, Hilo, and other chief towns in the Islands, and you would think yourself in New England or western New York. American ideas and interests are all dominant. For sixty years the Islands have had the American school system. American superintendents and teachers have had the chief management of these schools in all these years, and English is now the chief language taught in them. At the head of the Protestant College at Honolulu is an American president, and the principal professors are Americans. In the Catholic college the professors are chiefly from the United States and are strongly American in sentiment. The Kamehameha Industrial School, to establish which an American and his native wife, a woman of intelligence and excellent character, now deceased, have given nearly seven hundred thousand dollars, which has been in successful operation for years, where the native boys obtain an intellectual training and learn the various mechanical trades, has an entire corps of American teachers. The city High-School, admirably managed, has a superior American teacher at its head. The two principal daily newspapers are edited, owned, and published by Americans. The principal lawyers at the bar and on the bench are Americans, born on the Islands of American parentage or in the United States, and educated in American colleges. More

than eighty per cent. of the trade, amounting to more than twenty million dollars per year, is with the United States. American newspapers, magazines, and books are in as familiar use in the Islands as in the United States. A striking proof of the deeply rooted American feeling and opinions is evinced by the celebration of the Fourth of July, which is done with an enthusiasm similar to what was shown among us on our great national day fifty years ago.

In presenting themselves for admission into the American Union the Islands come under more American aspects than any of our previously annexed States or Territories. A recent writer in an American magazine, a man of European birth and education, and of more or less sympathy with his fatherland, objects to the annexation of the Islands for the reason that there were, in 1890, but 1,928 Americans living upon them. He is evidently unacquainted with the real facts, else he carelessly allows his language to state a truth in a way to utter an untruth. It is true that, according to the census of 1890, there were then but about two thousand persons residing in Hawaii who were born in the United States. But in addition to these a large proportion of the 7,500 born on the Islands, of foreign parentage, and put down as Hawaiians, are of American parentage, and they form an important part of the American colony. They were educated in American ideas and sentiments, their leading men being graduates of American colleges. Some of these served in the Union army, suffered in Southern prisons, bear on their persons honorable scars, or sleep in graves redolent of American patriotism. I have seen some of these men on Decoration Day march through the streets of Honolulu, from their Grand Army Post, to the beautiful cemetery where a goodly number of their comrades are buried, amid tokens of public respect not surpassed in any of our American cities. One of the dead heroes, born in Honolulu, of an American father and mother, who did long and noble service to rescue the Islands from barbarism and to save them from hostile European domination, was General Armstrong, who for many years served this country so devotedly in the great educational work for colored men at Hampton, and who not long before his lamented death made a powerful plea to Americans to stand by Hawaii in her American aspirations. Who assumes to say that these men have not the

right to ask to come under the American flag? What they now ask to do is what forty years ago Secretary Marcy, of the then existing Democratic administration, asked them to do; they are now ready to accept.

But what of the twelve thousand of the European-born residents of Hawaii—Germans, Scandinavians, English, Portuguese. Most of them are Americanized and wish for annexation. Their chief business relations are with the United States, their children are educated in the American-Hawaiian schools, and are as thoroughly American as our own adopted citizens. The Portuguese, numbering about 9,000, are unanimous in their strong sympathies with us. Their children are educated in American schools, and receive American ideas with remarkable alacrity. The reasons are obvious why they are a unit for annexation. All the best of the native Hawaiians are in the same way of thinking. But it may be said that the Chinese and Japanese population are objectionable. I need not say that a large majority of these are not permanent residents of the Islands, being temporarily employed on the plantations, intending to return home, according to the stipulations of their contract, when their term of service shall have been completed.

A paramount reason why annexation should not be long postponed is that, if it soon takes place, the crown and government lands will be cut up and sold to American and Christian Caucasian people, thus preventing the Islands from being submerged and overrun by Asiatics, putting an end to Japanese ambitions stimulated by our strong European rival.

It is strictly correct and just to call those who now support the Provisional Government in Hawaii an American colony. England, Germany, France, Holland, and Spain—the chief European nations which long have had colonial possessions—have not on the earth colonies more decisively their own than that which the United States possesses in Hawaii. By the foresight and generous contributions of the American Board of Missions, by the intelligence and devoted labors of those it sent to the Islands, and the encouraging policy of the American Government for sixty years, these Islands have been won from heathen barbarism and their population imbued with American ideas. In the faith that some day they would come under the flag of the land of their fathers, the sons and grandsons of American missionaries,

teachers, physicians, and merchants, now supporting the cause of annexation, have been reared. A more patriotic body of Americans does not exist. Shall we break faith with them now? Shall we place them at the mercy of stupendous corruption available to our national rivals? To do so would be to press the brand of shame on the noble and expansive brow of the American Republic. It would be a piece of infamy of which no great nation has ever been guilty, to look coldly on and see an American colony standing with a spotless record on those beautiful Islands, the advanced post of American civilization, struck down by a league of foreign adventurers, gamblers and national enemies. It would justly bring on us the moral opprobrium of the world.

There is not space allowed me in this article to speak of the vast importance of Hawaii to the future commercial power of the United States in the Pacific. Consider what it implies that this nation possesses four thousand miles of shore line on that mighty ocean, not including the seventeen hundred miles on that marvellous body of water, Puget Sound. Consider that two-fifths of this great country outlets on the Pacific, now reached by five trans-continental lines of railroad. Consider that there are those now already born in the United States who will live to see our population number two hundred and fifty millions of souls, with manufactures amounting to thousands of millions of dollars per annum, which must have an outlet wherever American enterprise and the American flag shall hold a commanding position. Consider that, in the opinion of all naval and commercial experts, Hawaii with its Pearl Harbor is the key to the North Pacific, which is the waterway over which five hundred millions of people, at no distant day, will make their traffic. Consider that all the great statesmen of America, from the days of John Quincy Adams to this date, have desired and looked forward to Americanizing and acquiring this splendid ocean possession, now offered to us without the cost of a single dollar or a single life.

But it is said that Hawaii is not contiguous territory. It is as much so as our Alaska land, whose immense value the genius of Seward and Sumner foresaw. It should not be forgotten that contiguity of water is sometimes more important than contiguity of land. It would be well if some of our public men would carefully study the remarkable work of Captain Mahan on "Sea

Power." Why did Peter the Great of Russia, the ablest monarch of his century, wrestle with such tremendous energy for dominancy of the Baltic? Why did Gustavus Adolphus, perhaps the ablest ruler of the seventeenth century, contend with such skill and bravery to secure the power of Sweden on the same northern sea? These remarkable men saw clearly the supreme value of contiguity of water to their respective countries. Why do France and Italy attach supreme importance to their influence on the Mediterranean, to secure which they have expended vast sums of money, and shed freely of their people's blood? Because they have believed, for the best of reasons, that the contiguity of that sea to their cities and harbors is invaluable to them.

To say that we do not need the Hawaiian Islands as a security to our immense future interests is but the babble of children or of incompetent men. It is blindly and recklessly to ignore the logic of irresistible circumstances, and to scoff at the plainest teachings of history. No! America cannot get rid of her future responsibilities if she would, and all attempts to do so will be at the cost of her future generations. In the light of these inexorable truths, in the name of what is most sacred in Christian civilization, in behalf of a noble American colony, holding the advanced post of America's progress, I cherish the faith that the American people, the American statesmen, and the American government, thoughtful of America's great future, will settle the Hawaiian question wisely and well—will see to it that the flag of the United States floats unmolested over the Hawaiian Islands.

JOHN L. STEVENS.

III.—OUR PRESENT DUTY.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

In the complications which have arisen recently in the Hawaiian Islands a few residents, prompted by their personal interests, nearly all of whom are of foreign birth and many of whom are aliens, have sought to embroil our government in the internal affairs of a peaceful, but feeble nation. The pretext for this intervention is based upon the alleged fact that the government of the queen of the Hawaiian Islands was a "semi-barbaric mon-

archy resting on no solid or moral foundation, dead in everything but its vices, coarsely luxurious in its tastes and wishes, constantly sending out impure exhalations, and spreading social and political demoralization throughout the islands." This is the indictment against the monarchy made by the late minister, Mr. Stevens, who, after leaving the islands, further assails the government to which he was so recently accredited as a diplomatic representative, by charging that the queen has sustained scandalous and immoral relations with one of her ministers. This being the alleged condition of the government of Hawaii, an appeal is made to the moral sentiment of the American people to justify the overthrow of that government and establish in its stead what its friends and supporters have denominated "a Christian government," by which we may assume, is meant a government whose administrators profess the Christian religion.

The provisional government which was established had no other foundation for its existence than what is called "the great mass meeting of January 16," at which the whole attendance did not exceed sixteen hundred persons. At this meeting a committee of public safety was appointed, which committee "proclaimed" a provisional government. This provisional government was not even submitted to the town meeting for its approval. It could not have maintained an existence for an hour had it not been for the fact that the marine forces on board the United States steamship "Boston", then lying in the harbor, were, at the request of the committee of public safety and the American minister, landed, and were stationed at such points as the American minister, acting in conjunction with the provisional government, directed. These armed forces of the United States remained on shore in Honolulu for seventy-five days, and thus this remarkable revolution in the Hawaiian Islands was accomplished. The government of Hawaii, whatever may have been its faults, was not founded upon bayonets, the whole number of the armed forces of the queen being less than one hundred, a mere police or constabulary force for maintaining law and order in and about the public buildings in the city of Honolulu. The local government was overpowered by the mere presence of the United States troops. The queen states, in her appeal to the President of the United States, that she surrendered to the superior forces of this government in order to avoid unnecessary conflict, and trusting

to the justice of our government, when all the facts shall be known, to reinstate her in her rightful position.

Whether the government of Hawaii was a just one, a moral one, or an efficient one, is a matter which does not concern the American people. We have no more right to overthrow a monarchy in Hawaii because it does not conform to our ideas of a just government, than we have to overthrow a monarchy in Canada or Great Britain, or Russia or Turkey, or Spain or elsewhere.

But it is alleged that the presence of the United States forces on shore was necessary to the protection of American life and property. This claim can only be supported upon the assumption that American citizens were actually in danger in their persons and in their property while peacefully pursuing their business there. If American citizens were interfering with the local government and using their influence to overthrow it, they had no right to claim the protection of American forces in this unlawful and revolutionary procedure. If they were peaceable and obeying the local law they were in no danger whatever. There is not an allegation that one of the subjects of Great Britain or of France or Germany or of China or Japan or of any other government required the interposition of the armed forces of their governments for their protection, or that the property of these subjects of such governments was in any way endangered by anything that was being done at the time. It is passing strange if ours were the only foreign citizens who were endangered in their lives or their property. If the citizens of the United States who were in Honolulu at the time had been minding their own business and had kept their hands out of the affairs of the local government, they would no more have been in danger of their lives and property than were the citizens and subjects of other governments. Besides this, what injury could a weak and defenceless government, such as that of Hawaii, have inflicted upon the citizens of the United States, when all the armed forces of the monarchy did not exceed a hundred persons all told? Therefore the claim that the lives or property of American citizens were in danger is a mere pretext, having no foundation whatever in fact.

The people of the United States are not responsible for the kind of government that may be in existence in the Hawaiian Islands. Nor is it any of their concern as to whether that government deals justly with its citizens and subjects or not.

Whether the government of Hawaii is a good government or a just government is a matter for the people of that island to determine for themselves. There is no divine right of republicanism in this world, any more than there is a divine right of kings. The divinity in all these matters is in the right of the people to govern themselves.

In this connection it is worthy of remark that the American minister, Mr. Blount, in his report to this government, summarized by Secretary Gresham, states that while at Honolulu he did not meet a single annexationist who expressed a willingness to submit the question of annexation to a vote of the people, nor did he talk with one on that subject who did not insist that if the Islands were annexed to the United States, suffrage should be so restricted as to give complete control to foreigners or white persons. I have, myself, on several occasions, conversed with those representing the provisional government in Washington upon this very point, and I inquired especially of them why means were not taken to submit the question to the people of Hawaii as to whether they desired to maintain the provisional government or to be annexed to the United States. In every instance I was informed that the people of the islands were not capable of self-government, and if the question were submitted to them that they would be hostile to this movement. The fact is that the people of Hawaii have never been consulted upon this subject. The so-called provisional government did not emanate from them, and does not have their sanction. It is a usurpation, which could not have had any *de facto* existence, to say nothing of a rightful existence, except for the presence of the overpowering armed forces of the United States. What right has a provisional government, thus established, to make a treaty with the government of the United States for the annexation of those islands to our government ? Who has clothed this provisional government with authority to speak for the people they pretend to represent ?

Our own right to self-government is no more sacred than the right of the handful of ignorant Hawaiians in the Sandwich Islands to govern themselves. If they prefer a monarchy, feeble and inefficient though it may be, it is their business, and not ours. But it is claimed that the provisional government is one composed of Christians, and that they are representatives of advanced Christian civilization. The United States, being a Christian

nation, should sympathize with and render moral and material aid in sustaining that government; and it is alleged that we have no right to consent to its overthrow. It may be conceded, for the sake of argument, that the provisional government is composed of Christians, and that it more nearly corresponds to our ideas of a just government than does the government of the monarchy, but, as suggested before, this is foreign to the controversy. We have no more right to interfere on this ground with the government of Hawaii than we have to interfere with the government of China or Japan or Turkey, none of which are Christian or administered by Christian statesmen, and none of which, we have a right to assume, are any more just to the subjects of such government than is the monarchy of Hawaii to its subjects.

Such a claim would make the United States the moral and religious arbiter of the world; would constitute us self-appointed crusaders, going about the earth pulling down and destroying alleged heathen and semi-barbaric monarchies, and establishing Christian governments and civilization in their stead. This is not the mission of our government. If we have any concern as to the imperfection of these so-called barbaric governments, we may send our missionaries to them to convert them to our religion or send our statesmen among them to convince them of the superior advantages of our form of government. But to send our naval forces to the ports of other governments, to land them upon their soil, and allow them to be used for the purpose of overthrowing, in connection with foreign-born subjects or aliens, the established government, would make our Christianity a fraud and our boasted republicanism a mockery. Who would suppose for a moment that our government would have permitted such an intervention in the affairs of an island or dependence of Great Britain, or in any province owing allegiance to Great Britain, or to any other powerful government? We would not dare to assume such a rôle. It would be regarded as a declaration of war, and we would be compelled to withdraw our forces and apologize for our intervention.

The question is frequently asked in partisan papers, "How can the monarchy be restored?" or, "By what right does the government of the United States assume to reëstablish a monarchy which has been overthrown?" The government of the

United States has no more right to establish a monarchy in Hawaii than it has to establish one in Mexico or in Central America. But it is the duty of the United States Government, when its agents and representatives have committed a wrong against the government of a friendly power, to redress that wrong, and in this case it can only be accomplished by placing the government in *statu quo*, or in the condition in which it was found at the time the armed forces of the United States were landed upon Hawaiian soil, and interposed in the local affairs of the monarchy. We cannot redress the wrong we have committed by merely withdrawing our forces, after they have been used for seventy-five days to suppress the existing government and establish a provisional government in its stead. We must restore to the queen her own armed forces and we must disarm the forces of the provisional government which were armed and equipped by the aid and under the protection of our navies. Anything short of this is a mockery of justice, a disgrace to our diplomacy, is unworthy of a Christian nation, and a travesty upon our devotion to the principles of local self-government.

If the restoration of the *status quo*, which existed prior to the landing of our forces on Hawaiian soil, should result in the restoration of the monarchy, such restoration would only demonstrate the fact that the overthrow of the monarchy was due to our intervention. If it does not result in a restoration of the monarchy, then we have washed our hands of responsibility in the matter, and have vindicated the integrity of our diplomacy and the high character of our government as one which loves justice and maintains international comity. Therefore it is not the restoration of the monarchy which is in issue, but it is the restoration of the condition which existed prior to the armed intervention of the United States. Justice requires that our government should go back thus far, and when we have thus done justice we are not responsible for the injustice that others may do. We must maintain our integrity as a nation. We must vindicate our regard for the rights of a weak and defenceless government.

One other matter is worthy of consideration, and upon that there is room for honest differences of opinion. Is it desirable that the Hawaiian Islands should be annexed to the United States? What would result from annexation? The so-called treaty which

was submitted by the provisional government to the late administration of President Harrison and the Senate for its consideration, provided that our government should assume the debts of the monarchy and should grant a pension to the deposed Queen and to some members of her family. In the event of annexation the inhabitants of the islands would become citizens of the United States, unless they chose to expatriate themselves, or to continue as the subjects of a foreign government. The native Hawaiians would become citizens of the United States. They would have no place else to go for a home or for a domicile. They are ignorant of our laws, and of our institutions, and are incapable of self-government under a system such as that which we have in the United States. The laws which would be passed especially for government of the islands would be passed by the Congress of the United States and all general laws and the constitution of the United States would be over them as over other points of the United States. Laws which would be passed at Washington to govern a people who had no representation whatever in the law-making power, would have as little regard for the wishes of the people as would the laws imposed upon them by the monarchical form of government. In neither case would the people have anything to do with the making of the laws which should govern. There would be serious objections to permitting the admission of the islands into the Union as a State with two Senators and a Representative in Congress. Their civilization, their habits, their ideas of government will not assimilate with our institutions and we do not need the aid of the representatives of such a government in the councils of the nation to assist us in the solution of the governmental problems with which our people have to contend. Annexation therefore is of very doubtful expediency.

What is desirable so far as these islands are concerned, and what is the interest of the United States in reference to them? It seems to me that our true interests lie in the direction of a neutral and independent government of the Hawaiian Islands —a government for which we would not be responsible and which would not entitle its citizens to the protection of the government of the United States. Let them govern themselves in their own way, and as our government should maintain a neutrality as to the local government of Hawaii we should insist that all other governments should maintain like neutrality and like

non-intervention. The example which President Cleveland's administration has set in reference to these islands will enable us to successfully insist that other nations shall maintain a like policy. We should regard the seizure of the government of Hawaii by any other power as *casus belli* and resist it accordingly. The neutrality and independence of Hawaii as to all other governments is the policy which should be maintained and insisted upon by our government. We need those islands as a coaling station for our merchant marine and our vessels of war. We need them as harbors of refuge for our commerce upon the seas. We need them as places for meeting and exchanging on the high seas our products with the products of other countries. So long as these privileges are granted to us we have no right to object to like privileges being granted to other governments. Hence it is of the highest importance to the commerce of the world and to the peace of nations that the Sandwich Islands should be guaranteed by all governments a separate and independent existence, whose advantages should be shared alike by all the nations of the world, and which should, under no circumstances, be appropriated to the exclusive use of any one of them. As believers in the superiority and efficacy of republican institutions, as compared with monarchical, we may indulge the hope that the example of our own government and the advantages of our civilization may soon induce the people of Hawaii, acting upon their own judgment and desiring to promote their own interests, to suppress their monarchy and establish in its place a republican form of government. This will require time and the education of the masses. In the near future the education necessary to fit that people for self-government will be attained. It is education and not armed intervention that will bring about the reformation which every American citizen should desire.

WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

NEW YORK TENEMENTS.

NEW YORK is breeding a mob in her tenements; a mob that, so far docile, will some time rise, unless its wrongs are righted, and right them for itself. Three-fourths of New York's population live in tenements, and one-half in tenements of such unhappy character that their baleful influence cannot help but be marked upon their crowds—domiciles so overcrowded that on their doorways might be tacked this paraphrase, "All ye who enter here, leave decency behind"; where only the rent and the death rate are high, and the standards of virtue, cleanliness and comfort are so low as to scarcely merit consideration; where self respect—the salvation of the human creature—may be said to reach the vanishing point.

There are in New York 34,967 front tenements and 2,391 rear tenements, with population given by the Board of Health as 276,565 families, composed of 1,225,411 individuals. The total population of the city is 1,513,501. Six small downtown wards may with confidence be spoken of as forming the most crowded spot on earth. No obtainable statistics of English or continental cities show a population approaching that of this district of New York. Nowhere else on the face of the globe are human beings packed together in such compact layers; nowhere are there so many of the layers.

The district is in shape an irregular square, bounded on the north by Fourteenth street, on the east and south by the East River and on the west by the Bowery and Fourth Avenue, with an addition of a few swarming acres extending thence between Houston and Canal streets to Broadway. It embraces scarcely one twenty-fifth of the whole city's area, but it furnishes "homes" for nearly one quarter of the city's population, and, incidentally, provides 10,000 yearly of the city's 40,000 deaths. An official also credits it with supplying the raw material for eighty per cent. of Gotham's criminals.

The population per square mile of these six wards was given in 1890 as:

Seventh	197,200	Thirteenth	295,104
Tenth	357,888	Fourtdenth	198,272
Eleventh	262,720	Seventeenth	252,834

This is an average for the whole district of 252,834 to the square mile.

Even the lowest of these figures shows a higher population than occurs anywhere else; and the population of the Tenth Ward to any given area is more than twice that credited to the most thickly populated district of Old London, where 175,816 people to the square mile dwell, and have been comparatively comfortable. Several continental cities contain more tightly crowded districts than London ever did, but none approaches the terrifying congestion of our "teeming Tenth."

Divide the area of that ward among its inhabitants, and each one has 8.6 square feet, or less than a square yard of ground space. The smallest toddler in the ward could not swing his arms in such a compass without assault upon his neighbor. Divide all six wards in a similar fashion, apportioning the total of inhabitants among them equally, and each person would have one and one-half square yards to turn around in if he could. So, then, if all these people were arrayed in marching order on a parade ground equal in area to the space they live in, their ranks would lack but little of being as tightly closed as those of an army in condition for battle.

There are among these tenements, besides a class that would be intelligent and respectable if they could, the offscourings of almost every nation under the sun. Whether our immigration laws be wise or foolish, this is their result, and it adds a new complication to the puzzle of the tenements. Nineteen languages and dialects are among the accomplishments of a furniture firm's collector who does business wholly in these wards, and sometimes he is forced to call for an interpreter! So New York's tenements are not only the worst crowded; their crowds are the most intricate and difficult to deal with. A worker among them must have a new method for almost every block.

As far back as 1864, when the highest population of the tenements had reached the ratio of 290,000 to the square mile, the gravity of the problem received spasmodic recognition. A citizens' committee, frightened by the prospects of a plague, had investigated those districts which they called "the slums," and the poor called "home." They found the sanitary conditions vile, and recommendations for health laws (practically the first we had) were made to the legislature. These were acted upon, but so tardily that the evil bore its fruit of cholera and smallpox first. This delayed operations until 1869. Then the newly organized Board of Health ordered the cutting of 46,000 windows in wholly dark and unventilated rooms within a twelvemonth, and when 1874 came, the Board had closed 550 cellars south of Houston Street, many of which were below tidewater, and had hitherto been jointly tenanted by hogs and human beings.

The "Tenement House Act" of 1867 satisfied the city until 1879–80, when a new step towards improvement was made throngh the tireless efforts of a few, led by Felix Adler. It was found impossible to arouse much interest in the matter, however, and only a few additions to the tenement house laws were the result. In the meantime, private philanthropy had done something by the erection of a few "model tenements," and individuals have worked patiently and earnestly, but without concerted effort, since then. And that is all; and that is almost nothing. Sanitary laws have reduced the death rate of the tenements, thus protecting the more prosperous portion of the community from tenement-born plague, but it is an open question if a low death rate, other things being as they are, is a blessing to the tenements themselves.

Thus New York, confronted in its tenements with the gravest danger of the sort that ever perilled a community, has taken no steps to eradicate it. What has been done has been defensive, never aggressive. In this neglect this city stands alone, and thus mocks its own pretensions to the van of progress. Every great centre of population in "effete and backward Europe" has done more. London cleared at one time forty-two acres at a net cost of £1,211,336; at another time 111,000 square feet, with an expenditure of £270,000. In Liverpool, 20,720 square yards in one of the worst

districts were purchased for £67,000. Edinburgh dispossessed 1,500 families from grossly imperfect dwellings at a cost of $3,505,000. Glasgow cleared and largely rebuilt eighty-eight acres. Birmingham bought and brought about the improvement of her forty-three worst acres. And so the European record goes. Paris, Berlin, even Hamburg, Cologne, and Buda Pesth have done much. New York, with all its boasting, has done nothing.

I have for three months been carrying on an investigation of the tenements, principally in the six wards specified. This examination has included a cellar-to-garret search of 319 or more buildings selected at random as typical, and a study of the people in them—their moral, mental and financial condition. The result has been an appalling revelation of extortion, overcrowding, immorality and filth. Our notoriously corrupt political system, the ever occurring and ever inadequately answered plea for education, the question of religious advancement, the liquor puzzle, even crime—in all its branches, not omitting the social evil—sink into insignificance before the problem of the housing of the poor, for that includes them all.

The first phase of the investigation concerned rents. Of all real estate in New York, tenement property pays the highest profits. Business buildings and high class residences and apartment houses here yield yearly from 4½ to 6 per cent. The latter is considered high. The ordinary tenement pays 10 per cent., and I have found houses which return a profit of 20, 23 and 25 per cent. on a reasonable estimate of their actual worth (not their market price,) based on their assessed valuations. I am assured by real estate agents that profits of 100 per cent. are not unknown. Only buildings used for illegal purposes pay a higher profit than tenements, and there is a row of houses of the former class in one street which actually yields proportionately lower rentals than do tenement houses not further than two blocks away. One of the finest apartment houses in the country, in which elevators, electric lights, service and other conveniences are furnished to its tenants, costs them yearly 37⅝ cents per square foot. A dirty, ill ventilated and rickety tenement on Essex Street, where even running water is not plenty and where the commonest necessities are all but neglected, costs its tenants 40 cents per square foot per year.

Private greed has wrought most of the evils of the tenements which must be undone by public philanthropy. The Board of Health through its sanitary laws can improve the sanitary condition of the tenements, but with high rents and resultant overcrowding it can, of course, do nothing. The discomfort of the individual tenant is, in a broad sense, not a matter of public concern. But that the same conditions which make the individual uncomfortable and unhappy affect in some measure 1,225,411 of the city's 1,513,501 inhabitants is of the greatest moment. There are 37,358 tenement houses in New York and they shelter fully 80 per cent. of the city's population. Half of that 80 per cent. is exposed to the full effect of the evil's worst phases.

Instances of the crowding of from seven to twelve persons into two small rooms are not unusual discoveries. Of course, in such circumstances, morality and cleanliness are impossible. Crowding like this is almost always a necessity, not a wilful act, from a tenant's point of view. It cannot but tend to wipe out, not only the conventionalities of civilization, but the very instincts of common decency. Homes cannot exist, and without the home the marriage relation is sure to languish, and drunkenness, vagrancy and kindred evils to increase. Husbands neglect their wives,

wives ignore their children, children regard their parents with hatred and distrust instead of filial love. The effect of such crowding on the bodies of its participants is quite as apparent. All sorts of preventable diseases flourish, cripples are common, and idiots—the result, generally, of unnatural family relations—are found frequently.

At this time, while temporary depression in the trades by which most tenement dwellers gain a livelihood has thrown thousands out of work, it would be unfair to write of existing destitution as typical, so I shall say nothing of it. The invariable rule may be laid down that when the tenement dweller can get work he works constantly and earns too little; when he cannot, he suffers, that is all. Hundreds have told me that even in the best of times they have no recreation other than liquor, and there are thousands, notably the Jews, who do not even get drunk.

All this is but the barest and most meagre outline of the situation which must be faced. Two methods of improvement are recommended—one the razing of old buildings and construction of new ones on better plans in the same districts in which the evil now is worst; the other the providing of cheap rapid transit to the suburbs and cheap homes for the poor there, with a view to depopulation of the crowded urban quarters.

EDWARD MARSHALL.

AMATEUR CLASSES IN NURSING.

IT HAS seemed to the writer that a more general knowledge of the latest methods of nursing the sick is desirable among all classes, and that enthusiastic young women might here find a new field for gaining and disseminating knowledge, and, consequently, increasing the sum of "happiness below." The idea is somewhat in line with the establishment of cooking schools, so beneficial in giving a new dignity to the laboratory of the kitchen, as well as disseminating new ideas of preparing food. There were times when such institutions were not needed, when, in our primitive civilization, and even in post colonial times, every woman found time to educate her daughter in plain and even fancy cooking. These luxurious later times find mothers so oppressed with social duties, so absorbed in reading and writing and calling and entertaining, in dressing and planning dresses, so dependent on servants, that what are, after all, important accomplishments, have been allowed to become "out-of-date." And yet, when emergency arises, many a woman would honestly confess she would willingly forget how to play a sonata if she only knew how to make a good salad or omelet.

This leads up to the consideration of a vocation that is even more out-of-date than the household cook, and that is the family nurse. We must repeat the old lamentations; life is not all a holiday, and not only will hunger and sickness come, but emergencies and ill-fortune will often throw the duties of cook or nurse on the members of the family. Why not, then, give the daughters a course of instruction in the art of nursing the sick as well as in schools of cookery? If the cook is as necessary to physical, mental, and even moral well-being as the engineer is necessary in the steamship's hold, the nurse is as indispensable as the pilot that we take on to thread the rocks and shoals, whether we are "crossing the bar" to the ocean or entering the harbor of health.

Happily, the household nurse is not yet wholly extinct. Many a fond mother keeps up the traditions of the old-fashioned nurse, devoted to her own loved ones in sickness, as well as ready to "lend a hand" when a neighbor is stricken. But there are modern methods, developed in our schools for nurses, such as that at Bellevue Hospital, which it seems would be of great value if disseminated among the people by supplementary schools for amateur nurses. It is not to be expected that these amateur nurses would encroach on the domain of the trained nurse so as to imperil the latter's means of livelihood. The amateur—using the word in its dignified sense, as one who follows a calling out of love for it—would not receive so thorough a practical training as the trained nurse at the hospitals; she would not assist at amputations or be left alone to perform the last duties in the hour of death. As for a superfluity of trained nurses, there is no prospect of it. It is altogether too hard to find good ones now in emergencies; and the trying work of such a life does not invite a great oversupply of devotees.

No, the idea is simply this: To instruct such of our daughters and wives as have time—even sons, if such will so devote themselves—so that they can care for the members of their own family, friends, or poor people, in ordinary sickness, according to the latest and best practice in nursing methods. Here, it seems, there is a field for real enthusiasm, real devotion, and keen interest in scientific methods, aided as it would be by the thought that the novitiate in nursing was learning how to care for her own loved ones, ease their hours of pain, or carry the benediction of intelligent service to the homes of the poor. Ah, it is only the sick sufferer who can tell how priceless to him is the trained hand and head, that knows just how to raise him in bed, just what to feed to him, how to do the numberless little things, a proper performance of which often turns the balance between health and disease, life and death. When to all the deftness of a trained nurse is added the loving sympathy of a sister or friend, the influences towards recovery are extra-magical. There is a luxury of content and trust and gratitude felt by an invalid who knows he has a faithful, loving nurse that goes far towards putting him, spiritually as well as morally, on the road to recovery. Let our young women once appreciate the value of being thus useful and they will be eager to learn all they can of an art that the doctors say is often more important than their own in saving life. The eye that sees a need and the hand that performs the deed for the invalid before he can ask it is indeed the eye and hand of "an angel in the house." Let us not be deceived. These are the valuable moments of life, when we have passed a cup of water to the suffering and really helped in the battle of existence.

It seems as if some regularly trained nurse, with experience in private nursing as well as her school diploma, might be found to give a course of lessons and lectures, with practical illustrations, to a class of girls and women, and so add to her income. So many details could be taught in a little while—arranging pillows, governing light, draughts, etc.; raising sick people in bed, preparing and administering medicines, what to do in emergencies, poisoning, scalding, drowning, choking, etc.; how to prepare poultices and blisters, what foods to give in different maladies and how to prepare them, etc., etc. A lecture on the symptoms, first treatment and care of cholera patients would be especially useful and timely. The class might have the benefit of oversight by some competent hospital physician who would give additional lectures on general topics as to care of the

sick. It might be an encouragement to learners and stimulate a fellow-feeling of devotion to give attendants on the lectures who pass a satisfactory examination a certificate as to such attendance. This might entitle them to wear a simple pin with the initials of "Amateur Nurse" or "Home Nurse," giving a bond of sympathy with each other and a certain credential as to capacity in working among the poor. It is to be hoped that these suggestions may lead to the forming of some class in nursing, not as a "fad," but as a means of enlarging one's usefulness. Whether cholera comes or not, whether we have a war or not, the call for intelligent nursing of the sick is incessant and never fully answered. A girl may never do more than nurse Brother Tom through the grip or a Sunday-school scholar through the measles, but if she does that well, in the best way, she will have earned honor. Others, however, prepared or unprepared, must fight the dread enemy with their loved ones in the darkest of hours; and a course of lectures on nursing will be a great help to these nameless Florence Nightingales of our own homes.

C. H. CRANDALL.

THE RIGHT TO DIE.

A LEADING London paper has recently been conducting a gruesome discussion, under the caption "Tired of Life," upon the question, "Is suicide wrong?" It is significant that a large proportion of the writers who answer this query argue in favor of the moral right and sometimes the duty of self-destruction. Among other prominent contributors to this discussion is William Archer, the well-known dramatic critic, who, after asserting that nowhere in the Bible is suicide condemned, says: "What we want, what our grandsons, or great grandsons will probably have, is a commodious and scientific lethal chamber, which shall reduce to a minimum the physical terrors and inconveniences of suicide, both for the patient and for his family and friends. In a rational state of civilization, self-effacement should cost us no more physical screwing up of courage than a visit to the barber's, and much less than a visit to the dentist's. Mental effort will always keep people from wantonly and in mere caprice putting an end to themselves."

This morbid discussion has attracted great attention, and taken in conjunction with a recent magazine article, debating the question whether men and women have a right to kill their parents, relatives or friends, who labor under distressing diseases, or who believe that the time has come when they may depart, or who are worn out and useless to society, has suggested the title of this article.

To begin with, it is evident that such a question cannot be debated on Christian principles. These absolutely forbid a Christian to debate self murder. He accepts his life, and tries to do his best with it. He owns that he has no more right to kill himself than to kill any one else. He is a soldier who dares not desert his post. It is therefore necessary, while we write, to hold faith in abeyance. What we want to do is to show into what a dangerous sea the advanced thinkers have got.

The writer of the article in question is rather contradictory; but that is little to him. On the one hand, he denies the right of the State to execute a murderer. He argues that even when a man has forfeited all right to live

by breaking into the sacred house of life and slaying a fellowman, he has no right to be deprived of his life. On the other hand, when a poor creature is so sick that his friends despair of him, he proposes that "the doctors should furnish the means which he would not possess himself" (of killing him). In support of his argument this writer quotes the advice of the late Mr. Charles Buxton, who, in a book of desultory thoughts recently published, declares that it is a pity "that the extinction of idiots and persons in their dotage should not be undertaken, let us say, by the bishop of the diocese."

Prof. Francis W. Newman, in giving his views of "Euthanasia," as they call the right to die, declares that "suicide is sometimes a duty." He relates how a friend of his some years ago "withdrew himself from life somewhat prematurely by chloroform." This phraseology is charming. All that De Quincy wrote in his savage satire on "Murder Considered as a Fine Art" fades before the description of a gentleman "withdrawing himself from life." "I have no doubt whatever," continues the Professor, "that he did it under a sense of duty." There are men who think that a painful, hopeless life ought to be ended; that when a sick man is helpless, he ought, out of mere politeness, to imitate the Japanese, and give himself the *hari-kari*, or happy dispatch. "I look with horror," says Professor Newman, "on allowing tender kinsfolk (or nurses!) to sacrifice youthful health in order to add days or weeks to my life when worn out," and if to "my life," then to the life of another! "The registrar would be required to interrogate the patient before witnesses, who would attest his desire of death. I do not understand how anyone can fear abuse if death were legalized, under deliberately planned restrictions, such as I have hinted."

Another advanced thinker—a woman—arguing in the same vein, declares that the executioners of Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln, kept the murderer alive for twenty-two hours with brandy to prolong his tortures; and her logic—a woman's logic—is that we who nurse our sick relatives and keep them alive for "an hour, or a day, or longer," are equally brutal. Perhaps the better way to meet such arguments as this would be to ridicule them. But, apart from any other consideration, has it never occurred to those who advocate that incurables should be put out of the world, that many an illness which in former times was considered incurable would still have remained so had the sufferer been removed when doctors pronounced the case hopeless. In fact had this cowardly shrinking from life been fostered, our science would have been on a par with the science of the Chinese.

The man who, tired of life, or wearied of sickness, quits his post and deserts to the enemy, possesses false courage. To escape at perhaps the critical moment, would be to own one's self not fitted for this life, much less for another. And, besides, how is a man to know when he shall recover and when his life is useless? We do not wish to import Christian witnesses into this discussion, because they are fortified by faith, and often eagerly welcome death when it comes naturally. But it is safe to presume that in really civilized nations the fear of death will prevent most men from following the advice of these advanced thinkers and seeking the aid of the King of Terrors. We all know the Æsopian fable of the old man who, calling upon death to relieve him of his burden, was only too glad to send away the spectre when it came; and the easy philosopher who prepares himself to die will find, when he looks death in the face, that it needs another kind of courage than that given by sickness and *ennui* to meet it.

If morbid discussions of the kind I have outlined are a sign of progress, what, then, is retrogression? In olden times the Romans, when an epidemic of suicide had broken out among the Roman matrons and maidens, checked it by passing a law that the suicides should have their bodies exposed naked in the market place. This brought the women to their senses, and thenceforward they consented to live. Are we more savage than the heathen of that time?

Of much modern thought it must be said that it has become licentious. It needs discipline; so much so, that deep thinkers, finding that liberty degenerates into license, have more or less retired to the safer anchorage of conservatism. Have we not gone far enough in such debates? Have not advanced thinkers had "rope enough to hang themselves"? Do we not know men by their fruits? The advanced thinkers debate the rights of property, the right of labor, the right to die. They want to knock away every pale that can keep a man to the straight, safe, and right path. We are to break up the Ten Commandments and to throw the Bible out of the schools. We are to take "any man's horses," like Falstaff; and now it is proposed to legalize the putting an end to our own lives, if we are weak and sulky, or those of our relatives whom we are tired of nursing. Are we to walk any longer in such muckpits and bogholes? Are we, in the spirit of true liberty, to submit ourselves, like good soldiers, to the great Commander, to walk in soberness, honesty, restraint, temperance, duty, and self-control? Or are we, in the spirit of morbid, sulky, and priggish boys, to clamor for the right of doing just as we please, and sacrifice our own souls? Is it not time that we ask, Whither are we going?

GERTRUDE B. ROLFE.

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